Richard N. Frye

THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT IRAN

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THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT IRAN

BY

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INTRODUCTION

PROLEGOMENA

The **Leitmotiv** of this book is the continuity in the history of western Iran from the earliest times to the Arab conquest, and in certain respects even down to the present. In spite of constant invasion and widespread destruction, like a phoenix the Persians have reasserted themselves often in the face of great adversity. The continuity is observable in many realms, one of the most striking of which is the language of ancient Persis, today the province of Fars, which developed from an Old Persian through a Middle to a New Persian stage with many admixtures, of course, and literary remains of all three stages exist. Of all the present day peoples of the Middle East, the Persians are the most conscious of their pre-Islamic past, and in many senses, traces of the ancient heritage of the area are better preserved in Persia than in Syria, Egypt, or elsewhere.

In the present book the word 'Persia' refers to the contemporary land with the capital of Tehran. The term 'Iran,' however, is used for a greater, and unfortunately more imprecise, area including those regions where predominantly Iranian languages were spoken in antiquity. It must be emphasized that the term has no political connotations, and the word 'Iranian' is used primarily in a linguistic sense to differentiate the speakers of Iranian languages from Semitic speakers, Indians, or others. Persis or Parsa, on the other hand, is the modern province of Fars.

The main source for Median and early Achaemenid history is the Ionian historian Herodotus, whose reliability, however, has been questioned many times. Many scholars, on the other hand, swear by his veracity when his data fits their theories, but reject or ignore him when his information goes counter to their reconstructions. On the whole, I believe one should follow the general rule that Herodotus generally reports what he heard and adds his own views in those matters where he moralizes, such as in the invasion of Greece by the Achaemenids, or the like. Whether his sources were reliable, of course, is another problem, but on the whole even if he reports stories which were current in his time, these stories are important for reconstructing ancient views.

The second feature of this book, which is emphasized, is the extension of the Iranian cultural realm in antiquity to the borders of China, Siberia and South Russia. It is not the intention here to attempt to write a history of the steppes before the rise of the Turks but simply to stress the importance of Central Asia as an Iranian cultural area overshadowed by the Achaemenids and the Sasanians, but important in its own right as an independent source of Iranian ideas, art motifs, forms of society and government which had more of an impact on the Far East and Russia than heretofore realized. The post-Islamic-conquest flourishing of Bukhara, Samarqand and Khwarazm as great centers of Islamic learning and culture has puzzled many scholars who did not find the same phenomenon in the former Sasanian Empire. Central Asia was not a pale provincial reflection of the Sasanian Empire; rather it was a flourishing, independent

mercantile civilization before the coming of the Arabs. The profuse results of a plethora of Soviet archaeological excavations in Central Asia have not only enormously enriched our knowledge of this area in antiquity, but they have revised long held ideas that here nomads roamed and culture was almost non-existent. It is virtually impossible for one person to keep abreast of the ongoing work in Central Asia, both in the western and in the eastern (Sinkiang) regions. Although no attempt has been made to cover the history of Sinkiang or even adequately other parts of Central Asia, nonetheless constant reference to contacts between Central Asia and the more settled lands to the south, east and west has been made. It is hoped that the importance of this area, far from Europe, will be realized by the reader. The chapters of the present book pass from east to west and hopefully the differences as well as the affinities of the two Iranian areas will appear. Central Asia always has been bound with eastern Iran (present Afghanistan) rather than with Persia, and so it will be treated as part of eastern Iranian history. Continuity in the east was more frequently interrupted than in Persia, but it is also a feature of east Iranian culture.

GENERAL WORKS ON THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF IRAN

Unlike Greek, Roman, or even Egyptian and Mesopotamian history, there have been relatively few general histories of Iran down to the Arab conquests. The reasons for this lack are not difficult to discern. First, few historians have ventured into this area which requires formidable linguistic controls; instead the field has been left to philologists and linguists who are more interested in the detailed investigation of words than in the historical significance of texts. Second, the variety of aids one must utilize to reconstruct the history of Iran deters many investigators. One must turn to numismatics, art history, architecture, and, of course, archaeology to help reconstruct the past of a vast area, which again has repelled historians and encouraged archaeologists and art historians to take their place, often with not so happy results. Finally, so many travellers and amateurs have written about Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia that scholars have shied away from writing a general work on the ancient history of the area, preferring instead to concentrate on much needed detailed monographs. It is true that much more investigation is needed on all aspects of the pre-Islamic history of this part of the world, but it is regrettable that syntheses of new discoveries in archaeology, art history, epigraphy and other branches of knowledge have not been made in a general history of the whole Iranian world before Islam.

If we survey the books written on the general ancient history of Iran during the past one hundred years, the picture is quite different from that of other parts of the world which have received much more attention from scholars. The earliest general history of ancient Iran which utilized the native Old Persian inscriptions, primarily of Darius, was by George Rawlinson, brother of Henry, who copied and deciphered the Behistun inscription.[1] His first publication dealt with the Achaemenids, as the last of *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient World*, but this was soon augmented by the

[1] The two-volume history of Iran, down to the rise of the Sasanians, by le Comte de Gobineau, published in Paris in 1869, is neither systematic nor reliable, while earlier books on ancient Iran by Thomas Hyde, Sylvestre de Sacy, among others, did not pretend to be histories.

Parthians and Sasanians to become *The Seven Great Monarchies.*[2] George Rawlinson, Professor of ancient history at Oxford, based most of his work on Classical sources, but he did use other sources available to him in translation and his work remained a standard history of ancient Iran for many years. It should be mentioned that the vast lands of eastern Iran (including Afghanistan) and Central Asia were largely untouched in Rawlinson's writings. This was rectified to some extent in a comprehensive three-volume account of geography, ethnology, religions and history by Friedrich Spiegel, a philologist in the widest sense of the word, a professor of Oriental languages at the University of Erlangen over a century ago. In this encyclopedic work, Spiegel utilized Oriental as well as Classical sources. His historical survey was followed on the whole by Ferdinand Justi, who was Professor of Indogermanische Philologie at Marburg University, first in a general world history edited by W. Oncken in 1879, and then in the *Grundriß der iranischen Philologie*, published in Strasbourg between 1896 and 1904. This latter publication long remained the standard survey of the ancient history of Iran.

The popular work of Brigadier-General Sir Percy M. Sykes, *A History of Persia*, vol. 1 (London, 1915), contributed little, and the book of the Orientalist Clément Huart, *La perse antique et la civilisation iranienne* (Paris, 1925), is notable only for including results of the many years of excavation at the site of Susa, and the consequent addition of the history of the Elamites to the ancient history of Iran. The book by Huart was revised several times, and the title was changed to *L'Iran antique, Élam et Perses*, and remained the standard reference work in French until R. Ghirshman, an archaeologist, wrote his history called *Iran* (Payot, Paris, 1951), translated into English and published for the Penguin paperbacks in 1954. The work, as to be expected, was well illustrated and emphasis was on cultural history, art and archaeology. The same was true of the general history of ancient Iran by the Soviet Orientalist and archaeologist M. M. Dyakonov, published posthumously in 1961.[3] In this work the eastern Iranian world, including Central Asia, first received more than cursory attention, primarily as a result of Soviet archaeological work there. This trend was further elaborated in the book of R. N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (London, 1962), which, in spite of its title, chosen by the publisher for British readers, covers all areas where Iranian peoples lived in antiquity. The *Cambridge History of Iran*, vols. 2 and 3, will treat the early plus Achaemenid periods and the Parthians and Sasanians respectively, but even in those comprehensive volumes lacunae exist. It is clear that histories in the sense of a history of Greece, Rome, much less of France or England, cannot be written about ancient Iran; rather, a short sketch of ancient Iranian civilization, including art and archaeology as well as other fields, must be substituted in many periods. Nonetheless, an attempt is made here to utilize many works for a composite picture of the past, based on available sources.

Naturally secondary sources have provided the basis for much of this comprehensive history, even though disagreements may exist, since monographs and specialists on restricted periods and regions have been able to concentrate on problems

[2] His first work on the 'five monarchies' was published in London between 1862 and 1867, and the 'seven monarchies' came out in 1873 and 1875 respectively.

[3] *Ocherk istorii drevnego Iran* (Moscow, 1961), 441.

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which can only be touched by the present work, and reference is made to them for further information. For pre-Achaemenid history the writings of I. M. Dyakonov have proved especially valuable, while M. Dandamayev and W. Hinz have concentrated on the Achaemenids. Seleucid history in Iran is not so well served while J. Wolski is our man on the early Parthians as is V. G. Lukonin for the early Sasanians. Other scholars and their works are cited in the various chapters, but obviously it is impossible to cover or cite everything one should. Many times, rather than increase the volume by adding bibliographies, reference has been made to other works where extensive bibliographies are given. In the forthcoming age of computers and easily recalled bibliographies, the present book will become antiquated, but for the time being I hope it will be of some aid in finding one's way in the undergrowth and proliferation of writings on ancient Iran and Central Asia.

TECHNICALITIES

When one marvels at books of the past which were handset and printed with Greek and Oriental fonts by many experts, as well as a series of editors, one question which may arise is 'what price pedantry?' The use of diacritical points and macrons is necessary in linguistic arguments but hardly in a general history where those who read Oriental languages know what is meant, while to those who do not it is superfluous. Therefore I have omitted such banes to printers and proof-readers as much as possible, although in Arabic and other Semitic language words a more strict system of transliteration at times has been followed. I have tried to be consistent in spellings and only hope not too many slips will provide grist for reviewers. I must plead guilty to inconsistency in the usage of Latin and Greek forms of names and words, especially such details as final *-us* and *-os*. On the whole I have followed commonly accepted spellings except certain names, e.g. Priskos for Priscus, but again I hope that at least consistency has been observed in one and the same name. One explanation for variations, though not excuse, is that this book was originally intended to be written in German, but I found that my strength and ability by this time were not equal to the task and after much lost time and effort, I decided I would have to write in English. In the shift some 'un-English' forms of names may have survived. Also, in the case of transcripitions, rather than transliterations, of Middle Persian or other Iranian forms of names or words, consistency has not always been observed, for example: *Weh* not *Veh* but *Nev* rather than *New*, so one would not mistake the latter with the English word 'new.' Again, I hope no one will be confused; specialists will not be, and those who are not should realize that there are many forms of transcription of foreign sounds and written forms. I have used the antiquated Wade-Giles system of transcribing Chinese characters, since it will be easy to consult the dictionaries and change into other forms of transcription with which I am not familiar. I must reiterate that this book is a general history of pre-Islamic Iran in its widest sense and not a philological treatise.

The endings of Russian names cause trouble since forms in western European languages differ from the original. Thus we find Litvinskii written as Litvinsky and Perikhanyan written as Perikhanian, but hopefully the reader will understand such inconsistencies.

One innovation different from the usual interpretation of numismatics should be mentioned. Numismatists, on the basis of styles and iconography, assign coin series to certain time periods, and the suspicion that archaizing tendencies may negate their conclusions rarely becomes a factor to consider. Studies of Sogdian silver in the fifth and sixth centuries of our era have revealed archaic forms similar to similar objects of the Parthian and even Achaemenid periods. Coinage likewise may confuse one by archaic styles. Also the continuity of series of coins in eastern Iran or Central Asia, even one style lasting several centuries, as in Bukhara, frequently has been ignored by numismatists. In western Iran we find dynastic continuity while in the east we have lip-service to dynastic allegiance. Unfortunately, the history of eastern Iran is a vast area in itself and here it can only be touched with reference to bibliographies for further study.

Finally, it is somewhat of a miracle that this volume appears since it was begun years ago when I was director of the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University in Shiraz, and I will not burden the reader with stories of the vicissitudes of lost books and portions of the manuscript, as well as the lack of aid in preparing the MS. This book should have been written by an old-fashioned *Ordinarius* with several assistants to compile bibliographies, fetch books, check references and read proofs. Unfortunately, I have been alone with many burdens and if it were not for the superb typing of Carolyn Cross, secretary of the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at Harvard University, the book would not have seen the light of day. I would have preferred to have colleagues read the MS. and save me from errors, but today no one has time or inclination. Perhaps in the future machines will allow more time for such tasks but until then one should strive the best one can. If this work provides a useful guide to the history of ancient Iran I will be grateful.

RICHARD N. FRYE
Hamburg, Shiraz and Cambridge, Mass.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS BOOK

Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae (Budapest)
Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, Mainz
Abhandlungen
Altorientalische Forschung (Berlin)
Abhandlungen der → GWG
Acta Iranica (Leiden)
Annali dell' Istituto Orientale (Naples)
American Journal of Archaeology (New York)
American Journal of Ancient History (Cambridge, Mass.)
American Journal of Semitic Languages (Chicago)
Asia Major (London)
Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran (Berlin)
American Numismatic Society (New York)
American Numismatic Society Museum Notes (New York)
Archiv Orientální (Prague)
see *Abh.*, *PAW*
Bulletin de l'école française de l'Extrême Orient (Paris)
Bibliotheca Orientalis (Amsterdam)
Bulletin de la société linguistique (Paris)
Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies (London)
Beiträge zur Namenforschung (Heidelberg)
Central Asian Journal (Wiesbaden)
Cambridge History of Iran (Cambridge, England)
Centre national des recherches scientifiques (Paris)
Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (Paris)
Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Paris)
Darius, Naqsh-e Rustam inscription d in R. Kent, *Old Persian* (New Haven, 1953)
Darius, Suez inscription
Epigrafika Vostoka (Leningrad)
East and West (Rome)
Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, ed. C. Müller (Paris)
Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker, ed. F. Jacoby (Berlin and Leiden)
Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
Handbuch des Altpersischen, W. Brandenstein u. M. Mayrhofer (Wiesbaden, 1964)
Handbuch der Orientalistik, ed. B. Spuler (Leiden)
Iranica Antiqua (Leiden)
Indogermanische Forschungen (Berlin)
Indo-Iranian Journal (The Hague)
Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies (London)
Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Rome)
Journal Asiatique (Paris)
Journal of the American Oriental Society (New Haven)
Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden)
Journal of Indo European Studies (Washington, D.C.)
Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute (Bombay)
Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia (Canberra)
Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago)
Journal of the Numismatic Society of India (Benares)
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London)
Kartir Ka'bah of Zardusht at Naqsh-e Rustam
Kuhns Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft (Göttingen)

MIA	*Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR* (Moscow)
MMAI	*Mémoires de la mission archéologique en Iran* (Paris)
MDAFA	*Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan* (Paris)
MP	Middle Persian (Pahlavi)
MSS	*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* (Munich)
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle* (London)
NNM	*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (*ANS*) (New York)
NP	New Persian
NTS	*Norsk Tidsskrift før Sprogvidenskap* (Oslo)
OAW	*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna)
OLZ	*Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin)
OP	Old Persian
OS	*Orientalia Suecana* (Uppsala)
PAW	*Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin)
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris)
PW	*Pauly Wissowa's Realenzyklopädie der Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart)
RÉA	*Revue des études Arméniennes* (Paris)
RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions* (Paris)
RN	*Revue numismatique* (Paris)
RSO	*Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Rome)
SA	*Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* (Moscow)
Sb	*Sitzungsberichte*
SHAW	*Sitzungsber. der Heidelberger A.W.* (Heidelberg)
SWAW	see *Sb.*, *WAW*
SI	*Studia Iranica* (Paris)
SKZ	Shapur Ka'bah of Zardusht
SPA	*Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope (Oxford, 1939)
TP	*T'oung Pao* (Leiden)
TPS	*Transactions of the Philological Society* (London)
UCLA	University of California in Los Angeles
VDI	*Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* (Moscow)
WAW	*Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna)
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna)
XPf	Xerxes, Persepolis inscription f in R. Kent, *Old Persian* (New Haven, 1953)
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Berlin)
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden)
ZII	*Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik* (Leipzig)

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

The scholarly investigation of the geography of the Iranian plateau and Central Asia is relatively recent. Until the beginning of systematic collections of data on temperatures, water utilization, soils, and the like, geographical questions were mostly discussed by travellers and amateurs. Historical geography, on the other hand, was primarily the concern of academics who rarely if ever ventured into the field, and consequently misconceptions and gaps in knowledge abounded. Because of the strategic importance of Persia and Afghanistan, primarily British and Russian officers, but also others, sought to map the entire area at various times, and the result is today we have aerial photographs and maps of considerable detail. It is not possible to review all of the relevant geographical literature, but those works which aid the student of history will be mentioned under the three geographical headings of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia.

Literature: Iran, general: The general gazetteer prepared by the army under the direction of Gen. Husain 'Alī Razmarā' in ten volumes *Farhang-e Joghrāfiyā-ye Irān* (Tehran, 1950–54), lists the towns and villages in each province, giving the location, population, main language, religion, principal occupations and industries, and similar information. Although in need of correction this collection of information is surpassed only by the comprehensive gazetteer of villages, based on the census of 1966, the *Farhang-e Abādī-hā-ye Kishvar*, of which 27 volumes have appeared in Tehran beginning in 1969. Another gazetteer in English based on the above, as well as on the British India Office archives is less comprehensive but useful.[1] Perhaps the most comprehensive textbook on the geography of Iran is the three-volume work of Mas'ūd Kayhān, *Joghrāfiyā-ye mufaṣṣal-e Irān* (Tehran, 1937), but now see E. Ehlers, *Iran, Grundzüge einer geographischen Landeskunde* (Darmstadt, 1980).

For the historical geography of Iran, we have F. Justi, *Beitrage zur alten Geographie Persiens*, Zwei Abtheilungen (Marburg, 1869), 56 S., who tried to identify place names in the Avesta with those of Classical and Islamic geographies. W. Tomaschek concentrated on Classical place names, especially in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a world map probably made by a Roman called Castorius in the third century but preserved in a thirteenth-century copy. He also identified many sites with place names in Arabic geographies.[2] The most erudite and productive historical geographer, however, was Joseph Marquart (later changed to Markwart) who clarified many identifications of site names in ancient Iran in his publications.[3] His commentaries to an edition and translation of an Armenian geography attributed to Moses of Chorene were perhaps his most valuable contribution to the historical geography of the entire Iranian world.[4] The old *Geographie der Griechen und Römer* of Konrad Mannert, fünfter Theil (Leipzig, 1829), is still useful.

Sources: The classical books relevant to historical geography are first, Herodotus, with the useful *Lexicon to Herodotus* by J. E. Powell (Hildesheim, 1966), based on the edition of Hude (Oxford, 1926). Then we have Ptolemy in three editions by C. F. Nobbe (1843; reprinted Hildesheim, 1966), F. G. Wilberg (Essen, 1845) and C. Müller (Paris, 1883), which is the basic work on place names in the pre-Christian east. The

[1] L. W. Adamec, ed., *Historical Gazetteer of Iran*, 1 (Graz, 1977) and foll.

[2] W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie von Persien," *Sb WAW*, 102 (1883), 146–231, and 108 (1885), 583–652, issued in book form in 1972.

[3] Especially his *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Iran*, 2 Hefte (Göttingen, 1896); "Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage von Eran," *ZDMG*, 49 (1895), 628–70, as well as his *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Eranshahr* (Rome, 1931).

[4] *Ēranšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, *Abh. GWG* (Berlin, 1901).

Parthian Stations of Isidore of Charax, ed. by C. Müller in *Geographi Graeci Minores* (Paris, 1855) and in *Frg. Hist.* (Dritter Teil C, Zweiter Band) has a list of towns on the silk road to the east. The geography of Strabo, written about the time of Christ, with several editions in the Loeb Classical Series, as well as the Teubner edition by A. Meineke (Leipzig, 1853 foll.), contains much information on Iran and the Caucasus. Pliny's Natural History is less valuable, but also has interesting details about lands of the east, and both Strabo and Pliny give place names and information older than their own times of writing.[5]

For the Sasanian period the number of geographical sources increases but the quality does not, for the various cosmographii in the *Geographi Latini Minores* give very little information on the east.[6] The historian Ammianus Marcellinus, especially in book 23, mentions the provinces and cities of the Sasanian Empire.[7] Useful for details about place names and peoples are the lexicon of Hesychius (fifth century) where some Persian and 'Scythian' words and names are explained, the geography or *Ethnika* of Stephan of Byzantium (sixth century), and the dictionary of Suidas (tenth century).[8] The anonymous geographer of Ravenna (seventh century) based much of his work on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* of Castorius and does not add much on the east.[9] A secondary source on Armenian place names is a useful reference work for that region.[10] Talmudic geography is of minimum value to our concerns, although the Talmudic dictionary of Aruch contains interesting items, especially for the Sasanian period.[11] Syriac sources also are not particularly helpful, although the corpus of Nestorian synods with the locations of bishoprics, as well as the acts of martyrs, occasionally give geographical information not found elsewhere.[12]

Thus, it is obvious that the historical geographer of pre-Islamic Iran must rely on items of information from many and varied sources. Not only the works mentioned above must be considered but the results of archaeology as well, which bring new materials for our understanding of the past almost yearly. For example, the site of the Parthian capital of Hekatompylos was not established, until a survey of the area and excavations showed that it was the Islamic site of Qumis between present-day Damghan and Semnan.[13] It is obviously impossible to give a bibliography for all the surveys and site excavations which have some relevance to historical geography. The yearly survey of excavations published in the journal *Iran*, however, gives a good picture of work in that country since 1965. This is paralleled by publications of the annual symposia on archaeological research in Iran organized by the Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research in Tehran, since 1972, as well as the journal *Bastan Chenassi va Honar-e Iran*, also printed in Tehran.

By far the most detailed sources of geographical information for the ancient as well as medieval periods are the geographies in the Arabic or Persian language. Fortunately, a comprehensive survey of the sources relevant to western Iran was made by Paul Schwarz, to which one may add a few items which were not known to him.[14] The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* is perhaps the most important new source, especially for eastern

[5] *Plinii Naturalis Historia*, ed. by C. Mayhoff (Dresden, 1905; reprinted Stuttgart, 1967); also Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.–London).

[6] A. Riese, ed., *Geographi Latini Minores* (Heilbronn, 1878; reprinted Hildesheim, 1964) esp. 45, 61, 74.

[7] Ammianus Marcellinus, ed. by W. Seyfarth, 4 vols. (Berlin, 1968–71), and in the Loeb Classical Series. Both have a translation as well as Latin text.

[8] K. Latte, ed., *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1953, 1966, 1977); A. Meinecke, ed., *Stephan von Byzanz Ethnika* (Berlin, 1849; reprinted Graz, 1958); Ada Adler, ed., *Suidae Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1928–35), 4 vols.

[9] J. Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana II: Ravennatis anonymi cosmographia* (Leipzig, 1940) trans. by Schnetz, *Ravennas Anonymus: Cosmographia*, in *Nomina Germanica*, 10 (Uppsala, 1951).

[10] H. Hübschmann, "Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen," *IF*, 16 (1904), 197–490; also issued as a book in 1969.

[11] The book by A Neubauer, *La géographie du Talmud* (Paris, 1868), is still useful, as is A. Berliner, *Beiträge zur Geographie und Ethnographie Babyloniens* (Berlin, 1884). For the Talmudic geography of Mesopotamia the best work is by J. Obermeyer, *Die Landschaft Babylonien im Zeitalter des Talmuds und des Gaonats* (Frankfurt, 1929). See also *Additamenta ad Librum Aruch Completum*, ed. by A. Kohut (Wien, 1937; reprinted New York, 1955).

[12] J-B. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale* (Paris, 1902); G Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer* (Leipzig, 1880), and O. Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten persischer Martyrer* (Kempten–Munich, 1915).

[13] J Hansman, "The Problem of Qumis," *JRAS* (1968) III-40.

[14] P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1927–36) The book of G. LeStrange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905; reprinted 1930), is less detailed but useful. The *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana* (St Petersburg, 1903, of Bartold, reprinted in his *Sochineniya*, 7, Moscow, 1971) contains much material of pre-Islamic geography, but it is especially valuable for Afghanistan, below. The value of Islamic sources for ancient history is shown by such publications as

Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia.[15] The second source, previously known from quotations in Yaqut's geographical dictionary and elsewhere, was found in a manuscript in Meshhed, Iran and published twice.[16] A later source *The Jahān-nāme* contains little new except a few items, such as the building of a long wall in Gurgan by the Sasanians to protect settled people from raids by nomads.[17] Finally, local geographies and histories occasionally give items of interest. The bibliographical references to the most important books below refer to pages in Storey's *Persian Literature*, a bio-bibliographical survey in its enlarged Russian translation.[18] The oldest is the history of Qom (p. 1008), which contains information about the Arab conquests and divisions of land and irrigation. The *Qualities of Isfahan*, a similar book, existed in Arabic and in an old Persian translation (1011–12), and histories of Yazd (1021), and especially the *Fārs name* of Ibn al-Balkhī, which contains much information about the geography of Fars in Sasanian times (1027), are to be noted. The city histories of Baihaq and of Nishapur in Khurasan (1041, 1044), and Herat in Afghanistan (1043, 1046) have items of geographical interest, whereas the city histories of Kerman are less useful (1056–63). The local history of Tabaristan (present Mazandaran) is important for ancient geography and history (e.g. the letter of Tansar), while other books on the Caspian Sea Coast provinces are less important (1071–77). The local history of Seistan is an important source book for the historical geography, as well as history, of that province (1078–81), but its legends obscure much of the history. The same is true of the local history of Shustar in Khuzistan (1082). Azerbaijan and Kurdistan have a number of local histories (such as the *Sharaf-nāme*, 1097), but they help little with the ancient history or historical geography of the respective regions.

Finally, European travellers from the time of Marco Polo occasionally provide geographical information relevant to ancient times not found elsewhere. A survey of such accounts may be found in a book by Alfons Gabriel,[19] but his book contains errors and has an insufficient bibliography hence must be used with caution. There are also general bibliographies of Iran which are useful to consult.[20]

Literature: Afghanistan, general: Parallel to Iran, there exists a gazetteer in Persian as well as a Pashto edition, the *Qāmūs Joghrāfiyā-ye Afghanistān* in four volumes and several reprintings in Kabul (first ed. 1952). The English language parallel is the *Historical and Political Gazetteer of Afghanistan*, ed. by L. Adamec in six volumes, five of which have appeared.[21] A general, physical geography of Afghanistan is the work by Johannes Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan* (Copenhagen, 1959). On the historical

M. Streck, *Die alte Landschaft Babylonien nach den arabischen Geographen* (Leiden, 1900).

[15] Text, ed. by Manūchehr Sotūdeh (Tehran, 1340/1962), trans. with notes by V. Minorsky (London, 1937). The MS is now in Leningrad and was published in facsimile by V. Bartold (Leningrad, 1930). "Addenda" to the book were published by V. Minorsky in the *BSOAS*, 17 (1955), 250–270.

[16] V. Minorsky, ed., *Abu-Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muhalhil's Travels in Iran, circa A.D. 950* (Cairo U. Press, 1955) and P. G. Bulgakov and A. B. Khalidov, eds., *Vtoraya zapiska Abu Dulafa* (Moscow, 1960).

[17] Fol 1. 19a, line 23 of Muḥ. b Najib Bakran, *Dzhahan-name*, ed. by Yu. Borshchevskii (Moscow, 1960), also ed. by M. Amin Riyāhī (Tehran, 1964), 82.

[18] Storey's work was published in London in fascicules (1927–72), and the enlarged translation *Persidskaya Literatura*, ed by Yu. Bregel and Yu. Borshchevskii in 3 vols. (Moscow, 1972).

[19] A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens* (Wien, 1952). There is not space here to mention many special, detailed studies on historical geography, but the articles by W. Eilers on this subject should be noted, "Der Name Demawend," *AO*, 22 (1954), 267–374 and 24 (1956), 183–224, and "Zur Ortsnamengebung und Ortsnamen-Forschung Vorderasiens," in *10. Internationaler Kongreß für Namenforschung*, (Vienna, 1969), 123–30

[20] Y. M. Nawabi, ed., *A Bibliography of Iran*, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1969 and 1971); A. Abolhamid and N. Pakdaman, *Bibliographie française de Civilisation Iranienne*, 3 vols. (Tehran, 1972–74); A. Kazemi, *Iran Bibliographie, Deutschsprachige Abhandlungen, Dissertationen*, usw. (Tehran, 1970). In Persian are the valuable *Fihrist Kitābhāye chāpī Fārsī*, ed. by Kh. Moshār, 5 vols. (Tehran, 1972–77) an index of printed books, as well as the *Fihrist-e maqālāt-e Fārsī*, ed. by I. Afshār (Tehran, 1961), which is an index of articles published in Persian from 1910–58, Two other works in Persian by I. Afshār are useful, the *Bibliography of Bibliographies on Iranian Studies* (Tehran, 1964), and *Directory for Iranian Studies* (Tehran, 1971). Other bibliographies exist in profusion, but noteworthy is W. G. Oxtoby, *Ancient Iran and Zoroastrianism in Festschriften* (Pahlavi University, Shiraz, 1974), and the Russian language *Bibliografiya po geografii Irana* by M. P. Petrov (Ashkabad, 1955), an annotated bibliography.

[21] The three provinces or areas covered in the three published volumes are *Badakhshan* (Graz, 1972) *Farah and Southwestern Afghanistan* (Graz, 1973) and *Herat and Northwestern Afghanistan* (Graz, 1975), all compiled from British-Indian gazeteers.

geography of the area, the same sources mentioned above for Iran also apply to the east, but the works of Markwart, notably his *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), are particularly useful for this part of the world. A special study of Ptolemy's geography by Italo Ronca, and the relevant chapters of Bartold's *Istoriko-geograficheskii obzor Irana* are noteworthy.[22] Also V. Bartold's *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1968) covers northern Afghanistan as well as Central Asia.

Sources: In addition to the Classical sources listed for Iran, especially Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny and Isidore, particular mention must be made of the historians of Alexander's campaign, for they give a few items of geographical information not found elsewhere.[23] Unfortunately, Indian texts give us no help, and even the geography of Varahamihira, except for names of tribes in the northwest of the subcontinent, is too vague to be of much value.[24] More informative are Chinese sources, especially the life and the travels of Buddhist monks or laymen such as Fa-hsien (c. 400 B.C.), Sung-yün (c. 518) and especially Hsüan-tsang (629 B.C.).[25] These travel accounts, however, frequently give us names which are difficult to identify in non-Chinese texts. In addition to the accounts of travellers, the dynastic histories of China also have a modicum of geographical information about lands comprising present-day Afghanistan. Most of the sections about Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia in those texts fortunately have been translated into European languages thus making them available to those who do not read classical Chinese. The oldest account comes from an embassy sent by the Chinese court starting about 138 B.C. headed by Ch'ang Ch'ien, whose account was incorporated in the history of the former Han dynasty (*Ch'ien Han Shu*).[26] The annals of the later Han dynasty, the *Hou Han Shu*, do not add much to the account of the western regions in the annals of the former Han.[27] Later dynastic histories such as the *Wei-lio* and the *Chou Shu*, give additional information.[28] Even later Chinese sources are still useful for the earlier historical geography of the western regions (in Chinese eyes), such as the voyage of another Buddhist monk Huei-cha'o about 726 A.D., and the later dynastic histories of the Sui and T'ang.[29]

The same geographical books in Arabic and Persian, mentioned above, also contain information about Afghanistan, but the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* is especially detailed. Since the mountainous regions of Afghanistan were converted to Islam long after the Arab conquests in Iran, several later histories relating to Afghanistan are more valuable for the earlier historical geography than one would expect. These are the

[22] Italo Ronco, *Ptolemaios, Geographie 6, 9–21, Ostiran und Zentralasien* (Rome, 1971). See also A. Berthelot, *L'Asie ancienne centrale et sud-orientale d'après Ptolemée* (Paris, 1930).

[23] The principal sources are Arrian, Diodorus Siculus and Quintus Curtius, all available in either the Loeb or Teubner series of Classical texts. In the appendices to W. Tarn's *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1951), many geographical questions are discussed.

[24] H. Kern, ed., *The Brihat Sanhita*, Bibliotheca Indica, 48 (Calcutta, 1865), also ed. by S. Dvivedi (Benares, 1895–7), *Sanskrit Brihatsaṁhitā* . Trans. into English by Kern in *JRAS*, new series 4 (1869), 430–79; 5 (1870), 45–90, esp. ch. 14 on the division of the globe 81–86; 6 (1872), 279–338; 7 (1874), 81–134.

[25] Classical Chinese texts are available in many printings and only translations are mentioned here. For Fa-hsien and Sung-yün see S. Beal, *Travels of Fah-hian and Sung-yun* (London, 1869), also his translation of *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* (London, 1911). The best translation of Sung-yün, however, is by E. Chavannes in the *BEFEO*, 3, no. 3 (Hanoi, 1903). For Hsüan-tsang's travels the translation by T. Watters, *On Yuang Chwang's Travels*, 2 vols. (London, 1904) is better than Beal's (London, 1884).

[26] The *Ch'ien Han Shu*, relevant chapters have been translated by J. J. deGroot in *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens, die Westlande Chinas in der vorchristlichen Zeit* (Berlin, 1926), 9–19. Also trans. by F. Hirth, "The Story of Chang K'ien," *JAOS*, 37 (1917), 89–162.

[27] E. Chavannes, "Les pays d'Occident d'après le Heou han Chou," *TP* (1907), 149–234. The translations of Iakinf Bichurin into Russian of this and other Chinese accounts are outdated: N. Ya. Bichurin, *Sobranie svedenii o narodakh obitavshikh v Srednei Azii*, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1950–53) also his *Sobranie svedenii po istoricheskoi geografii vostochnoi i srednoi Azii* (Cheboksarai, 1960), both reprints. The same is true of the old French translations of Chinese texts by S. Julien.

[28] E. Chavannes, "Les pays d'occident d'après le Wei-lio," *TP* (1905), 519–71; R. A. Miller, *Accounts of Western Nations in the History of the Northern Chou Dynasty* (Berkeley, 1959).

[29] For the monk see W. Fuchs, "Huei-cha'o's Pilgerreise durch Nordwestindien and Zenral-Asien um 726," *Sb PAW*, 30 (1938), 426–69. For the histories, the collection and translations in E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1900; reprinted Paris, 1946), esp. the discussion of sources on the "western countries", pp. 99–100, is very useful.

history of Gardīzī and that of Jūzjānī, both of whom were natives of the area.[30] There are no extant local histories of Kabul, Qandahar, Ghazna, Bamiyan or other cities, although Balkh has a local history which gives very little ancient history or topography of the surroundings.[31] Finally, European travel accounts occasionally contain items of value for the historical geography of the land. Archaeology has been the monopoly of the French until after World War II, and the series *MDAFA* contains much valuable information, while the latest information about archaeology may be found in the journal *Afghanistan*, published in English or French by the Historical Society of Afghanistan.

Several bibliographies of Afghanistan exist which are useful for specific references in modern literature, and together they offer good coverage of writings on the land.[32]

Literature: Central Asia, general: There are no gazetteers as above, but rather lists of place names as in B. Volostnov, *Slovar geograficheskikh nazvanii SSSR* (Moscow, 1968) and S. V. Kalesnik, *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar geograficheskikh nazvanii* (Moscow, 1973). For each of the Transcaucasian and Central Asian republics of the USSR there exists a general geography, in the series *Sovetskii Soyuz*, and some of these books have been translated into English in abbreviated form, but only the Russian originals should be consulted; for Uzbekistan, see Korzhenevskii, N. L., *Uzbekskaya SSR* (Moscow, Geografgiz, 1956); for Turkmenistan, Z. G. Freikin, *Turkmenskaya SSR* (Moscow, 1957). and for Tajikistan, I. K. Narzikulov, *Tadzhikskaya SSR* (Moscow, 1956).[33] For older works see the bibliography in I. M. Kaufman, *Geograficheskie Slovari i bibliografiya* (Moscow, 1964).

Sources: The same Classical sources which have been mentioned above are also relevant for Central Asia, especially Herodotus, Strabo and Ptolemy. Particularly to be noted for this area is Ctesias, who constantly must be checked, however, with other sources.[34] Among secondary publications, the works of Markwart are indispensable for anyone studying the historical geography of Central Asia. In addition to *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), the continuation of that book, printed in two articles, as well as an earlier study of Tomaschek, are noteworthy.[35]

The Islamic and Chinese sources for the historical geography of Central Asia are the same as those mentioned for Afghanistan. The pioneering work of V. Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, as well as Minorsky's notes to his translation of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam*, are both very informative. For archaeology in Central Asia and the Transcauçasus, the yearly reports of field work, *Arkheologicheskie Otkrytiya*, ed. by B. A. Rybakov for the year 1975 (Moscow, 1976), as well as the journal *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, are indispensable reference works. Most of the republics have their own surveys of archaeological work done within the borders of the republic every year, as, for example, *Arkheologicheskie Raboty v Tadzhikistane*, vypusk II (Dushanbe, 1975). Other publications of value for the geography of Central Asia are the series of the *Vostochnaya Komissiya geograficheskogo Obshchestva SSSR*, called *Strany i Narody Vostoka*, vol. 16 of which (Moscow, 1975) is devoted entirely to the Pamirs, also the *Trudy* and the *Materialy* of the *Khorezmskoi Ekspeditsii* and the same for Turkmenistan in the *Yuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi*

[30] ʿAbd al-Hayy Ḥabībī, ed., *Zain al-akhbār* of Gardīzī (Tehran, 1969), esp. the final chapters; he also edited the *Ṭabaqāt-e Nasīrī* of Jūzjānī (Kabul, 1965) in two vols., the second with notes.

[31] See the *Faḍāʾil-e Balkh*, ed. by ʿA. Habībī (Tehran, 1972). The contemporary book on Qandahar by Muh. Wali Dzalmai (Kabul, 1973) does give geographical information, but it is written in Pashto.

[32] T. I. Kukhtina, ed., *Bibliografiya Afghanistana, literatura na Russkom Yazyke* (Moscow, 1965); W. Kraus, ed., *Bibliographie der Afghanistan–Literatur 1945–1967*, Teil 1, Literatur in Europäischen Sprachen (Hamburg, 1968), and Teil 2, Literatur in persischer Sprache und Paschtu, ed. by G. Knabe (Hamburg, 1971); D. Wilber, *Annotated Bibliography of Afghanistan* (New Haven, 1968); E. Naby, *Recent Books about Afghanistan 1968–1973* (Afghanistan Council, The Asia Society, New York, 1973).

[33] There are other books in series with useful information, such as the general survey of each republic, e.g., D. A. Chumichev, *Tadzhikistan* (Moscow, 1968), on climate, physical features, production, etc. Also the *Atlas Tadzhik SSR* (Moscow, 1968) has historical, as well as contemporary, maps. The *Atlas* of Uzbekistan, on the other hand, is quite poor.

[34] See F. W. König, *Die Persika des Ktesias von Knidos* (Graz, 1972), and several articles by I. V. Pyankov in the *VDI*, such as "Svedeniya Ktesiya o vladeniyakh Bardii na vostoke Irana," no. 4 (1961), 98–103, "Istoriya Persii Ktesiya i sredneaziatskie satrapii Akhemenidov," *VDI*, no. 2 (1965), 35–50.

[35] Markwart, "Die Sogdiana des Ptolemaios," *Orientalia*, 14 (1945), 123–49, and 15 (1946), 286–323; W. Tomaschek, "Zentralasiatische Studien," *Sb WAW*, 87 (1877).

arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi ekspeditsii.[36] Central Asia is also well-represented in the series *Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR*. The vast field of archaeology, of course, cannot be covered and individual publications will be mentioned in the succeeding chapters relative to particular questions.

City histories are also of value for the historical geography of these lands, and the most famous in Central Asia is the history of Bukhara by Narshakhi in Persian (Storey-Bregel, 1108), while the counterpart for Samarqand, known as *al-Qandiyya* (1112) does not contain pre-Islamic information as does Narshakhi. Other local histories of Bukhara or Samarqand are too recent to have information relevant to ancient history or geography. The memoirs of the first Moghul emperor, Babur, contain a geographical sketch of the Ferghana valley and surroundings (828, 1187). Other texts, unfortunately, are of little or no value for ancient times.

A word should be added about maps, since now very detailed aerial maps exist for most of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia, but, unfortunately, access to them is frequently difficult. For example, the photomaps of Afghanistan, prepared for the government of that country by Fairchild Aerial Surveys of Los Angeles (or Teledyne Geotronics), have a scale of 1:50,000 and show surprising details, but they are not available for general use. A stereo-topographic survey of Afghanistan in 1959, produced maps of 1:100,000, printed in 1960. For ordinary purposes, however, maps of 1:1,000,000 are adequate, and these exist in many editions for the entire area. The various Soviet republics have such maps, published by the Glavnoe Upravlenie geodezii i kartografii gos. geologicheskago komiteta SSSR, in Moscow in the 1960's, while the U.S. Army Map Service, Corps of Engineers has available a series of world road maps. The German Army maps, made in the 1930's are also very good for topographical details over the entire area. Unfortunately, no good atlases or series of maps on the ancient history of Iran, Afghanistan or Central Asia exist, and many ancient names cannot be identified with present sites, but at least we are much better informed about geography today than only a few decades ago.

THE ENTIRE AREA

It is no exaggeration to say that rugged mountains and barren deserts have conditioned the lives of Iranians on the Iranian plateau and in Central Asia perhaps more than have similar conditions for other peoples. For the mountains and deserts have divided and separated the people more than rivers or lakes, and consequently many peoples, many languages and dialects and ways of life have developed in isolated valleys. Geography is vitally important for a study and understanding of this part of the world. A common feature of most of the areas under discussion here (modern Iran, Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan) is that they all are on a plateau or series of plateaus, the middle parts of which have the lowest altitudes, while the highest mountain ranges are on the peripheries. Rivers and streams drain into the central depressions, frequently forming salt lakes or dried lake beds which are deserts today. The greatest contrast in height and depth is found between the highest peak of the Elburz range, Mt. Demavend (5604 m.) and the Caspian Sea, less than 100 km. to the north, which is below sea level. Both the Elburz range in the north and the Zagros range to the west, branch off from the Caucasus in the northwest of Iran, the former extending to the east and the latter to the southeast, with many valleys and mountain offshoots. In the east the Elburz range becomes lower with one series of mountains continuing into Afghanistan, while another branch, of less altitude, extends south to the depression of Seistan.

The main characteristic of the Iranian plateau is the drainage of rivers into salt lakes

[36] The southern Turkmen expeditions have a bibliography of writings about them from 1949–69, *Perechen' opublikovannykh rabot i materialov po tematike yuzhna-Turkmanistanskoi arkh. komp. eksp. Akademii Nauk Turkmen. SSR* (Ashkhabad, 1970).

or into the sands in the interior. Other than the Caspian Sea, the largest lake in the world, the salt lake of Urmia (formerly Rezaiye) is the main place of drainage for streams in Azerbaijan. Other lakes are seasonal, spreading over large areas at the end of winter and almost vanishing at the end of summer. Such are the Darya-ye Namak (Salt Lake) east of Qom, the Bakhtegan lake south of Persepolis and Maharlu lake south of Shiraz. In the east, the Hamun in Seistan receives the water of the Helmand River, while other seasonal lakes are much smaller. It is possible that in antiquity all over Iran more water was available than in recent times, and certainly in many regions, such as the mountains of Fars, the vegetation and number of trees were greater than today. But on the whole the land is much the same today as it was 3000 years ago, in both temperatures and landscape. Water and vegetation are and were more plentiful in Azerbaijan than elsewhere, except on the Caspian Sea coast, and the land becomes more arid as one goes south and east, where extensive irrigation was and is necessary for cultivation. The creation and extension of the underground canal system for irrigation, called *qanat* in Iran and *karez* in Afghanistan and Central Asia, developed probably at the beginning of the first millennium B.C., according to some archaeologists, enabled people to move out upon the plains from mountain valleys, thus enabling a larger population to develop.[37] It is conceivable that the spread of the Iranians on the plateau was aided by the *qanat* irrigation system, but in any case the spread of both occurred roughly at the same time.

Afghanistan and Central Asia have much the same geographical features as Iran, except the eastern part of Afghanistan, which lies in the drainage zone of the Indus River basin. Yet even here, in the relation of the mountain highlands of the Hindukush range to the plains of India, we have a parallel with the Zagros range in the west and the plains of Mesopotamia. Internal lakes, into which streams drain, are fewer, smaller and generally higher in altitude in Afghanistan than in Iran. In that part of Central Asia where Iranians in the past established extensive settlements (present Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan), rivers, on the whole, drained into the Caspian or Aral Seas. North of these three areas streams fed the seasonal Lake Balkash and the deep Issyk Kul. The vast steppe lands to the north, however, placed limits on Iranian settlement in that distant region. The general picture of the entire area of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia is the same for all, mountains on the edges and in the middle lands sloping from the mountain ranges, with drainage into internal seas, lakes or marshes. Deserts and general aridity also characterize the entire area, which, for the most part, has a continental climate, except for the narrow bands of land which are adjacent to the Caspian Sea, the Persian Gulf, or the plains of India. Since geography has played such an important role in the history of this part of the world, a more detailed local survey is appropriate. We start with the area of present Iran, then Afghanistan, and finally Central Asia.

[37] On the origins of the important *qanat* system, see P. W. English, "The Origin and Spread of Qanats in the Old World," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 112 (Philadelphia, 1968), 170–81, and H. Goblot, "Dans l'ancien Iran, les techniques de l'eau et la grande histoire," *Annales: économies-sociétés-civilisations*, 18 (Paris, 1962), 499–520. B. Brentjes, "Studien zum Bewässerungsackerbau," *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients*, 11, *AF*, 1 (1974), 53–4, suggests that *qanats* are an Urartian discovery.

IRAN

Since Persis (OP Parsa, NP Fars) was the center from which both the Achaemenid and the Sasanian dynasties arose, we can start with the geography of this part of Iran. Fars can be described best as a series of steps leading from the Persian Gulf to the central deserts of Iran, with the largest and most fertile step or plain being that of present Marvdasht where the ruins of Persepolis stand. It was in the rich valleys running northwest to southeast between ridges of the Zagros range, that the human resources were found several times to expand and create empires. The average annual rainfall of 350 mm. at Shiraz, compared with over a thousand mm. along the Caspian Sea coast, indicates the relative aridity of the south. Nonetheless, the altitude of the mountain valleys, plus water from melting snows provided sufficient water for irrigation, thus enabling a sizable population to live in the broad valleys. The mountains between Pasargadae and Abadeh (the latter still included in Fars) in the past have provided a barrier for communications with the north. The salt and swamp depression, leading from east of modern Abarqu southeast to the pass east of Darab, also provided a natural barrier isolating Fars from the rest of the plateau. The boundaries of Fars, of course, varied at different times because of political events, more than sketched above, but the geographical boundaries can be determined as encompassing the land between the Persian Gulf and the mountains on the north and the salt depression in the east. The salt depression, of course, was nothing like the central deserts of Kavir and Lut, but it was nonetheless an inhospitable band of land varying from 50 to 100 km. in width and descending to 400 m. above sea level east of Darab.

Settlements in Fars, as elsewhere on the plateau, were primarily in oases where water was obtainable for raising vegetables and gardens. These settlements were either in the warm district (*garmsīr*) or in the cold district (*sardsīr*), according to the classical Islamic geographers. By this they meant that a settlement could grow either tropical plants or trees (such as date palms) or temperate ones (apples, pear trees). The oases, of course, could be large or small, but the character of an oasis is determined by the availablility of water. In some plains or broad valleys a succession of small settlements or oases flourished, while in others water was led to a central town, and throughout history the site of this town might vary from place to place.

The Marvdasht region is really a series of connecting plains separated by individual mountains but not by ranges. In other words, one could travel from Malyan tepe (in the Baiḍa district), the site of the ancient Elamite city of Anshan, to Persepolis, continuing to the Bakhtegan salt lake in the south without crossing any mountain pass. To go to Pasargadae from this plain, however, meant following a river, at times through gorges, to climb to a higher altitude where it was much colder in winter. The plain and rolling hills around Pasargadae were better suited for shepherds than for settled folk, and this region, in any case, was the last cultivated area before one reached the mountains of Fars to the north, which were not high but wide and with little vegetation. From Marvdasht (alt. 1737 m.) to the west one descended, passing over mountain ranges, to the next and lower step on the plateau, the present Shiraz–Kāwar–Khafr–Jahrum series of plains going south, or Shiraz–Guyum–Ardakan to the north. Again no high mountain passes break up this chain of valleys or plains, and the drainage of water is also into a salt lake, called today Maharlu, to the south of Shiraz.

The altitudes of settlements also are lower towards the south, from c. 2212 m. at Ardakan to c. 1600 m. at Shiraz and 1065 m. at Jahrum. Three side plains were located southeast of Maharlu lake, that of Sarvistan (alt. c. 1645 m.), Fasa (c. 1560 m.) and Darab (c. 1188 m.). The altitudes are important to show the descent from a higher northern part of the step to a lower one. The next step towards the Gulf was down to the plains of Firuzabad (c. 1350 m.), Kazerun (c. 815 m.), Fahliyan (886 m.) and even lower, Behbehan (335 m.), actually in Khuzistan province, where the greatest altitude, unlike the other steps, is reversed, descending from south to north. After this, we find mountain ranges going down to sea level on the Persian Gulf. Only the coastal plain of Borazjan–Bushire is wide enough for extensive settlements, depending primarily on the date palm as their major agricultural product. In the south of Fars a few isolated valleys, which have never supported a large population, have served as way stations for merchants travelling from the Gulf to northern centers. The most important valley is that of Khunj–Ivaz–Lar (909 m.) where even today local dialects are spoken, an indication of its isolation from the rest of Fars. Thus, Fars itself is isolated on all sides, from the mountains rising from the Gulf to the great altitude drop in the Bandar ʿAbbas depression east of Darab and the salt desert band east of Abarqu and north and east of Darab. The cohesion of this part of Iran, seen also in the dialects which constitute a unity with modern Persian, strikes the traveller in comparison with other parts of the country. None of the rivers here are navigable, and mountains dominate the landscape. Also the people, especially in villages, seem less variegated than elsewhere in Iran, probably the result of the isolation. Finally, because of the variety of climate, altitudes and large tracts fit only for herding, traditionally Fars has been a province with the greatest variety of migrating nomads in all of Iran. Nomadism seems to have flourished here from early times, and the relatively short distances from summer to winter quarters, just as on the eastern rim of the plateau in Afghanistan and the plains of India, have encouraged the development of nomadic life.

The same situation, of course, also obtained in the present day province of Khuzistan where nomads moved in the summer from the plains of Mesopotamia onto the Zagros range, and this has been a constant feature of the history of this province. The navigable Karun River, widest in Iran, flows through the province, but it must be remembered that the land to the south of Ahwaz, to the Gulf, was not occupied in historic times, except along the river banks, whereas north of Ahwaz the land was fertile and heavily cultivated. A number of tributaries of the Karun make Khuzistan a well-watered province. Here was located the Elamite city of Susa, and other ancient towns, and since this region is an extension of the plains of Mesopotamia to the east, influences from the west always have been strong.

The wide mountainous tract to the north and east of Khuzistan is Luristan, where the population is and was different from the people on the plains. Luristan, however, was not like Fars, with wide and long plains between the mountains, but rather many small and narrow valleys with a variety of settlements separated from each other. Also roads pass through Luristan, connecting the plains with the plateau, corridors of trade. Thus, the geography of Luristan, unlike Fars, was not conducive to the unity of the people inhabiting this large area. Furthermore, control of Luristan from the outside was always difficult and nominal.

The only centers of population which could expand, were in valleys on the edges of Luristan, such as present Borujird. Khurramabad, on the other hand, was important rather for its strategic location on a trade route to the plains of Khuzistan. Settlements might vary in location from age to age, but there was not much livable space between the mountains for great displacements of people. Even as today, Luristan in the past provided summer quarters for the inhabitants of the plain seeking to escape the excessive heat.

We find a similar situation in the northern Zagros mountains, in Kurdistan and Azerbaijan, while the ancient road from Babylon to Khurasan in the east, sometimes called the 'Silk Route,' was a dividing line between Luristan and Kurdistan. The latter, comprising the mountainous areas from Kermanshah north to Lake Urmia at present shows an interesting linguistic division between Kurdish and Turkish speakers. In the mountains to the west of the valley of the Simin and Zirineh Rivers, where the present-day towns of Mahabad, Saqqiz and Bijar are found, the population is Kurdish-speaking, while in the lower areas, the line of towns from present Miyandoab south through Takab, and in the mountains to the east, the population is Turkish-speaking. It is doubtful whether this present split represents an ancient division rather than being the result of political and other factors. One may rather consider the entire area of Kurdistan and Azerbaijan as a geographic whole, with more of a significant geographical division existing in the mountains between the Van and Urmia lakes than between the valleys inside of Azerbaijan. Geographically speaking, lake Urmia can be considered a link rather than a barrier between the eastern and western parts of Azerbaijan, and the land along the western shore of the lake from Urmia through Salmas, then north to Khoi and Maku presents no great geographical barrier to the movement of peoples. It is curious that, regardless of political controls and divisions, the ethnic boundary between Armenians and Iranians, in Sasanian times if not earlier, was the line of hills separating the present district of Urmia from Salmas, and generally this seems to have been the border between the Urartians and the Manneans before the coming of the Armenians and Iranians.

It must be remembered that routes of communication in antiquity did not necessarily follow modern highways, since wheeled vehicles were very little in use in Iran; instead pack animals, such as donkeys, mules and camels, carried merchandise over mountain passes and plains. Nonetheless, the pack animals followed the lines of least resistance, and the modern road from Mt. Ararat and Maku in the northwest through Tabriz, Mianeh, Qazvin, Tehran, Semnan and to Khurasan, was the main trade artery together with the branch which descended from the plateau at Hamadan through Kermanshah to the plains of Mesopotamia. Since these were also the routes of invasion and conquest from earliest times, the populations along these routes were variegated and did not present the same unity of peoples along them as, for example, the inhabitants of Fars. Control of the 'Silk Route' to the east and of the branch through Azerbaijan to the Black Sea, would ensure control of most of the Iranian plateau, and this control was necessary to maintain an empire, or even unity over the plateau. In Azerbaijan present settlements along the route, such as Marand, Tabriz, and Mianeh, were also ancient centers, showing the continuity of routes from antiquity. Other towns such as Maragheh, Ardabil and Ahar are not on important routes of communication but owed their importance on the whole to agriculture. It is

richer in Azerbaijan than elsewhere on the plateau because of the relative abundance of underground water, as well as streams from melting snow on the mountains, not to mention the soil itself, in many places lava from now extinct volcanoes.

One area of Azerbaijan is different from the rest, and that is the low-lying steppe of Mughan, which served in later times as a winter camping ground for the Mongols and Turkish nomads. This lowland, which continues north across the Aras River, was the division in the northeast between Iranian speakers and the land and people known as Aghvan to Armenians, Arran to the Arabs and Albania to the Greeks. Since this was non-Iranian land in the north we need not describe it. The eastern boundary of Azerbaijan was not the Caspian Sea but rather the high mountains along the coast with a narrow band of coastline which is part of the Caspian provinces, with a landscape very different from the rest of Iran. Those provinces are Talysh, Gilan and Mazandaran.

The coastal area of Gilan, including Iranian Talysh, is roughly 225 km. long from northwest to southeast and the width varies from 15 km. or less in the Talysh area of Astara to over 100 km. by Rasht. The actual plain, however, excluding foothills, is even narrower, varying from a few hundred meters near Astara to 45 km. at Rasht. On the Caspian side of the Elburz mountains are many trees, thick underbrush, called locally a *jangal*. To the east both water and vegetation decrease, but many streams descend from the mountains to the Caspian, making communications along the shore difficult. Just as in the west the delta of the Safid Rud and its tributaries provided a flat agricultural area for development, with its center at Rasht, so in the east the Haraz and Babol Rivers with many tributaries made the plain of Mazandaran a center of population. But in the east, unlike the west, the plain continues further, to the east of the Caspian Sea, forming the wider plain of Gurgan, ancient Hyrcania. Mazandaran and Gurgan were linked in history, and both were open to invasion from the steppes of Central Asia. The jungles of well-watered Gilan and Mazandaran give way, however, to the forests of the hills of Gurgan, and the mountains to the south did shield the inhabitants of the Caspian provinces from penetration from the south. Archaeology has uncovered remains of ancient cultures in sites such as Marlik, Kaluraz and Kalardasht, located in the northern foothills, or even in the higher valleys of the Elburz mountains. It is unlikely that the marshes and jungles of the plains were much inhabited in early times, but the hills were fertile and watered, enabling people to live there. It has not been possible to determine by archaeology when the Caspian plains were settled, but probably by the Achaemenid period settlements were being established on the plains. Much like India, the lowlands of the Caspian were invaded, but the reverse, an expansion from the lowlands to the mountains and onto the plateau, was rare.

The southern sides of the Elburz mountains on the plateau are the opposite of the north where winds drop their moisture, as they try to cross the lofty range. The aridity of the southern slopes is progressive, however, for the further south one goes from the Elburz the less moisture is found. Therefore, the band of land from the mountains, one might say from Hamadan through Qazvin, Tehran to Semnan and Damghan, is, and has been, the most practical route of communication from west to east. Settlements are found on the route where water is available, and this is the main reason for the continuous existence from ancient times of a town at Hamadan, where

springs and streams from Mt. Alvand bring water. Likewise at Qazvin not only do streams bring water from the nearby mountains, but the strategic location as a crossroads to the Caspian provinces, to Azerbaijan, to Hamadan and to the east, insures the continuous existence of a town from antiquity. Further, at Semnan but especially at Damghan, which is probably a much older site, the presence of water enables settlements to flourish. North of Damghan the copious spring, today called Chashmeh-ye ʿAli, undoubtedly provided water for early settlement on the plain, first at Hekatompylos (present ruins of Qumis) and later at Damghan. Thus along the trade route to the east, access to water provided the means of settlement.

The same is true of the road south to Fars along the edge of the Kavir salt desert. At Kashan the spring of water at Fin, in the mountains to the southwest of the present city, provided a similar basis for ancient settlement as at the area of Damghan. On the edge of mountains with streams leading down to the central salt depressions of Iran, ancient man established himself. The large oasis of Isfahan, however, was watered by the Zayandeh River. All of the principal settlements were and are about 1000 m. in altitude or higher, for the depressions where streams on the interior of the plateau debouched are salt marshes where life is not possible. The main settled part of the western Iranian plateau, comprising the area of Hamadan–Qazvin–Tehran–Isfahan, was frequently under a single political administration, since there were no great obstacles to communication between these cities. The southeastern part of Iran, however, is more difficult of access, and is also more arid.

The same pattern of settlement prevailed here as in the north; wherever streams descended from the mountains, or springs existed, settled human life was possible. The mountains of the center of the land, however, are not as high as the Elburz or Zagros ranges. The present city of Kerman lies 1860 m. above sea level and is separated from the Lut desert to the north by a range of mountains, while a former capital of the province, Sirjan, is 1650 m. high. Because of the altitude, summers are not so intolerable as one might expect in an area in the south. Because it is south, however, in the lowlands date palms, mango trees and other tropical plants may be found. East of present day Kerman city, however, the land slopes to 1000 m. at Bam and then much lower to the east of Bam in the desert sands. Historically, as well as geographically, the Lut desert and the sands to the east of Bam have divided the Iranian plateau into its western and eastern parts, the latter of which continues into present Afghanistan and Pakistan. The only parts of the eastern part of the modern country of Iran which sustained settled populations in the past are Seistan and the Bampur valley of Baluchistan in the south. Seistan is the large plain into which the Helmand River from the mountains of Afghanistan empties, and it lies under 1000 m. above sea level, and in parts even down to 300 m. The wind is especially strong here and a local summer wind of '120 days' shapes the sand and creates dunes. But the overflow of water from the Helmand in the spring creates large reed marshes or shallow lakes, called *hamun* or "plain." The number and size of these *hamuns* varies according to the season and also depending on the amount of water brought by the Farah and Helmand Rivers from the snow on the mountains. The Seistan depression is large in area, most of which lies within the borders of present Afghanistan. To the north of the Seistan depression, and east of Qaen, is a similar but considerably smaller depression called the Namaksar where salt marshes or lakes block communications

between east and west. Here, as usual on the plateau, settlements are at high altitudes to the west of the depression, with Birjand 1490 m. and Turbat-e Haidariyeh 1370 m. It is clear that human habitation in antiquity as today flourished primarily on streams on the slopes of mountain ranges, for the drainage basins of small streams were saline. The large basin of Seistan, however, was an exception, since the water from rivers was ample enough to provide a source of livelihood in fish and fowl, as well as water for irrigation. Nonetheless, Seistan always must have fluctuated between years of plenty and years of scarcity, with salinity an ever present threat to overcome.

A similar situation may be found in Baluchistan where the drainage of several small rivers, such as the Bampur River, is into the salt lake of Jaz Muryan. In antiquity, as at present, settlements were found along the rivers, the Halil River to the west, descending from the Kerman mountains, and the Bampur in the east. In neither, however, did any centers of population exist, since the land was too barren and unproductive to sustain many people. The Makran mountains down to the coast are about as unhospitable a landscape as may be found anywhere on earth, and not until the Indus River Valley in the east can any extensive land for cultivation be found. One may characterize all of Baluchistan, from the Kerman highlands to the Indus River, as a kind of refuge area where people retreated, either driven out of more favorable land, or simply fleeing to maintain a free and unattached life, albeit one of great hardships.

The only trees to be found are palm trees in oases, together with mangroves, and occasionally tamarisk and other bushes elsewhere. The climate is exceedingly hot in the summer and is not conducive to any human activity. The coastal plains, varying in width from a few kilometers up to 100 at Bushire and a similar extent at Bandar ʿAbbas and Minab, usually have had a minimum of contact with the interior, but rather communication has been across the sea. Fishing and date palms provide sustenance for the small population able to eke out a livelihood from the surroundings. The mountains and deserts which separate the coasts from the towns on the interior of the plateau are formidable barriers to commerce and communications, and only at Bushire and at Bandar ʿAbbas have seaports existed which served the hinterland as outlets for trading goods.

Just as the southern ports have served as entrepôts for seaborn trade, so on the northeastern frontier of Khurasan towns on the edge of the desert have served as places of entry for nomads and merchants with caravans coming across the Kara Kum desert. The valleys between the two ranges of mountains, the Turkmen or Kopet Dagh range in the north, forming the present boundary between Iran and Turkmenistan, and the southern Khurasan or Binalud range north of Nishapur, are relatively fertile and well watered by underground canals from the mountains. Human settlement in this region is old, and locations of ancient towns are almost predictable, as for example, at Tus or Meshhed, or at Isfarain, a fertile valley in the mountains. The mountains of Khurasan are not high and passes through them are frequent. On the northern slopes of the Turkmen range lies the ancient Parthian city of Nisa, near present day Ashkabad, and seemingly from ancient times a settlement in this region (as at Anau) has served as a center of trade along an east–west axis. Southern Turkmenistan, both geographically as well as historically, is an extension of the Iranian plateau in the north, and the same features of aridity and settlements where water is found apply here.

The natural resources of Iran are many, but in antiquity few were exploited. In antiquity copper was mined, one might better say stripped from on, or just below, the surface, in the central deserts of Iran at Anarak and north of Kerman. Metallurgy developed in Iran early with alloys of copper, such as bronze, soon superceding copper. Tin was mined in Azerbaijan near Tabriz while lead, zinc, and iron were found in the mountains of Khurasan and Kerman. Gold and silver were also mined in antiquity, all of which made Iran a source of metals for craftsmen all over the Near East. Local craftsmen made Iran famous for its luxury arts and crafts throughout history, and textiles, rugs and ceramics were items of trade in the past as at present. Wood too was important for the crafts as well as for building, and one may assume that the mountain slopes were more covered with trees in antiquity than today, although no great changes in climate or water supply can be detected.

The area of present day Iran is vast with many differences in climate and soil, from the jungles of Gilan to the lifeless mountains and deserts of Baluchistan. On the plateau the climate is continental with cold winters and hot summers, and settled life flourished in sheltered valleys where a water supply was available. Only on the edges of the plateau did this pattern vary. On the south Caspian coast and in Khuzistan ample rainfall enabled rice and other subtropical foodstuffs to grow. Yet the intense summer heat in Khuzistan makes any activity there virtually impossible for months of the year. The southern seacoast, extending to the Indus River, is too arid to produce anything except bare subsistence for a small population. On the plateau we find what one may describe as oasis settlements, either a series of small oases, or villages or urban centers with surroundings, such as Isfahan or Shiraz. The urban center may be more or less stationary because the water supply is constant, such as in the city of Hamadan. Or the city may shift its location over centuries, such as Nishapur. Also the names of cities appear and disappear or change. Sometimes the name of a town vanished while the district retained the name of the town, such as Qumis (Komisene) in Khurasan. Identifications of archaeological sites thus present problems, although, as noted above, the possibilities of ancient settlement were little different from what they are today. Nonetheless the very number of those possibilities in each valley or plain is not small, since present day villages were once large towns, and cities of today were once villages. Possibly nowhere on earth do we find evidence of the ebb and flow of history, the rise and fall of cities, with consequent deserted ruins, so prominent on the surface of the soil, as in Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia. When the soil becomes too saline or the water table sinks, people will abandon a town or village, and the mud walls and ruins of houses will remain visible for years or even centuries. Sometimes entire cities, like Bam east of Kerman, were abandoned, providing tourist sites at the present time. Nowhere does the phrase – vicissitudes of time and the changes of fortune – seem more apt in its visible evidences than in this part of the world.

AFGHANISTAN

The extension of the Iranian plateau to the east ends in a great mass of mountains, which like the Zagros range in the west, has been a refuge area for many peoples. The geography of what is today Afghanistan and the western borderlands of Pakistan, for our purposes can be best understood as the area of four drainage systems where

agriculture and settled life for little more than a handful of people were possible. The mountains, from which all rivers take their sources, in the center of the country and in the east, have inhibited close contacts between the various parts of the country which, in any case, is a political creation of recent times. The Hari River with its principal city of Herat, loses its water in the sands now in the Turkmen SSR. Similar to the Khurasan province of Iran, historically Herat usually has been part of a western kingdom or empire, rather than of the east. On the other hand, Herat has served as a pivotal area for trade and invasion routes from the north to the southeast, to the plains of the Indian subcontinent, as much as a station on east-west trade routes. The valley of the Hari Rud is fertile, and it has been a source of wealth for the inhabitants enabling them to develop in the past a center of civilization in this region. The central mountains have been a barrier for communications between Herat and the Kabul valley in the east, which is revealed in culture by the Persian orientation of the former and the Indian for the latter. To the south, the road to Qandahar and thence to India crosses barren plains and rivers, but there is no formidable barrier to contacts, either between Herat and Seistan, or Herat and Qandahar. To the northeast of Herat, over a low range of mountains, lies the district of Badghis with the Murghab River, also draining north, but into the Merv oasis. This district, at present called Qala-ye No after the main town, is primarily an excellent pastureland with some fertile valleys, but which could never support a population comparable to the Hari Rud valley. If it were not for the summer wind of '120 days,' summers in Herat would be intolerable, since the low altitude of the city (c. 690 m.) would not provide relief from the hot sun. Other ancient places of settlement in the area included Fushang (today: Zendajan), some 45 km. to the west of Herat on the river, Aspozar or Isfizar (today: Shindand or Sabzevar) south of Herat, and Merv-e Rud (today: Bala Murghab) on the river of the same name. One may presume that ancient and modern centers of population differed little in their locations on this part of the Iranian plateau.

The second system of drainage in Afghanistan empties the present Farah, Khash and Helmand Rivers, as well as smaller streams, into the perennial lakes or *hamuns* of Seistan. The Helmand is a 1300 km. long river, and in the spring it carries a large volume of water along its course. We have already mentioned Seistan in the discussion of Iranian provinces, and if the Afghan region is added, as it should be from an historical viewpoint, the entire area was very extensive and a center of civilization from ancient times. Seistan was larger than the comparable Merv and Bukhara oases in the north, and irrigation was widely practiced here in antiquity. The lower Helmand River basin was much more cultivated than it is today, but one must go up the river to the district of Qandahar and the confluences of the Arghandab, Tarnak and other rivers with the Helmand, to find comparable extensive cultivation and centers of population. On both sides of the lower course of the river are deserts, and there is no reason to suppose that in antiquity the cultivable land was much more extensive on either side of the river than it is today. The name Helmand, (Avestan: Haetumant) means 'rich in dams,' an apt description of a river which even today is the source of irrigation for a large expanse of land. The valleys of the many rivers and streams which descend southward from the central mountain massif are also fertile and productive, and one may suppose that this area was the homeland of the Pashtun or Pathan tribes to be discussed in the next chapter. The district of Qandahar,

however, not only maintained contacts with Seistan down the river, but also with Ghazna, 'the treasury' and Kabul. In antiquity the Qandahar–Ghazna route was on the border between Iranian- and Indian-speaking populations.

Strictly speaking, the third drainage system of Afghanistan, the Kabul River and its tributaries, in ancient times was part of the Indian sphere of influence rather than the Iranian, and the river itself was part of the Indus River system. There are three large valleys which have been centers of settlement according to archaeologists, the Panjsher with the Koh-e Daman valley, the Kabul and the Logar valleys. The first valley is the highest in altitude (c. 2800 m.), and it lies north of the Helmand watershed as the first valley of the Kabul River basin. The Kabul valley (alt. c. 2200 m.) was important from ancient times as the crossroads of routes from north and south, and on the edge of the descent to the plains of India. The mountains to the east of Kabul quickly give way to lower altitudes, and the plain of Nangrahar (or Jalalabad) averages about 600 m., very hot in summer. To the north of Kabul the valley of Koh-e Daman is lower than Kabul, and with an average altitude of 1600 m., protected by the high Hindukush mountains to the north, the climate is also milder. Other, narrower valleys, such as the Ghorband and the high Bamiyan valley (c. 2800 m.), were less populous in antiquity than Koh-e Daman. The ethnic populations of these areas will be discussed in the next chapter, but suffice it to say that in all of them mixtures of Iranian and of Indian speakers occurred in ancient times. The high mountains of the Hindukush and the narrow valleys of Nuristan (formerly Kafiristan), have created many refuge areas where people have fled from invasion or persecution, a paradise for linguists and anthropologists. Mining was practiced in the Hindukush mountains in antiquity, and the principal source of lapis lazuli was in Badakhshan on the northern slopes of the mountains.

The northern slopes of the Hindukush, which is the watershed between the Kabul and Oxus River basins, have many fertile but narrow valleys, through which streams descend to the Oxus or Amu Darya. But it is the plains of Turkestan which were covered with many irrigation canals in older times, and which provided cultivation adequate to support a large population.

The altitude of the plain of Turkestan varies from 350 to 400 m., a considerable drop from the mountains to the south, and it is in these plains that ancient cities existed where today their counterparts of Sheberghan, Aqcha, Mazar-e Sharif and Kunduz flourish. The largest city on the plains was Balkh, called 'mother of cities' by the invading Arabs, but today it has been replaced by Mazar-e Sharif. Many streams from the mountains do not reach the Oxus but are either used for irrigation or simply evaporate and vanish. The land on the southern banks of the Oxus on the whole is flat and sandy, while on the northern, present Soviet side, cliffs and mountains predominate. To the west, the plains of Turkestan become the Kara Kum desert, while to the east the mountains of Badakhshan lead to Wakhan and the Pamirs, where only hardy nomads can eke out an existence.

The central mountains of Afghanistan, where the four river systems take their rise, have never been centers of population, and only the Bamiyan valley has had sizable permanent settlements in the past, for it was situated on a route leading from Balkh over the mountains to Kabul. In summary, one may conclude that settlement patterns in the area of present-day Afghanistan were concentrated in the hills and plains

around the central mountains, which were well watered, such as Seistan, Herat, Qandahar and the plains of Turkestan, except for the mountain valleys around Kabul, which combined provided sustenance for a large population, hence a base for power for a kingdom. The mountains to the east are parallel to the Zagros mountain range on the western side of the plateau. In both many narrow valleys and series of mountain ranges have provided regions of retreat or refuge for various peoples, and both are the farthest extent of Iranian-speaking peoples, to the lowlands of India in the east and to Mesopotamia in the west. Like the Zagros, the eastern mountains of Afghanistan were formerly more wooded, but the lack of rainfall and the extremes of temperature with a severe continental climate all over the plateau, never permitted the growth of population similar to the Indus, or Tigris–Euphrates lowlands. The people of the lowlands were rarely tempted to venture far into the mountains, whereas the rich, alluvial plains were always an attraction for the hardy inhabitants of the highlands. The relative inaccessibility of the sea coasts from the plateau did not induce the Iranian peoples to become seafarers, and neither the Caspian nor the Persian Gulf with the Arabian Sea played an important role in history for the peoples of the plateau, and Central Asia was even more isolated from the sea.

CENTRAL ASIA

A comparison of the altitudes of the principal cities at once reveals that Turkestan or Central Asia lies off the Iranian plateau. In the west the Caspian Sea depression extends across the Kara Kum and Kizil Kum deserts, which are really one desert separated by the Oxus River, to the mountains which descend from the Pamirs and the T'ien Shan range to the northeast. Ashkabad, capital of the Turkmen republic and near ancient Nisa, is 240 m.; Merv is slightly higher while Khiva in the delta of the Oxus is less than 100 m., and Bukhara is similar to Merv. To the east altitudes rise and Samarqand is almost 900 m. in some areas of the extended city, but Tashkent is only 455 m. An extension of lowlands to the east lies between mountains in the fertile Ferghana valley where Leninabad (former Khodjent) is 400 m., Kokand 396 m., Andijan c. 450 m., and Margilan 576 m. This valley provides the easiest access from the west over the mountains to Chinese Turkestan and the city of Kashgar. Just as the mountains to the south of the Oxus have many valleys descending to the river, so do the mountains of present-day Tajikistan to the north. The Hissar–Alai mountain range has three main rivers which water narrow but fertile valleys, the Surkhan Darya, the Kafirnigan and the Vakhsh. The last is the longest and takes its origin on the Alai plateau which provides a trade route to Chinese Turkestan, as well as excellent pasturage for the flocks and horses of nomads. In history the lands watered by the three rivers have been more closely tied to the plains of Afghan Turkestan than with Samarqand or Bukhara. The climate is also milder in winter here, protected by mountains to the north, than it is on the open areas to the west subject to winds blowing from Siberia. Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, lies 824 m. high and has hot summers but mild winters. The great mountain complex of the Pamirs, with many glaciers, provides water for three great rivers, the Indus to the south, and the Oxus and Jaxartes (Syr Darya) to the west, not to mention streams flowing eastward into Chinese Turkestan.

The delta of the Oxus River was an important center of culture in the past (Khwarazm), but not the delta of the Jaxartes.

Khwarazm (present Khorezm) is the low-lying land south of the Aral Sea mostly on the west side of the Oxus River. The eastern bank is more hilly than the opposite bank, and water for irrigation is taken from the river predominantly on the western side. Archaeologists have found ancient remains here, and one may infer that an early center of civilization flourished in this fertile region. The question of the ancient course of the Oxus River has never been conclusively resolved. For there are those who still claim that it emptied into the Caspian Sea at times, flowing into a depression known as Sarikamysh and then down a channel called the Uzboi, even though there is no evidence that the Oxus did flow into the Caspian Sea in ancient times. The situation in prehistoric times is unknown, and accounts of the river changing its lower course in the Islamic period are uncertain. In any case, the center of Khwarazm was located on the river over a hundred kilometers from the Aral Sea, below any turning off to the Caspian Sea, which appears unlikely in the historical period with which we are concerned.

The antiquity of settlement in Khwarazm is matched by the Merv oasis, with the added advantage of lying on the important trade route from Iran to Central Asia and China. Its location seems to have made this oasis on the Murghab River more important than the lower course of the Hari Rud (called the Tejend), which also lost its water in the desert, although the town of Sarakhs on the latter was similar to Merv on the Murghab. Water being the key to life in the deserts of Central Asia, river valleys are natural places for settlements, but the rise of towns on them is usually determined by their location on trade routes. Merv, situated in the Kara Kum desert, was the stopping place for caravans plying between the Iranian plateau and Bukhara and the Zarafshan valley.

The oasis of Bukhara, like that of Merv, utilized the water of a river, here the Zarafshan, before it disappeared in the sands, and like Merv, the rise of Bukhara must have followed the development of trade. The prosperity of the Merv oasis, the Bukhara oasis, and many other sites in Central Asia, depended on the efficacy of the irrigation systems. In fact, so important is this all over this area, as well as Iran and Afghanistan, that the ancient Iranians may be called the practitioners of an irrigation civilization *par excellence*. It was extensive development and expansion of irrigation systems which brought prosperity and civilization to the settlements such as Merv, Bukhara and Samarqand, although all three owed their rise to their locations on trade routes.

One of the ancient centers of settlement in Central Asia was the Ferghana valley, a rich area enclosed by mountains to the north, east and south, some 300 km. long and 70 km. wide, watered by the Jaxartes. To the west is a narrow desert strip called the 'Hungry Steppe,' some 7 km. wide, which continues into the larger Kizil Kum desert; so the Ferghana valley is virtually an isolated valley varying from 350 to 900 m. in altitude. The relatively low altitude, as well as the mountains, protect the valley from the cold north winds of winter to which Tashkent and Bukhara are subjected. The middle of the valley has much barren steppe land, but the foothills of the mountains are relatively rich in verdure. Archaeologists have reavealed very early settlements in the valley, and the existence of various minerals in the surrounding mountains

undoubtedly further enhanced the attractions of the irrigated land as a good place to settle, for mining was also practiced at an early date.

To the north of the Ferghana valley, and in the foothills to the east of the Kizil Kum desert was the oasis of Chach, today Tashkent, which was also settled in early times, although probably not as extensively as either the Ferghana valley or Samarqand. To the east of Chach the mountains hindered both communications and settlement such that the main road to the east ran north skirting the mountains, and then turned east over low passes to the Talas River valley. Again skirting the Kara-tau and Ala-tau mountain ranges, the road continued eastward towards the Altai Mountains. The vast steppes of northern Central Asia and southern Siberia were traversed by Iranian nomads called by a generic term, Sakas, when we first hear of them in the sixth century B.C. But here too, as in the south, the valleys of the Chu and Ili Rivers had settlements from early times.

Not only did Iranian nomads reach the Altai mountains, but they also spilled into Chinese Turkestan, which, before the Turkic expansion, was in great measure Iranized. Today only some 20,000 Iranian speakers survive in the Sarykol valley of the Chinese Pamirs with the principal town of Tashkurghan. The northern and southern sides of the Taklamakan desert in Chinese Turkestan were inhabitated by Iranians, as well as others, and traces of ancient settlements have been found on dried-up stream beds far into the desert. The extreme aridity of the entire area makes any settlement entirely dependent on irrigation, and in the southern rim of the Tarim Basin, as it is called, the only oasis of importance is Khotan because of two rivers which bring water down from the Kunlun mountains to the south. The Kunlun mountains and the Tibetan plateau made communications with the south almost impossible, and only two arduous routes to the west were important in history. The first, and most used, northern route we have briefly mentioned above. It followed the Surkhab (Turki: Kizilsu) River through the Alai plateau over the mountains to Kashgar. The southern route followed the Wakhan corridor in present Afghanistan through the eastern Pamirs to the valley of Sarykol. The easiest access to the Tarim basin of Chinese Turkestan was from the north over several passes of the Tien Shan mountains. The eastern part of the Tarim, on the borders of China, comprises a salt desert, called Lop Nor, once a prehistoric sea, stretching almost 300 km. in length. Human habitation was always at a minimum here. On the northern side of the Tarim, however, several oases have flourished in history, such as Aqsu, Kucha and Turfan, probably because water is more available from streams descending from mountains to the north, and there is more fertile ground, not as eroded as the characteristic loess earth of the south.

The reason why Chinese Turkestan has been included in the geographical survey of ancient Iranian civilizations is that Iranian Sakas lived in the oasis of Khotan and vicinity for centuries before becoming absorbed by Turks, and the northern string of oases formed a trade route to China over which Sogdian merchants travelled and made settlements. The oasis of Turfan has yielded valuable documents in the Sogdian, Parthian and Middle Persian languages, of inestimable value in many fields. We will return to this in the chapter on demography.

This survey of the lands where Iranians lived in the past indicates the common features of terrain in Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia. We must repeat that

mountains, deserts and oases, with settlements based on irrigation, are the hallmarks of life in this part of the world. There was rarely any excess of agricultural produce, or rather foodstuffs, to trade; rather minerals and objects of craftsmanship, such as textiles and carpets, were the mainstay of trade from ancient times. Also the difference between the dweller in an oasis, and one on the bleak steppes, mountains or deserts, was always marked. The contrast also between the verdure of a well-watered oasis, which seemed a haven of security, and the forbidding land outside, was sharp, and this conditioned human attitudes about nature and the land in which the Iranian lived. Extremes of temperature and frequent earthquakes, flash floods, and other ravages of nature, tested the endurance of humans, and left them ever ready to migrate to the more fertile and less harsh lowlands of India or Mesopotamia. If anything has conditioned the lives of Iranians, it is this sharp contrast in nature, between the huge, arid, barren, forbidding mountains and deserts and the irrigated garden surrounded by mud walls to keep out the sand and the encroachments of a hostile outside world. The word 'paradise' is Iranian in origin, and it originally meant an enclosed garden where the ruler hunted his favorite game which had been introduced into the enclosure for that purpose.

From this geographical survey of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia, it is clear that there could be neither unity nor large populations here like the Nile and Tigris–Euphrates River basins. Vast areas, for the most part, could only be ruled for a short time by either nomadic or tribal states, or by some kind of feudal alliances. The problems of communication and holding allegiances were enormous, yet some sort of adherence or allegiance to Iranian culture permeated the entire area, at least until the expansion of the Turks changed much of the demography. The conflict between steppe and sown area also has been a thread running through the history of this part of the world. In general one may say that geography and natural conditions have always played an important role in this vast area, and nature has not been predictable or gentle.

The earthquakes and other natural catastrophes are constant features of this entire area, so man has lived in the shadow of an unpredictable nature over millennia of years. For the history of culture and civilization, however, the means by which people overcame their isolation and traded with each other, exchanging ideas as well as articles of trade, was of primary importance. River valleys, passes over mountains and watering places in the desert assumed a greater importance than in other regions of the globe. This is why an understanding of geography, which might not be so relevant to the study of the history of others, in the case of the lands occupied by Iranians is of paramount importance, and in the pages to follow constant reference will be made to the geography of the area.

CHAPTER II

DEMOGRAPHY

Anthropologists have made many studies of towns and villages in Iran, Afghanistan and Soviet Central Asia. Linguists have investigated varieties of dialects, but ancient historians have been overwhelmingly concerned, on the whole, with events reported by chronicles or other written sources, perforce mainly concerned with the royal courts or more rarely with religious leaders or intellectuals including poets and men of letters. We should remember that few written records of the ancient past are concerned with the life of the common folk, and even among them, nomads or villagers are rarely mentioned, civilization and writing being bound to the urban environment. Nonetheless, populations did change with rather important consequences for the history of the entire area. One may divide people in the Iranian cultural area between settled people, nomads, and mountaineers, plus urban dwellers, although other patterns of classification might be made. The modes of life of these four divisions have been constant throughout history although the people who followed the various ways of life have not remained static. To understand the past of the common folk we must consider the present and then frequently interpolate from know to unknown. That is why anthropological and even sociological studies, as well as linguistic research, must be heeded by anyone trying to recover the past of this part of the world. A survey of relevant bibliography shows many gaps.

Literature: Iran, General: There is no comprehensive survey of the peoples of Iran except in general books on the country which include chapters on demography. Usually these accounts are brief and inadequate, but one should be mentioned, since it is more comprehensive than others: N. Y. Kislyakov, ed., *Narody Perednei Azii* (Moscow, 1957), 173–308, dealing with the non-Turkic population of Iran. Individual studies of both settled and nomadic peoples exist; two brief chapters, on the 'people' (318–55) and 'distribution of the population' (356–93) are relevant to our concern in *Persia*, Geographical Handbook Series, Naval Intelligence Division (London, 1945). Few of them have any relevance to pre-Islamic times; some, however, do provide interesting information which can be interpolated back to the past, for example the census. The Iranian Statistical Centre in Tehran is in charge of the results of the census; the first real census was made in 1956 and published in 110 parts in Tehran beginning in 1961, while the next census, of 1966, is still being printed. Several general studies on the population of Iran have appeared; F. Firoozi, "Demographic Review, Iranian Censuses," *The Middle East Journal*, 24 (Washington, 1970), 220–28, and a popular discussion by H. Goblot, "La structure de la population de l'Iran," *L'Ethnographie*, 57 (Paris, 1964), 33–54. Before the 1956 census most statistics on population were mere guesses. While reliable figures are lacking the present locations of settlements and cultivation can provide clues to past settlement and population patterns, for the land and availability of water have not changed much over the centuries.

It is not germane to our task to list studies of physical types or races in Iran, since mixtures of cranial types and skeletons are found in the earliest excavations, and only extensive comparison of these with modern skulls might give us an idea of significant racial changes in Iran's history. Very roughly, one might say that today in the northern part of Iran brachycephals with curved 'Armenoid' noses are more common than in the south where narrow-faced dolichocephalics may predominate, and this seems to have been true of the past as of the present. On the physical anthropology of Iran at present see H. Field, *Contributions to the Anthropology of Iran*, Field Museum of Natural History, vols. 29–30 (Chicago, 1939; reprinted 1968). Most publications of archaeological excavations in Iran have a section on skeletal

material, and one general survey of ancient man, based on remains from Tepe Hissar is by W. M. Krogman, "The peoples of early Iran and their ethnic affiliations," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 26 (Philadelphia 1940), 269–308. For earlier man see C. S. Coon, "Iran," in H. Vallois, *Catalogue des hommes fossiles* (Macon, 1953), 267–70 and M. Cappien, *The Iranians of the Copper/Bronze Ages*, H Field Research Projects (Miami, 1973), 60 pp. The only discussion of peoples in western Iran in early historic times is the study by I. M. Dyakonov, "Narody drevnei prednei Azii." in *Predneaziatskii Etnograficheskii Sbornik*, 1, Trudy Institut Etnografii, 39 (Moscow, 1958), 18–39.

Many publications exist on various tribes or small groups living in Iran, but the majority of settled population has received little attention insofar as questions of ethnogeny are concerned. The main Iranian tribal people are the Kurds, and several books discuss their origins and early history, such as it is known, as B. Nikitine, *Les Kurdes* (Paris, 1956) and esp. O. Vilchevskii, *Kurdy*, Trudy Instituta Etnografii, 67 (Moscow, 1961), 165 pp., which is concerned with the origin of the Kurds. A special sect of the Kurds is the subject of S. S. Ahmed, *The Yazidis, their life and beliefs*, H. Field Research Projects, no. 97 (Miami, 1975), 485 pp. A large bibliography on the Kurds is useful also for ancient questions: S. van Rooy, *International Society of Kurdistan Bibliography*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 1968). See also N. A. Aleksanian, *Bibliografiya Sovetskoi Kurdskoi Knigi 1921–1960* (Erevan, 1962). The Lurs to the south of the Kermanshah–Hamadan road, are not as well studied, as the Kurds, but we have some information on them in Persian Publications: ʿAli Muh. Sakī, *Luristān* (Khurramabad, 1343/1969), and H. Izādparrah, *Athār-e bāstānī ve tarīkhī Luristān*, 2 vols. (Tehran, 1350/1972 and 1353/1975), concerned with the antiquities and history of Luristan as well as the present population. Anthropological articles and monographs exist on the Kurds and Lurs, which may be found in the bibliographies above.

The peoples of the Caspian Sea coast, Talysh, Gilan and Mazandaran, had and have dialects and characteristics different from the rest of Iran. On the people of Mazandaran consult a series of monographs in Persian on villages and districts from east to west, beginning with *Alāsht* by Hūshang Pūr Karīm, published by the Ministry of Culture and Art (n.d., c. 1976), *Yūsh* by Sīrūs Tāhbāz (University of Tehran, 1342/1964), *Ōrāzōn* by Jalāl Āl-Aḥmad (Tehran, 1954), and *Feshendak* by H. Pūr Karīm (University of Tehran, 1341/1971). All of these deal with anthropological, linguistic, folkloric and other matters. For material remains along the entire Caspian coast we have a series of volumes by Manūchehr Sotūdeh, *Az Astārā tā Āstārābād* (Tehran, 1349/1971, and foll.). Other references may be found in works on dialects of this region, on which see below. The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (old and new editions) has information and bibliography on individuals, places and tribes.

The southern tribes of Iran, which are not Turkic, have been studied by anthropologists presenting material of interest for an historian; cf. D. Ehmann, *Baḫtiyaren* (Wiesbaden, 1975), and V. V. Trubetskoi, "Bakhtiary," in M. S. Ivanov, ed., *Etnicheskie protsessy i sostav naseleniyakh v stranakh Prednei Azii* (Moscow, 1963), 141–72. Further see F. Barth, *Nomads of South Persia, The Basseri Tribe* (Oslo, 1961); V. Monteil, *Les tribus du Fars* (Paris, 1966); and M. S. Ivanov, *Plemena Farsa*, Trudy Instituta Etnografii, 43 (Moscow, 1961); R. Löffler, "Die materielle Kultur von Boir Ahmad, Südiran," *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, 28 (Wien, 1974), 61–142; and in Persian, Manūchehr Lamʿa, *Farhang-e ʿāmyāneh-e ʿashāīr Būyer Ahmedī ve Kohgilūyeh* (Tehran, 1349/1971). On the primitive people of Bashakird, to the west of Baluchistan, see I. Gershevitch, "Travels in Bashkardia," *JRAS*, 46 (1959), 216–24. A mountain group in southwest Iran are *Les Papis* by C. G. Feilberg (Copenhagen, 1952). Other references may be found in the works listed.

To the southeast, the chief group of Iranian nomads are the Baluch who extend to the Indus River. On them see M. G. Pikulin, *Beludzhi* (Moscow, 1959), and on the northernmost group E. G. Gafferberg, *Beludzhi Turkmenskoi SSR* (Leningrad, 1969). Many publications from Pakistan exist on the Baluch, such as Muh Sardar Khan Baluch, *History of the Baluch Race and Baluchistan* (Karachi, 1958), but most are of little value for our purposes. A non-Iranian people, and possibly among their predecessors in Baluchistan, are the Brahuis, a Dravidian-speaking folk, a few villages of whom exist today in Iranian Seistan; see G. H. Srasser, "Brahui in Persien," *Bulletin of International Committee on urgent Anthropological and Ethnological Research*, 2 (Vienna, 1959), 97–98.

Perhaps the most important element for differentiating people, language, fortunately needs few references, since surveys and bibliographies exist on all of the Iranian languages; see "Iranistik, erster Abschnitt, Linguistik," of the *Handbuch der Orientalistik* ed. by B. Spuler (Leiden, 1958); further T. Sebeok, ed , *Current Trends in Linguistics*, 6 (The Hague, 1970), 1–135, and the useful handbook by I. M. Oranskii, *Vvedenie v iranskuyu filologiyu* (Moscow, 1960), trans. into French by J. Blau, *Les langues iraniennes* (Paris, 1977). Needless to say, much information on ancient languages can be found in modern dialects, not to mention relatively new fields such as glottochronology or areal linguistics.

Finally, a bibliographical note on handicrafts and technology and plants may be useful. Fortunately a handbook by H. E. Wulff, *The Traditional Crafts of Persia* (M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1966), also has

a large bibliography of relevant literature. The first chapter is on metallurgy in ancient Persia, on which cf. T. Wertime, "Man's First Encounters with Metallurgy," *Science*, 146, no. 3649 (1964), 1257–67. The classic works by B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, Field Museum of Natural History publication 201, vol. 15 (Chicago, 1919), discusses plant borrowings, and this is supplemented by E. H. Schaefer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand* (Berkeley, 1962). Dictionaries of plants and trees, animals and minerals, in Persian or Arabic, contain archaic words and information about them. The *Kitāb al-jamāhir* (Hyderabad, 1355/1936) of al-Bīrūnī, is perhaps the most famous book on minerals. While such works may seem to have little connection with ancient Iran, they are similar to Pliny's natural history, which contains items of historical significance. It must be remembered that unlike Greek or Roman history with a plethora of sources, we must use every piece of information in the little known east to attempt to reconstruct the scantiest of history.

Literature: Afghanistan, general: Studies on the people of Afghanistan and northwest Pakistan are mostly concerned with linguistic minorities such as the peoples of the Pamir or Hindukush mountains, especially the Kafirs or Nuristanis. Several bibliographies are of great aid to the researcher which have been listed already in the first chapter on geography. Several general handbooks, including detailed chapters on the population, languages, etc., are W. Kraus, ed., *Afghanistan*, Erdmann, Ländermonographien, 3 (Tübingen, 1972); D. N. Wilber, ed., *Afghanistan* (New Haven, 1962), and L. Dupree, *Afghanistan* (Princeton, 1973); each of which has a different viewpoint. Old works such as H. W. Bellew, *The Races of Afghanistan* (Calcutta, 1880), may contain interesting items, but on the whole they are out of date. A special bibliography exists on Nuristan by S. Jones, *An Annotated Bibliography of Nuristan (Kafiristan) and the Kalash Kafirs of Chitral* (Copenhagen, 1966). On the Kafirs, see the work of P. Snoy, *Die Kafiren* (Universität Frankfurt M., 1962), and further his "Nuristan und Mungan," *Tribus*, Nr. 14 (Stuttgart, 1965), 101–48. In the same issue, pp. 11–99, consult F. Kussmaul, "Badaxsǎn und seine Tağiken." Studies of various languages in Afghanistan are listed in the same works, noted above, for the languages of Iran. Many scattered articles on various aspects of Afghanistan's ethnography, as well as history, numismatics, and others, are photographically reproduced in the journal *Afghanistan*, published by the Historical Society in Kabul. On physical types see G. F. Debets, *The Physical Anthropology of Afghanistan*, trans. by E. Prostov (Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1970). Since Afghanistan has not had a proper census much work remains to be done in demography, as well as ethnography, cf., however, L. Dupree, "Settlement and Migration Patterns in Afghanistan", *Modern Asian Studies*, 9 (1975), 397–413. On the nomads of Afghanistan see C. Jentsch, *Das Nomadentum in Afghanistan*, Afghanische Studien 9 (Meisenheim, 1973), also B. Glatzer, *Nomaden von Gharjistan*, Beiträge zur Südasienforschung, (Heidelberg, 1977). Other studies, on Turkic or Mongolian peoples of Afghanistan are not germane to our task here.

Literature: Central Asia, general: Many Soviet publications have been devoted to the ethnogeny of the peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus, and it is not possible to mention more than the most helpful general studies, many of which contain detailed bibliographies. Consult H. Field, *Bibliography of Soviet Archaeology and Physical Anthropology* (Miami, 1972). The series *Narody mira, etnograficheskie ocherki*, ed. by S. P. Tolstov, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1962–63) is especially useful for Central Asia and for the Caucasus, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1961–62). M. S. Andreev, N. S. Kislyakov and others were especially interested in the ethnography of the Tajiks and wrote several articles about them; cf. vol. 1 of *Narody Srednei Azii* (Moscow, 1962), 701–3. On the mountaineers of Tajikstan see O. E. Agakhanyants, *Bibliografiya Pamira*, 1 (Dushanbe, 1968). Such works as *Tajiki Karategina i Darvaza* by N. Y. Kislyakov and A. K. Pisarchik (Dushanbe, 1976) contain much interesting material for historians. Consult also the various publications of the USSR Academy of Sciences such as *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* and *Trudy Instituta Etnografii*, especially the *Sredneaziatskii Etnograficheskii Sbornik* II, no. 47 (Moscow, 1959) where noteworthy is the article by L. F. Monogarova, "Materialy po etnografii Yazgulemstev," 3–94. Further see H. Field, *Contributions to the anthropology of the Soviet Union* (Smithsonian miscellaneous collections, vol. 110, no. 13, Washington, 1948), and his *Contributions to the physical anthropology of Central Asia and the Caucasus* (Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

The areas now occupied by Turkic-speaking peoples, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhastan, and Kirghizistan, were once peopled by Iranians, so we are more concerned with archaeological remains of the ancient inhabitants than the present population. The results of archaeological expeditions are especially valuable, and the Khwarazmian expedition led by S. P. Tolstov plus the Southern Turkmen complex expedition, begun by M. E. Masson, have been especially noteworthy. See, for example, T. A. Trofimova, *Drevnee naseleniye Khorezma, po dannym paleoantropologii* (Moscow, 1959).

THE ENTIRE AREA

All of the people of present Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia can be simply divided into settled people and nomads, with various degrees of settlement and nomadism–pastoralism represented. Since the geographical features of this vast area, including the availability of water, have helped to determine in no small measure the population distribution in historical times as well as the present, the life-styles of the present people can throw light on the past. On the other hand, in any particular region it is frequently not possible to ascertain whether the population in the past was definitely nomadic or settled, or predominantly one or the other. The previously held supposition of some anthropologists that early man was first a hunter, then a herdsman and finally a settled farmer in a temporal progression, is not accepted today. The change from a pastoral to an agricultural use of land, or the reverse, can be observed in recent times, and must have been true in antiquity. The falling of a water table or salinization of farm land causes the abandonment of a village, while the persistence of a few years of drought in one area can change a flourishing oasis into a desert. Therefore, in regions which did not have a regular and abundant supply of water, changes in ecology must have occurred many times in the past. Certainly one of the prime tasks of governments in this part of the world has been to organize, regulate and promote the use and distribution of water. Of the three requirements, land, water and manpower, necessary to insure any flourishing culture on the Iranian plateau, water has been the most difficult to supply, and this has been true from antiquity.

Throughout history the stronger have displaced the weaker in possession of good, watered land, and the weaker people either coexisted with their masters, or they moved to less desirable 'refuge' areas in the mountains or deserts. Settled oases, which were and are the dominant places of settlement over most of the plateau, presumably were early mixed in population. From the dawn of history we find a differentiation of labor in settlements, and one of the clearest groups, distinct or apart from the rest of the populace, were the smiths or metal workers. They had probably evolved from potters, who found that high temperature fires made glaze on pottery, and then experimented with other media. In any case, a caste of smiths seems to have developed in the Near East who were different from the local populations. Otherwise, specialization of functions or labor does not seem to have produced separate castes or the like. We may presume that people in the ancient Near East were separated by different languages or ways of life rather than by profession. Since nomads or mountaineers have not left records one must project backwards from known situations of later times. For example, much of the land on the plateau, other than barren deserts or mountains, is not fit for agriculture but only for grazing. So it was also in the past, and the conflict between the steppe and the sown area dates from the unrecorded past. Since not only history but writing itself is a product of settled life, the pastoralists remain on the dim fringes of settlements, little recorded and hardly appreciated. Consequently, our picture of the past is one-sided in many respects, and one can only note the continued existence of nomads and pastoralists, who usually appear in records only when they mount massive raids on the settlements which suffer from their depredations.

The routes of trade or the movement of peoples have been exceedingly constant throughout the history of Iran because of the dictates of geography and water. Thus, the easiest route of access from the Mesopotamian lowlands to the plateau has been the present route of Khanaqin, Kermanshah, Hamadan to Tehran, and then east to Khurasan. There are other routes over the Zagros Mountains from the west, but they are more arduous and were much less used than the principal route through the Kermanshah area. The Assyrians and succeeding conquerors saw the need to control this route as a key to rule over any pretended empire. A map showing the routes, which have followed essentially the same passes through the mountains, shows the primacy of the Kermanshah route, which is also well watered. One may presume that along this route, as well as others, settlements arose which began to trade with each other. At all times, of course, minor variations in settlements, as in the routes themselves, have taken place, but the main lines of communication have remained constant.

Another feature of the plateau, which should be mentioned, is the great variety of fruits and agricultural products which grow in relatively small geographical areas. Because of the altitude, it is possible in many places to find apples, pears, and other fruits of a temperate zone in the mountain valleys, while a few kilometers distant, in an oasis protected from winds and cold, date palms and citrus fruits will flourish. This variety was always a feature of some mountain areas of Iran, and it in a sense parallels the people who may be very different from each other yet living only a short distance apart. Similar conditions obtain in Afghanistan and in Central Asia, but on the whole not so variegated as in Iran. Although local specialities of crafts as well as produce distinguish one area from another, the unity of the entire Iranian area in modes of life and responses to nature appears throughout history. Rather, the unity is one of similar diversity in response to the changes in landscape and availability of water and other natural phenomena. This is best observed in the different linguistic groups which exist later, especially before the expansion of Turkic speakers, beginning in the tenth century of our era. Even though many people did adopt new languages, the basic population continued to be the same though mixed with newcomers. There is no better way to distinguish people than by the languages they speak, but one must not neglect the settled-pastoral differentiation, and both are followed here in a survey of the entire Iranian area.

IRAN

Fars exemplifies the diversity of nomad and peasant, mountain and desert and other contrasts, perhaps better than any other province of Iran. From the present population of the province one must exclude Arabs who came after the Islamic conquest and the Turks, such as the Qashghai nomads. Today the Arab-speaking population along the shores of the Persian Gulf is sparse, and in antiquity the numbers must have been less. There has always been, it seems, contact across the Gulf, so some mixtures of populations would be expected. Since Elamite clay tablets have been found in the region of present Bushire, it would be natural to assume the existence of early Elamite settlements along the coast. Unfortunately, we know too little about the Elamite language to even speculate about borrowings or influences from Elamite on certain dialects of Fars as opposed to others. We may suggest that the population of the coast

was engaged in fishing as well as transit trade and commerce with the interior, while the date palm, as across the Gulf, was the local staff of life for them. Since the coastal plain is narrow and the mountains behind it are barren and lacking in verdure and water, this area never enticed large nomadic tribes to spend winters here with their flocks. The coastal settlements were usually dominated by governments on the plateau, and the poverty of the coastal people kept them from playing a significant role in history.

There are many ancient remains on the next step up onto the plateau to Kazerun, evidence of a flourishing area as early as Elamite times. The Elamites probably occupied most of the valleys and plains which extend from the northwest to the southeast, and it would be natural to assume that ancient pastoralists at times followed these valleys down to the rich alluvial plains of Mesopotamia for the winter. Much has been written on the far-flung ancient trade connections, which brought, for example, lapis lazuli from the mountains of Afghanistan as far as Egypt in early times. This has been adduced as evidence for very distant contacts between traders, but it is misleading. True, some hardy traders in antiquity may have traveled enormous distances like Marco Polo in later times, but they like he, were rare exceptions. Most trade was usually a process of exchange from one local group to another rather than a direct long distance contact between the consumer and producer. Wares usually were passed from one merchant to another, although sometimes they did travel long distances. Likewise, the presumed migrations of peoples over vast distances were probably even rarer than long voyages by merchants, and changes in material culture on the plateau are much more likely the result of diffusionary influences or even internal stylistic development, rather than the intrusion of a new population. Great movements of peoples like the Arabs and Turks in more recent times or the Iranians onto the plateau were probably just as few in prehistoric as in historic times, and one must be careful about the attribution of a change in pottery designs to a mass invasion. Also the movements of people noted above were the migrations of nomads or pastoralists, who were rarely great originators of complex, new cultures as compared to the settled folk.

The upper steps of the Zagros range, known today as the *sardsīr* 'the cold zone' were eminently suited for pastoralists, and we may assume that much of Fars, such as the present areas of Pasargadae and Abadeh were very sparsely settled before the coming of the Iranians. It is not the purpose of the present volume to discuss archaeology, which is covered in Barthel Hrouda's *Vorderasien*, Handbuch der Archäologie, (München, 1971), but since almost all of our evidence of pre-Archaemenian Iran is from archaeology, it cannot be ignored in presenting a background for the historical periods. The material remains in prehistoric southern Iran point to an Elamite occupation of much of the area. It is, of course, impossible to determine whether the people of the mountainous areas of Fars were the same as those in the valleys and plains, but the extensive survey of the Marvdasht plain, where Persepolis is located, by William Sumner shows a unity in the extensive occupation of all parts of the plains from very early times.[1] From surveys, based primarily on surface potsherd finds,

[1] W. Sumner, *Cultural Development in the Kur River Basin* (Ann Arbor, Michigan 1972), University Microfilms. Also see P. Gotch, "A Survey of the Persepolis Plain and Shiraz Area," *Iran*, 6 (1968), 168–70.

similar occupation periods have been found elsewhere in Fars, especially in those oases where one would expect a continuous occupation, such as Fasa and Darab.[2] Unfortunately some areas of Fars province archaeologically are virtually *terra incognita*, such as the districts of Lar-Khunj and Ivaz in the south, and the Farrashband-Kazerun valley west of Shiraz. There is no reason, however, to assume that the population of these areas was different from that of the large Marvdasht plain. One may suppose that some tracts of lands which are occupied today or were in the early Islamic period, in antiquity were either empty of people or sparsely settled. Further, since trade was an important factor in the development of civilization, it is not fool-hardy to conjecture that the people of Fars early traded foodstuffs and animal products between the inhabitants of the cool and warm zones of the province, with little need or even incentive to go beyond the provincial borders.

The distribution of Iranian dialects today in Fars may provide an indication of settlement patterns in antiquity. The most obvious and distinctive dialects are those spoken in the mountainous area of southern Fars, the dialects of Laristan. It is significant that many of these dialect speakers are today Sunni Muslims, separated from the Shiite majority of Persians. Religious difference surely contributed to the maintenance of these dialects as much as geographical isolation, but whether the difference between the people of Laristan and others in Fars is a phenomenon of Islamic times, or has antecedents in the pre-Islamic past, cannot be determined. Perhaps all that can be said is that given the geographical isolation of Laristan, an ancient differentiation of population in this part of the province, compared to other areas, would not be unexpected. Here mixtures of peoples, including some negroid strains, especially along the coast, took place in antiquity as well as Islamic times. It should be noted that the existence of an Iranian dialect spoken in Oman today, Kumzari, indicates the two-way traffic of peoples moving across the Gulf in the past.[3]

One would expect the Zagros mountain range to contain pockets of linguistic differences from standard Persian, but by now most of these have been lost, although it must be admitted that little investigation has been made of possible survivals. One of these is the dialect of Davan, a village in the mountains northeast of Kazerun.[4] This is not the place to go into the peculiarities of dialects, but historically one may propose different strata or waves of Iranian dialects which spread over Fars province, absorbing pre-Iranian tongues completely.

The northwestern part of Fars province has rugged mountains and here live today Luri-speaking tribes, the Boyer Ahmad and Kohgiluye. Strictly speaking they are mountaineers, even though transhumance is practiced by many of them. The way of life of these contemporary people can have differed little from that of the their ancestors.[5] It is significant to note that Islamic geographers of the tenth century, writing in Arabic, mention the existence of the Khuzi language in these mountains, which has been interpreted as a continuation of an ancient Elamite dialect.[6] Today the

[2] P. de Miroschedji, "Poteries Elamites du Fars Oriental," *Bastan Chenassi va Honar-e Iran*, 7–8 (Tehran, 1971), 60–67.

[3] B. Thomas, "The Kumzari Dialect of the Shiluh tribe," *JRAS* (1930).

[4] G. Morgenstierne, "Stray Notes on Persian Dialects, "*NTS*, 19 (Oslo, 1960), 123–29, and H. Mahamedi, "Three Iranian Dialects of Fars, Davani, Avazi and Koroshi," *Iranian Studies*, 14 (1982). Note that the people of Davan are Shaikhis, a special sect of Shiite Islam.

[5] See Löffler, *supra*, *Boir Ahmad*, 62–141.

[6] References in Schwarz, *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 14], 406.

language of the Boyer Ahmad tribes can be called a Luri dialect, quite close to Persian, and thus this northern part of Fars province is really part of the mountainous area of Luristan. It is possible that the Lurs, like the people of Laristan in the south, and others in mountainous areas, represent the vestiges of the first wave of Iranians who invaded the plateau and whose dialects were replaced in the valleys and on the plains by New Persian. An indication of this hypothesis, but no more than that, is the common vocabulary of Luri and Laristan dialects, where certain common words and usages are not found in Persian.[7] The fact that New Persian is a wedge between these outlying dialects is best explained by the wave hypothesis, that an earlier substratum of Iranian dialects was gradually replaced by a standardized New Persian dialect, but the time when this occurred is unknown. In any case, we may assume a parallel earlier process whereby the original Iranians in Fars province gave their tongue to the autochthonous inhabitants in the first millennium B.C., whereas the mountain areas retained their original language and customs longer than the plains.

The plains of Khuzistan from the earliest times were bound to the neighboring mountains of Luristan in a symbiosis of peoples. Not all of the population practiced a yearly migration to the mountains in the summer and to the flatlands in the winter, however, but enough of them did to mix the population such that Khuzistan was different in this respect from the lands to the west, in the basin of the Tigris and Euphrates. Contact between the peoples of Mesopotamia and Khuzistan was much easier than between mountains and plain, and certainly much exchange of culture took place, but nonetheless the special relationship with the mountains from whence the Elamites probably originated, made Khuzistan quite different from Mesopotamia. The interchange of products between the cool mountains and the hot plains was ancient in origin and continued throughout millennia. Many fruits and flowers were given to their western neighbors by the people of the plateau, and just the later Iranian words in Semitic languages alone such as Aramaic *warda*, 'rose,' testify to the exchange. Likewise, the time of the introduction of the date palm to the warm oases of southern Iran is unknown, but it is generally agreed that the earliest cultivation is found in southern Mesopotamia. Thus the ancient exchanges, though undocumented, can be assumed as a continuing process. So the geographical unity of Khuzistan with Mesopotamia, at least from the economic point of view, made less sense than the connection between the lowlands of Khuzistan and highlands to the east, and the occupation of both areas by Elamites, or at least Elamite culture, is understandable. It is true that the mountain ranges are very rugged and difficult of access, but this did not deter either merchants, or people just seeking to escape the heat of summer on the plains. Surely ideas and artifacts were exchanged in this area from ancient times.

The location of the mountain ranges, generally in a northwest–southeast direction, made descent from the plateau to the plains easier southward from Luristan than directly west to Babylonia. The inhabitants of Luristan were those mountain dwellers who had most continuous contact with Khuzistan. In the many valleys of Luristan one may postulate an early Iranicization of the original inhabitants who were

[7] For example, the word for 'stone' is *bard* both in Luri and Laristan dialects, also 'large' *gap* and *gapu* respectively, 'egg' *xa* and *xag*, and many others. Many words and expressions are not peculiar to these two groups of dialects, however, but they are not used in Persian.

probably a mixture of Elamites, Quti or Guti, Kassites and others. The predominantly pastoral economy of the Lurs today must have been similar over millennia, and a multitude of small settlements was the rule, rather than any large cities in the region we call Luristan.

The Lurs years ago were usually divided into two groups, the large (*buzurg*) and the small (*kuchek*) Lurs, the former located roughly to the southeast and east of the Ab-e Diz and the latter to the northwest and west of the upper reaches of that river. The small Lurs were divided primarily into two geographical areas, Pish-e Kuh (before the mountain) and Pusht-e Kuh (behind the mountain), the range being the Kavar or Kabir mountains. The former region includes the chief city of Khurramabad, but today much of the population in the northern valleys, up to Kermanshah speak Lakki dialects which are south Kurdish dialects. The Pusht-e Kuh population lives in wilder surroundings and has been less studied than their northern cousins. The Luri dialects generally spoken here merge with southern Luri of the Lur-e *buzurg*. The main tribes are the Mamasani, Kohgiluye, Boyer Ahmad and Bakhtiyari, the last formerly divided into the Haft Lang and the Chahar Lang. Whether the present divisions of the Lurs reflects an ancient ethnic differentiation is unknown, but it is not improbable, for the rugged geography of Luristan alone would make it an excellent divided refuge area.

The present linguistic picture does not help us with reconstructing the past. As noted, speakers of Lakki dialects in northern Luristan are probably relatively late intruders, as are the Kurds in their homeland to the north of the Kermanshah–Hamadan road. One may assume that the ancient population must have been as divided as the present, but there is some archaeological evidence that at least culturally the area did have a unity. Also the Iranicization of the ancient peoples of Luristan-Guti, Lullubi, Kassites and others seems to have been uniform, in that ancient differences do not appear in the modern dialectology or ethnography of Luristan.[8] In other words, Luristan as an entity, with a common culture and group of dialects, is an ethnographic as well as a geographic and historical reality. The origin of the word Lur is uncertain, but folk tradition claims it comes from the gypsies or Luris brought from India by the Sasanian king Bahram Gōr, as reported in Firdosi's *Shahname*, to bring music to the common people of Iran. Usually these itinerant musicians are called Luli, but it is possible that the name is a transfer to the inhabitants of the mountains. In any case, the word is not an ancient designation for the land or its peoples.

Whereas the Lurs and their dialects are closely related to the Persians of Fars province, and naturally belong to the southwestern branch of the Iranian peoples, the Kurds are more complicated and their relations are much in dispute. It is generally accepted that the Kurdish language in its two major divisions of Kurmanji (northern) and Sorani (southern) is related to eastern and central Iranian dialects, thus indicating an eastern origin in respect to the geographical position of Kurdish today.[9] The

[8] On Luristan and Luri dialects see the works of Hamīd Izadpanāh, esp. his *Farhange Lurī* (Tehran, 1343/1965), and ʿAlī Ḥaṣūrī, *Gozāresh-e Govishhā-ye Lurī* (Tehran, 1342/1964).

[9] See the survey, with references of G. L. Windfuhr, "Isoglosses: A sketch on Persians, Parthians and Medes," *AI, Hommages et Opera Minora Monumentum H. S. Nyberg*, 2 (Leiden, 1975), esp. 470–71.

Median dialects which were absorbed or supplanted by Kurdish dialects may be considered as represented today by Zaza and Gorani, both of which, however, were heavily Kurdicized. The process of Kurdicization of both the Gorani speakers (now living in the mountains north of the Kermanshah–Hamadan road) and of the Lakks (south of the road) must have slowly proceeded throughout the Islamic period.[10] The Zaza speakers in Anatolia also have a tongue different from Kurmanji and Sorani, even though one cannot thereby connect closely Zaza with Gorani. The native designation of the Zaza language as Dimli has been interpreted as coming from Dailami, a Caspian dialect spoken by the Dailamis, who expanded from the Elburz mountains to the upper Zagros mountains, in the eleventh century.[11] Whether this is true or not, the great difficulty in separating various Iranian dialects and languages from each other in the general area of Kurdistan is obvious, since many strata and overlays have occurred because of migrations or forced settlement of groups from elsewhere. Just as in the Hindukush mountains of the east, so here too we find an ethnographic and linguistic museum of various peoples, again both refuge areas.

In Kurdistan, as in Luristan, it is hardly possible to draw ancient conclusions from the present distribution of dialects or religious sects, except to note that geography also here plays an important role in determining where different peoples live and lived. The land dictates either agriculture in the valleys or pastoralism on the slopes of the mountains, and it is possible that the extensive spread of pastoralism is the result of the spread of Iranian-speaking tribesmen into those areas. Of course, we have no written or archaeological evidence for this supposition, but the Iranicization of the northern Zagros range may well have proceeded from occupation of pastoral meadows to the settled agricultural land.[12] Obviously the process of Iranicization took time, but the lack of any apparent ethnic or linguistic unity in ancient northwestern Iran, not to speak of a political empire, probably aided the spread of Iranian speech. Together with several presumed confederations of tribes, the Iranian dialects seem to have presented a greater unity among the invaders than was found among the aborigines. All indications from Assyrian sources, which tell of Assyrian forays upon the Iranian plateau from the beginning of the first millenium B.C., reveal a diverse linguistic, cultural and presumably ethnic, mosaic among the aboriginal population here. Also we may further presume that the Iranian dialects were spread over relatively large expanses of territory and were insofar mutually intelligible that one might conclude that Iranian easily became a kind of *lingua franca* not only for Iranian pastoralists, but also for the settled people on the plateau with whom the Iranians came in contact. As mentioned above, we may further infer that the Kurds are still in the process of expansion from the highlands into lowland villages of the plain of Urmia and elsewhere, whereas the Zaza and Goran are remnants of a settled

[10] G. B. Akopov, "Kurdy-gurany," *Strany i narody blizhnego i srednego vostoka* 7, Kurdovedenie, Akad. Nauk Armyanskoi SSR (Erevan, 1975), 164–65.

[11] On the Goran and Zaza see K. Hadank, *Mundarten der Gûrân* of O. Mann's Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen (Berlin, 1930), 14–17, and in the same series his *Mundarten der Zâzâ* (Berlin, 1932), 2–6.

[12] Cf. the discussion in Vilchevskii, *op. cit. supra*, *Kurdy*, 25–39.

Iranian-speaking population which had settled in mountain villages before the Kurdish expansion.[13]

Azerbaijan, strictly speaking, comprises the valleys and plains between the mountains of Kurdistan in the west to the Elburz mountain range descending to the Caspian Sea in the east. Even today in the western highlands, where the towns of Sanandaj, Bijar, Sakkiz and Mahabad are located, the majority of the population is Kurdish-speaking, whereas just to the east, in the lower lands, between the towns of Takab and Miyandoab the population is Turkish-speaking. Does this present division correspond to an ancient one? On the basis of scanty source material it is not possible to say whether present divisions could reflect earlier ethnic or linguistic differentiation; the differentiation, *generally* speaking, would be between predominant pastoralists in the mountains and agriculturists in the lowlands. In the Assyrian annals, the area comprising the present province of West Azerbaijan was divided between the Urartians in the north and Manneans to the south of Lake Urmia, while the area of Urmia itself was probably a place of mixture. No ancient information is available, however, on the mountain–lowland division, for possibly relevant names in the ancient geographers Strabo and Ptolemy cannot be localized. The lake was perhaps the best known landmark of Azerbaijan, called the lower sea of Nairi by the Assyrians and later the lake of the Mantiane (Manneans) or the "blue" lake (Kabodān) and also Chaēchist by the Iranians.[14]

Many scholars have tried to identify the place names and tribal names in Assyrian sources but most of the localizations are only guesswork. The general reconstruction of the historical geography of Azerbaijan by I. M. Dyakonov, *Istoriya Midii* (Moscow, 1956), 87–93, is accepted by most scholars with modifications made by L. Levine, "Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros," *Iran*, 11 (1973), 1–28 and 12 (1974), 99–122. According to Dyakonov, the area called Sangibutu by the Assyrians was the contemporary fertile Khoi–Marand area, which was conquered by the Urartians in the ninth century B.C. To the east of this region was the valley of the Kara-su, a southern tributary of the Araxes River which was later occupied by a people called by Classical authors the Cadusii. The identification of other localities or tribes in the Assyrian sources is fraught with many difficulties and reveals the complexity of the historical geography of the land.

While there is no evidence of ethnic or linguistic unity among the pre-Iranian population of Azerbaijan, we may guess that some of them had relations with small groups of Caucasian peoples of today who in ancient times extended farther to the south. Thus, the ancient Albanians who lived in present day Soviet Azerbaijan, may have been the descendants of what might be called linguistically Caspian peoples living on the western and southern shores of the sea, whereas to the west was the

[13] Cf. Hadank, *loc. cit.* [n. 11]. The Mukri Kurds who today occupy the area of Mahabad and Sakkiz, may have migrated from Iraq in the 17th century according to O. Mann, *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden*, 1 (Berlin, 1906), xviii. The Mukri Kurdish dialects are different from those to the south in Sanandaj and Kermanshah, and this division may possibly represent an ancient division of peoples.

[14] Strabo XI, 523 and XI, 529.

Hurrian–Urartian and possibly Mannean linguistic group.[15] We do not know how far to the north Elamite dialects or related languages extended, nor indeed how many other tribes or peoples existed, speaking tongues different from the two main groups in western Iran. In any case, at the time of the expansion of the Iranians we may presume that western Iran was dominated by the Elamites in the south and Urartian–Hurrians in the north. To the east, however, we have no sources other than archaeology.

Archaeology has revealed highly developed cultures in the south Caspian Sea regions, as early as the second millennium B.C., at sites such as Marlik and Kaluraz in Gilan.[16] Archaeological surveys have indicated that the Gilan plain probably was not settled before the Parthian period, and that all ancient sites are located in the foothills of the Elburz mountains, none of them of great size indicating a sparse population.[17] Since no early second millennium or earlier pottery or other ancient objects have been found in Gilan or western Mazandaran, we may conclude that the Iranians were the first people to settle in the south Caspian plains in any numbers. In the Talysh provinces, however, especially in the Soviet Union, ancient graves have been found dating from the second millennium B.C. Presumably the descendants of these people were the Cadusii, about whom we know little more than their name. Yet Strabo (XI, 508) associates them with the Anariaki or "non-Aryans," and we may suppose that the Cadusii were non-Iranians and related to the Albanians or people of Arran, as it was called in the Islamic period, who were then Iranicized.

The plateau where today are located the cities of Tehran, Hamadan and Isfahan, was the center of Iranian settlement, but who were the aborigines here whom the Iranians conquered or absorbed? We know from archaeological excavations at sites such as Tepes Giyan, Hissar and Siyalk that there existed cultures before the coming of the Iranians. The Iranicization of the central plateau seems to have been so complete that no conclusions may be drawn about the ethnic or linguistic nature of the autochthonous population. Pottery and other remains do not help in this regard, but we may suppose that the population on the plateau was sparse, for as mentioned previously, techniques of irrigation such as the underground water channels are not attested before the first millennium B.C., which enabled agriculturists to extend cultivation into the plains and deserts, thus opening virgin tracts of land to settlement.[18] On the other hand, some oases have lost their water supplies and have become desert, as at ancient sites such as the graves of Shahdad in the Lut desert to the northeast of Kerman where pre-Islamic remains have been found.[19] Who were these pre-Iranian people? We may suppose that the inhabitants of the areas to the south and

[15] The close relationship of Urartian and Hurrian has been established, but with no written remains of the Manneans, the nature of their language is conjectural. See I. M. Dyakonov, *Yazyki Drevnei Prednei Azii* (Moscow, 1967), 113–20.

[16] Cf. Hrouda, *op. cit.*, [p. 26] *Vorderasien*, 248. Although the graves may extend into the first millennium and the period of Iranian invaders, the art forms are autochthonous.

[17] *Ibid.*, plus A. Hakemi, "Excavations in Kaluraz, Gilan," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute of Pahlavi University*, 3 (Shiraz, 1973), 1–3.

[18] See ch. 1, n. 37.

[19] Cf. M. A. Kaboli, "Shahdad in the Third Millennium B.C." (in Persian), *Proceedings of the IInd Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran* (Tehran, 1974), 1–9, and reports by A. Hakemi at the VIIth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology at Munich in 1976.

east of the Lut desert in Kerman, Seistan and Baluchistan may have been related to each other and possibly to others both to the north in present Turkmenistan or to the southeast in Pakistan.[20] Certainly trade existed from a very early period, even in luxury items such as lapis lazuli from Badakhshan in Afghanistan, for it has been found in early graves in Mesopotamia.[21] The urban settlements, however, must have been small and few, first merely as suppliers both to peasants and to pastoralists, and then developing into centers where craftsmen produced their wares as specialists. It is important to remember in the history of Iran that although agriculturalists and pastoralists represented two different and sometimes inimical ways of life, a third factor, urban dwellers, were important in their own right. Invaders or nomads usually tried to control the towns of a land, where they interacted with townspeople. On the whole they despised the villagers and did not intermarry with them. The towns were stages where events were enacted and records were compiled, so history is their story. Unfortunately we know very little about large settlements on the Iranian plateau in ancient times, and even less about the composition of the population of those centers. There were many racial types as seen from wide, long and other types of skulls from burials, and one may presume that mixtures of populations had been occurring since palaeolithic times. One must constantly re-emphasize the vital importance of water to any life, settled or nomadic, especially in eastern and southeastern Iran, which were barren wastes, and archaeology reveals constant attempts at building dams or cisterns to preserve every drop of the precious fluid.[22] Under difficult physical conditions the transient nature of settlements in eastern Iran and Baluchistan is not surprising, since settlement patterns followed the availability of water and the rise or fall of the water tablé. One should not expect many large towns in the east, and it would seem that pastoral and nomadic life was dominant here, except in the province of Seistan where the Helmand River provided water for extensive agriculture. Today the population is a mixture of Persians, Pashtuns, Baluch and even Brahui, and we may presume that the region was also mixed in antiquity. The Brahuis, who speak a Dravidian language, were either offshoots of a wandering Dravidian tribe from the Deccan, or they represent an ancient branch of Dravidians, who may have come from the sub-continent at the end of the fourth millennium B.C. The latter theory is generally accepted today, because of the archaic nature of Brahui among the Dravidian languages.[23] If this is the case, then the proto-Brahuis may have been the dominant people in Baluchistan and even Sind when the Aryans expanded. Whether they were the inhabitants of Mohenjo-Daro and carriers of the Indus civilization, probably destroyed by the Vedic invaders of India, is uncertain. Although the Iranian-speaking Baluchis came from the west in Islamic times, before their arrival other Iranians had mixed with the Brahuis, as can be seen from archaic

[20] M. Tosi, "Shahr-i Sokhta: a charge and a chance for urban archaeology," in F. Bagherzadeh ed., *Proceedings of the Ist Annual Symposium of Archaeological Research in Iran* (Tehran, 1973), 1–5; also his "A Topographical and Stratigraphical Periplus of Shahr-e sukhte, "*Proceedings of the IVth Annual Symposium* (Tehran, 1976), 43.

[21] G. Herrmann, "Lapis Lazuli: The Early Phases of its Trade," *Iraq*, 30 (London, 1968), 29–30.

[22] Cf. J. T. Maruchek, "A Survey of Seasonal Occupation Sites in Northern Baluchestan," in Baqerzadeh ed., *Proceedings of the IVth Annual Symposium on Archaeology* (Tehran, 1976), 272.

[23] M. S. Andronov, *Yazyk Braui* (Moscow, 1971), 12–13, with a bibliography.

Iranian borrowings in the Brahui language.[24] Also the extent of Brahui settlements in early times cannot be determined, but one reason they have not been absorbed by the Baluchis was the primarily nomadic-pastoral way of life of the latter as contrasted with the settled Brahui of Kalat and elsewhere. If much of the Iranian national epic, as preserved in Firdosi's *Shahname*, can be traced to Seistan, then the identification of the Brahuis as the Turanians of the Epic might be considered. It would seem, however, that other peoples also lived in this desolate part of Iran, and today's dialects may indicate also an earlier linguistic division. In the highlands of Bashakird (or Bashkard) to the northeast of Minab live primitive agriculturists speaking Iranian dialects, while to the east in the lowlands of Bampur and beyond live Baluchis, most of whom are nomads or semi-nomads. Along the coast are fishermen, a medley of races including Negritoes, and negroids, the former from Malaysia to the east and the latter from Africa. One cannot tell whether they are relatively recent arrivals brought as slaves, or whether they (especially the Negritoes) may represent an ancient strain in the population.[25] Classical authors tell of fish-eaters (Ichthyophagi) and other folk living along this coast, but their ethnic or linguistic identity, of course, cannot be determined.

In early Islamic times the people of the interior of Bashakird and Makran were called Qufs and Balūṣ by Arabic authors, the former presumably mountaineers and the latter pastoralists.[26] Again the differentiation of peoples by their mode of livelihood is striking, and a possible ethnic differentiation in antiquity is possible. Today, of course, all of the population speak Iranian languages or dialects, and we may assume that the Iranicization of the earlier inhabitants was not a prolonged process.[27] Along the southern coast only the harbors at Bandar ʿAbbas and Tiz-Chahbahar offered access to an interior which could export products, in the former case Sirjan and the province of Kerman, and in the latter Bampur and the Saravan region of Baluchistan.

Finally, a few words about the population of the central deserts of Iran may aid us in placing these people in the history of Iran. Inasmuch as the domestication of the camel long preceded the arrival of the Iranians on the plateau, we may presume that the oases of the central deserts of Iran had been long occupied, at least as way stations on trade routes from east to west, and the archaeological finds at Shahdad in Kerman, mentioned above, would tend to substantiate this hypothesis. Unfortunately no excavations or even archaeological surveys have been carried out in any of the oases, but Ptolemy (VI, 5, 1) mentions a district of Parthia called Tabikene, which one supposes is the desert area of Tabbas. Also Stephan of Byzantium, in his *Ethnika* mentions the *Tabēnoi* as a people living in the desert of Kerman, so we may assume that the oases were inhabited. The numbers of people living in such isolated places even today is small, and in antiquity it cannot have been more, so we may suppose that the early inhabitants, like today, made their living on date palms and as watering places for caravans. It should be noted that ancient copper mines have been found in

[24] A. V. Rossi, "Iranian Elements in Brahui," *AION*, 31 (1971), 401.

[25] Cf. Pikulin, *supra*, *Beludzhi*, 31.

[26] B. Spooner, "Kūch u Balūch and Ichthyophagi," *Iran*, 2 (London, 1964), 53–59, and E. Bosworth, "The Kufichis or Qufs in Persian History," *Iran*, 14 (1976), 9–17.

[27] Cf. the various articles of I. Gershevitch on the dialects of Bashakird (or Bashkardia) listed in Bosworth, *op. cit.* [n. 26], n. 20.

the central desert near Anarak, and one may further suggest that this area was one of the sources for the metal in antiquity.[28] The population probably did not differ from the settled people in the Qom and Kashan areas to the west. Tepe Siyalk is not far from the copper mines.

In summary, the population of Iran in antiquity seems to have followed much the same pattern as in the recent past. Where pastoralists roamed, conditions of geography and hence life have little altered, and where villages barely maintained an existence with scarce water supplies, conditions have remained much the same without great changes. The mountains were refuge areas with little contact from one valley to another, and peasants were oppressed either from the towns or from the pastoralists (or nomads), and sometimes from both. There were three centers which could be unified and provide bases of power or expansion, Fars province in the south, Azerbaijan in the north, or the central plateau area of Hamadan–Tehran–Isfahan. Other parts of Iran were either dependent on one or more of these areas, or lived in relative isolation. But from very early times trade and commerce were important across Iran, as well as inside, and the age-old invasion route into Iran from Central Asia was used by nomads seeking better pasture lands. Since the pattern of migration seems to have been invariably from east to west, we should turn to the east and north to examine the inhabitants of those areas.

AFGHANISTAN

As an extension of the plateau to the east, conditions of life in Afghanistan are similar to those in western Iran, although in the east water is scarcer and the mountains are higher than in the west. The inhabitants of Herat, stretching to ancient Bactra (Balkh) on the east, were an extension of the population of the present-day Iranian province of Khurasan, and from the time of the Achaemenid Empire these 'upper provinces' had a unity, probably ethnic as well as cultural. As usual, it is in the mountains that one finds small groups of people the very existence of whom can perhaps tell us about the settlement or movement of peoples in the east. For a pre-Indo-Aryan population, we should consider the Burushaski people of Hunza, Pakistan, for they, like the Brahuis to the south, may be vestiges of an earlier population which was much more widespread than today. Unlike Mesopotamia, the vast subcontinent of India has very few ancient written records which can be used for historical purposes. Consequently there is no information about the past of the Burushaski speakers whose language has no relation to its neighbors of the Iranian, Indian or Tibeto–Burman families.[29]

The pre-Aryan past of the east is much darker than in the west, and just as the proto-Brahui hypothesis is guesswork for the southern part, so that of proto-Burushaski speakers is hypothetical for the northern part of the Indo-Iranian borderlands. It must be remembered that nomadism and semi-nomadism are much more widespread in

[28] Wertime, *op. cit. supra*, *Metallungy*, 1257–67. Other mines, dating from the Bronze Age, have been found near the city of Qom; cf. H. Holzer, "Ancient Copper Mines in the Veshnoveh Area, Kuhestan-Qom," *Archaeologica Austriaca*, 59 (Vienna, 1971), 10–11.

[29] On the Burushaski language see D. L. R. Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*, 3 vols. (Oslo, 1935), and H. Berger, *Das Yasin-Burushaski* (Werchikwar), (Wiesbaden, 1974).

eastern than in western Iran, and the settled folk in the east have been more subject to domination by tribes than in the west. Whether proto-Burushaski speakers were nomads who were pushed into the mountains by invading Indo-Aryans, or whether they were always settled mountaineers cannot be determined. In the east, unlike the west, traces of the first wave of Indo-Aryans, comparable to those in the Mitanni confederation in the west, still survive. These are the present speakers of Dardic and Kafir (Nuristani) languages.

The Dardic peoples today live in the mountainous northeastern part of Afghanistan and the northwestern part of Pakistan and India. The languages occupy a position between Indian and Iranian, and in spite of disagreements about the origin of these languages, all investigators agree that the Dardic languages can be considered a separate group of Indo-European tongues with features particular to that group.[30] In the old religion and folklore of the Dardic peoples one can find many features which support the thesis that these people were much more widespread in the past than today, and that they represent the remains of the earliest wave of Indo-European speakers who entered the plains of India.[31] If we assume that linguistically this suggestion makes sense, then these pre-Vedic Aryans may have carried a distinctive black pottery with them as proposed by R. Ghirshman.[32] We may assume then that these early Indo-Aryans were pushed into the mountains by the Vedic Aryans invading India from the northwest about the twelfth century B.C.; but did the Dardic speakers constrain the aborigines to retreat even further, so that today we only have the Burusho, the Burushaski speakers, as their remnants? If this is true, there seems to have been relatively less absorption of the previous inhabitants by newcomers than in the west. For we must remember that the final movement into the Indo-Iranian borderlands, in Islamic times, is the expansion of the Iranian Pathans or Pashtuns from their homeland in the mountains of Afghanistan onto the plains of the northwest subcontinent.

The Pathans are organized tribally and rule present Afghanistan. They are the pastoralists par excellence of the Indo-Iranian borderlands, practicing an annual migration to the highlands of Afghanistan in the summer and to the lowlands in the winter. Herodotus (IV, 44 and VII, 67, 85) mentions the land of Paktyia and the Paktyes living near Kabul, which may be the ancestor of the name Pakhtun or Pashtun, used by the nomads. The Pathans expanded from their homeland in the Sulaiman mountain range onto the plains only in the aftermath of the Mongol invasions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of our era, and it would seem that the Pashtu language is today still expanding in Pakistan. Legends linking the Pashtuns to the Hephthalites or to the Khalaj Turks may reflect a northern origin, although nothing else can be said about their origins.[33] Pashtu, probably, has absorbed other

[30] On the Dardic languages see D. I Edelman, *Dardskie Yazyki* (Moscow, 1965) with an extensive bibliography, and on the inhabitants P Snoy, *Die Kafiren* (Frankfurt, 1962), 10, and G. G. Morgenstierne, "Die Stellung der Kafirsprachen," *Irano-Dardica* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 327–43

[31] G. Buddruss, "Zur Mythologie der Prasun Kafiren," *Paideuma* Festschrift für H. Lommel, (Wiesbaden, 1960), 207, with Vedic parallels. Cf. also his *Die Sprache von Sau in Ostafghanistan* (Munich, 1967), 11, and K. Jettmar, *Die Religionen des Hindukusch* (Stuttgart, 1975).

[32] R. Ghirshman, *L'Iran et la Migration des Indo-aryans et Iraniens* (Leiden, 1977), 68–69.

[33] G. Morgenstierne, in *Iranistik, Handbuch der Orientalistik*, (Leiden, 1958) 169, also his *Parachi and Ormuri* [n. 35, *infra*], 8.

Iranian speakers in Afghanistan as well as Indic and Dardic speakers in Pakistan, and two survivors of older Iranian languages, now almost wholly engulfed by Pashtu, are Parachi and Ormuri, the former of which is still spoken in a few isolated villages of the Hindukush mountains north of Charikar, while the latter is still spoken by a few people in the Logar Valley south of Kabul and in a village in Wazirstan, Pakistan. It is fascinating that both of these languages show many features in common with Persian, and they have been designated as southeast Iranian relict languages.[34] Unfortunately it is not possible to determine when the ancestors of the Parachi and Ormuri speakers arrived in the mountains of Afghanistan, and exactly what relationship they had to the Pashtuns. If the relations between their tongues and New Persian could be clarified, the proto-Parachi and Ormuri speakers might have been an intrusion from the west in historic times. Or they might have been the original Iranian invaders into a Dardic-speaking area in very early times. A few concurrences in vocabulary between these languages and Brahui, Baluchi and Pashtu indicate little more than geographic proximity and complex borrowings which cannot be tied to historical events or even to the movements of peoples.[35]

When we turn to the Pamir languages, their isolated geographic location, north of the Hindukush, has caused much inter-borrowing, making reconstructions of etymologies and family relationships difficult. While some scholars have sought to derive one or more of the Pamir languages from the Middle Iranian Khotanese Saka, it seems better, from what little we know, to speak of an unknown proto-Pamir language as the ancestor of the present Pamir languages.[36] At least some differentiation has been made among the Pamir languages, and the Shughni group of languages (Roshani, Bartangi, Sarykoli, and Yazghulami) seems to constitute one family, while Munjani, Wakhi, Ishkashmi, and other little known languages, constitute other families or relationships.[37] When such words for 'sun,' as Ishkashmi *rēmuz* and Sanglechi *ormōzd* (from ancient Ahura Mazdā), and Munjani *mīra* from Mithra, occur in the Pamir languages, it readily will be seen that the folklore and beliefs of the Pamir peoples, as well as their languages, have interesting implications for reconstructing the past of the east-Iranian world.

Whereas the Pamir languages cannot be considered as descendants of any known ancient Iranian language, the language of the Yaghnobis, today less than two thousand, living in an isolated mountain valley a hundred kilometers to the north of Dushanbe, Tajikistan, is descended from a Sogdian dialect. The Yaghnobis are the last remnants of a once populous folk who inhabited the valley of the Zarafshan River, where the cities of Bukhara and Samarqand are located. Until fragments of manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan written in the Sogdian language were deciphered and identified in the beginning of the twentieth century, it was not known what kind of a language Yaghnobi was.[38] But Yaghnobi and the Yaghnobis

[34] Morgenstierne, *Iranistik*, *Loc. cit.* on linguistic grounds, suggests that Pashtu may have originally come from the north.

[35] Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, 1, *Parachi and Ormuri* (Oslo, 1929), 13, 311.

[36] Morgenstierne, *Etymological Vocabulary of the Shughni Group* (Wiesbaden, 1974), with an extensive bibliography.

[37] Cf. T. N. Pakhalina, *Pamirskie Yazyki* (Moscow, 1969), 9–10.

[38] See A. Khromov, *Yagnobskii Yazyk* (Moscow, 1972), with bibliography.

are important not only from the point of view of linguistics but also for anthropology and folklore.[39] The Sogdian language first gave way to Persian, and then in many parts of Russian Turkestan Persian/Tajiki was supplanted by Turkic languages. In reconstructing the life of the common folk of Central Asia before the Arab conquests, the Yaghnobis can be helpful, especially in comparing words used today with Sogdian. It must be emphasized that Islam and the new Persian/Tajiki language have both greatly influenced the Pamir peoples and the Yaghnobis such that it is very difficult to unpeel the accumulation of centuries to try to recover the past.

The Yaghnobis, of course, are not the only Iranian speakers in Central Asia, for the vast majority are now Tajiki/Persian speakers, who mostly live in Tajikistan, with its capital Dushanbe. In antiquity the people of Tajikistan were called Bactrians, and they extended also to the south of the Amu Darya into Afghanistan where their main city was located, the present-day ruins of Balkh. So the ethnographic, if not also linguistic, unity of the Bactrians living south of the Hissar mountain range, seems apparent from earliest times. To the north of the Hissar range lived the Sogdians, mostly in what is now Uzbekistan. Just before the Arab conquests, we infer that Buddhism was the dominant religion and culture of the Bactrians, while a local form of Mazdaism or Zoroastrianism seems to have been prevailing among the Sogdians. But the Sogdians, an active trading folk, had trading colonies as far to the east as China and Mongolia, and many religions, including Christianity, Manichaeism and Buddhism, were popular with the Sogdians. The Sogdians also were very mixed ethnically because of their strategic location, as were their cousins in Khwarazm, the land on the lower course of the Amu Darya south of the Aral Sea, who spoke a language different from Sogdian. Although the Tajiki dialects of today, unlike Yaghnobi, are descended from New Persian, nonetheless many Sogdian survivals may be found in them, distinguishing Tajiki from Persian spoken in western Iran. Many studies of Tajik folklore and anthropology, as well as dialectology, help us further to reconstruct the past of that part of the world, especially old forms of family relationship and social life.[40]

The Turkic speakers, Uzbeks, Turkmens and others, are of lesser aid in reconstructing the past, since they have added a layer of Turkic traditions and practices to that of the Tajiks, and are thus further removed from the culture of the ancient inhabitants of the land. Only in Turkmenistan are, and were, nomadism and pastoralism dominant over the settled life, and so in antiquity the steppes of Dahistan, to the east of the Caspian Sea, also supported a nomadic population. According to Classical authors in antiquity here lived the Massagetae, an Iranian people who raided settled lands to the south as did the Turkmens in recent times. Again, here as in Iran, climatic conditions have not changed much since antiquity.

Paleoanthropology tells us that the population of Central Asia in antiquity was much the same as the south of the Amu Darya with mixtures of long-heads and mesocephalics; while possible connections with the south may be found in certain

[39] M. S. Andreev, *Materialy po etnografii Yagnoba* (Dushanbe, 1970).

[40] The Institute for the study of the Pamirs in Dushanbe has published a number of valuable works on the folklore of the peoples of the Pamirs and much research has been done on various Tajiki dialects and folklores.

cranial types similar to the Dravidians of India.[41] Man, of course, lived in very early times in Central Asia, for Neanderthal remains have been found there, including the skeleton of a boy of eight or nine years old.[42] It is unnecessary to go back into prehistory, however, since neither cranial types nor various prehistoric artifacts aid in the reconstruction of later history. Suffice it to say that archaeology is yearly revealing very early settlements in Central Asia before the expansion of the Indo-European-speaking peoples from south Russia, and the pattern of life found there is much the same as in western Iran, with the settled population more numerous than the nomad-pastoralists, except in Turkmenistan. To the north of the present Tashkent area, however, the steppes were dominated by nomads.

The Kara Tau and Kirghiz (formerly Alexandrovskii) ranges were the dividing line between the oases towns of Russian Turkestan (today the Soviet republics of Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan) and the vast steppe lands of present Kazakhastan and Kirghizia. The population of the steppes when we first learn about them, was naturally nomadic except in the southern forested valleys of present Alma Ata and Frunze. To the far north were the forests and tundra of Siberia, the domain of hunters and fishermen. Mobility was the key to life on the steppes, and the almost paramilitary organization of the tribes who roamed here, made them formidable opponents of any settled folk. Slowly archaeology is also uncovering the material civilization of nomads whose culture was more complex than hitherto supposed. We should pause to consider briefly the origins of pastoralism.

When we think of pastoralists as horse-riding nomads, it refers to historic times, for even the early Indo-European migrants were chariot-riding invaders into India, as also the Myceneans into Greece. The use of horses primarily as riding animals rather than pullers of wagons cannot date much before the middle of the second millenium B.C., and it took a long time before riding displaced the use of horses as draught animals. On the other hand, true nomads could hardly exist without the use of horses primarily for riding, and this suggests that nomadism is a relatively late and sophisticated development of a pastoralism based on the use of wagons to follow the herds.[43] Wherever and whenever the domestication of the horse took place, possibly in the Near East, it was nonetheless the Indo-European-speaking peoples who later utilized the horse more than any others, and it surely contributed to the spread of those peoples. The Indo-Europeans in the course of their wanderings, with chariots and wagons, may have learned that riding was more efficient than chariots, especially in combat.[44] In any case, the first horse-riding nomads in history were the Iranian

[41] T. A. Trafimova, *Drevnee Naselenie Khorezma po dannym paleoantropologii* (Moscow, 1959), 7.

[42] For a bibliography of works on the Neanderthal site of Teshik Tash in Uzbekistan by A. P. Okladnikov, see *Istoriya Uzbekskoi SSR*, 1 (Tashkent, 1955), 12–15 and 532

[43] Cf. F. Hančar, *Das Pferd in prähistorischer und frühhistorischer Zeit*, Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik, 11, (Vienna, 1956); and S. Bökönyi, "Data on Iron Age Horses of Central and Eastern Europe," *American Schools of Prehistoric Research Bulletin*, 25, Peabody Museum (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 5–7.

[44] W. Brandenstein, "Das Pferd – eine Hauptfrage der indogermanischen Altertumskunde," *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, 92 (1962), 30–33; and J. F. Downs, "The Origin and Spread of Riding in the Near East and Central Asia," *American Anthropologist*, 63 (1961), 1193–1203.

Scythians, or Sakas as the Persians called them, and they are found already into the first millennium B.C. The Scythians extended eastward to the forest lands of the Altai mountains and Mongolia, and it seems that the Turks and Mongols, who were originally forest dwellers, learned horse-riding from the Iranians.[45] The Scythians were carriers of a dynamic 'animal style' in their metalwork and on textiles, such as those preserved in the tombs of Pazyryk in Siberia.[46] In Siberia and the Altai mountains the Iranians mixed with Mongoloid peoples from the east, but the steppes were occupied by Iranian nomads throughout the first millennium B.C. Karl Jettmar has proposed, however, that horse-riding became dominant in Turkmenistan about 1200 B.C. and afterwards was carried first to India and then northward to the steppes where previously agriculturalists had been dominant.[47] He further postulates a change from settled life to a half-nomadic pastoral existence and then suddenly to full nomadism, with large flocks and groups of warrior nomads. A comparison with the change in life-style of the American Indians after the introduction of the horse to North America, from a settled existence to buffalo-hunting nomads in the full light of history, can be instructive.[48] It would seem that the movement of peoples beginning about 1000 B.C. was the result, in large measure, of a great expansion in the use of the horse, first pulling carts and chariots and then as cavalry. We may conclude that from the period of earliest records in Iran, we find Iranian nomads in the steppes, and they were much later succeeded by Turks and Mongols.

At the present time one small group of Iranian speakers remains from the once widespread Iranian world of the steppes. These are the Ossetes who today live in the Caucasus north of Tiflis, with their center at Ordzhonikidze (formerly Vladikavkaz). The Ossetes whose language has two dialects, a more archaic Digor, and the majority speaking Iron, are a classic refugee people. Although greatly influenced by their Caucasian neighbors, in customs, costumes and even language, it is generally agreed that they are descendants of the Alans, one of the Sarmatian peoples who ruled the south Russian steppes before the expansion of the Turks.[49] Because the Ossetes are the only living representatives of the northern Iranians, their language, and especially their folklore, has been studied to find ancient Iranian, or even Indo-European, features which survived in the refuge area of the north Caucasus.[50] The material culture of the Ossetes, however, is overwhelmingly Caucasian, since the Iranians settled down here so many centuries ago.[51] Although these northern Iranians were historically very important for the history of Eurasia, their impact on the Iranian plateau, the core area for this book, was only sporadic. Their history is only tangential to the history of the south, and we must omit any detailed discussion of them.

[45] See O. Lattimore, "The Geographical Factor in Mongol History," *Geographical Journal*, 91 (1938), 8.

[46] On the finds of Pazyryk, see S. I. Rudenko, *Frozen Tombs of Siberia* (London, 1970), and S. V. Kiselev, *Drevnyaya Istoriya Yuzhnoi Sibiri* (Moscow, 1951).

[47] *Die frühen Steppenvölker* (Baden-Baden, 1964), 215.

[48] *Ibid*, 217.

[49] On the origin of the Ossetes cf. the results of a conference on *Proiskhozhdenie Osetinskogo Naroda* (Ordzhonikidze, 1967), where all points of view about the origins of the Ossetes were aired.

[50] See, e.g., G. Dumezil, *Legendes sur les Nartes* (Paris, 1930), 9; also his *Le livre des héros* (Paris, 1965), 11–12.

[51] See B. A. Kaloev, *Osetiny* (Moscow, 1971).

CONCLUSIONS

We may summarize recent work on the ethnology and anthropology of the Iranian areas briefly. In the realm of physical anthropology and the study of crania, the presence of Negrito elements in southern Iran and Bachichistan, as well as Dravidian types in Central Asia in ancient times leads to the supposition that the pre-Aryan inhabitants of the Iranian plateau did in fact leave clues to their identity, but work in this domain has only begun. For example, no synthesis has been made, as far as I know, of the copious skeletal material from archaeological excavations, to portray the physical characteristics of the population in any area over a time period. Whether we can have any meaningful analyses of racial types in the history of the Iranian world remains to be seen, but at least overall syntheses are first needed. Studies on the dynamics of pastoral-settled occupation of land, and on types of coexistence have clarified the relationships of peoples with different ways of life.[52] As part of this question, investigations on the domestication of the horse have been mentioned as an important development in the early history of the Iranian world. The domestication and use of the camel was presumably less important here than it was in Arabia and North Africa, but the camel, like the horse and donkey, enabled man to go longer distances and to cross hitherto impassable deserts. Whether the camel was the decisive factor in causing the inhabitants of the Iranian plateau to abandon wheeled vehicles, as a recent study claims, is perhaps exaggerated.[53] It would seem rather, that the wheel had lost its importance long before the Sasanian era, as suggested in the study, and that the horse and donkey participated with the camel in relegating the wheel to inefficiency over the mountains and deserts of the Iranian world at least as early as the Achaemenids.

One must always ask whether any contemporary model of ways of life can be projected profitably into an explanation of the past, ignoring changes in religion, culture, etc. For the vast majority of people throughout history the needs of survival, of economics, were far more important than intellectual activities, and continuity in nature, as well as way of life among the Iranians, suggests that contemporary studies of settlement and pastoral patterns do have great relevance to understanding the past; but in the part of the world we are discussing, the reverse is also true. Unfortunately we know very little about the instabilities of societies in the past which arose from failures to maintain subsistence levels. How many years of drought in a given area caused the inhabitants to move, or to change their way of life? It would seem that districts which could be characterized as frontier areas, on the margins of richer agricultural lands, were the prime centers of instability and were the scenes of transfers between settled and pastoral folk. Central Asia has been called the arena where tribal states ruled over vast distances, but only for relatively short periods of time, and this pattern overlaps as well into Iran and Afghanistan. On the whole,

[52] Cf. the works by F. Barth, such as his *Indus and Swat Kohistan* (Oslo, 1956), his *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (London, 1969), and W. Irons and N. Dyson-Hudson, eds., *Perspectives on Nomadism* (Leiden, 1972).

[53] R. Bulliet, *The Camel and the Wheel* (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 175.

people who lived in fertile oases, or valleys copiously watered by rivers, were stable and did not seek greener pastures elsewhere. Although history in this part of the world has been concerned with empires and kingdoms, many significant events, as for example the migration of the Baluchis, are tied to such matters as drought or plagues of locusts. Therefore, it behooves the historian to consider the contributions of the anthropologists and folklorists to our understanding of the past.

In recent years the ancient and medieval city has caught the imagination of many scholars with the result that a plethora of studies and conferences devoted to the city has appeared. The oasis character of the Iranian world insured an early development of town life, and Soviet scholars have contributed much to our understanding of the Central Asian city, as well as to settlement patterns on the Iranian plateau.[54] The archaeological work in Central Asia, and in eastern Iran, at sites such as Shahr-i Sukhte in Seistan and Tepe Yahya in Kerman, has revealed ancient and extensive trade connections hitherto unknown.[55] Eastern Iran and Central Asia are now revealed as separate cultural areas and not provincial extensions of western Iran. Furthermore, the oases of the plateau and Central Asia can make a claim to having been early centers of civilization, parallel to the river valleys of the Indus and Tigris–Euphrates, where the earliest written records have appeared. On the other hand, it must be emphasized that the oases could never vie with the great river plains in productivity, population, hence in historical importance, but they are also not to be compared with the primitive settlements of northern Europe.

Finally a word must be said about the achievements of linguistics in recent years, which have revolutionized our view of the Iranian peoples. Not only have documents in several eastern Middle Iranian languages, Khwarazmian, Sogdian, Khotanese-Saka, and Kushano-Bactrian, revealed a rich, new east-Iranian world, but also studies of modern dialects have shown the complexity of the movement of tribes, the resettlement of villagers far from their homeland and a host of cultural problems in the development of the languages and dialects. As more and more data accumulates, our guesses about the solutions to problems become more educated, and lacunae of the past are gradually filled. Pioneering work in deciphering Khwarazmian was made by W. B. Henning, and before him F. W. K. Müller for Sogdian.[56] Khotanese-Saka was elucidated by the early work of Leumann, Konow and Bailey.[57] The latest Middle Iranian language to come to light was Kushano-Bactrian, which was studied by Maricq, Henning and Benveniste.[58] We now know that Khwarazmian had a long

[54] See especially the collection of articles in both *Antichnyi Gorod* (Moscow, 1963), and *Drevnii Vostok, Goroda i torgovlya* (3–2 mill. B.C.) (Erevan, 1973), for the Near East, N. Pigulevskaja, *Les villes de l'état Iranien aux époques parthes et sassanides* (Paris, 1963), for Iran, and A. M. Belenitskii, ed. *Srendnevekovyi gorod Srednei Azii* (Leningrad, 1973), for the Islamic period of Central Asia.

[55] For Central Asian archaeology see G. Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia* (Leiden, 1970).

[56] See W. B. Henning, "Über die Sprache der Chvarezmier," *ZDMG*, 90 (1936), *30–34; Müller, "Handschriften – Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan," *Abh.PAW* (Berlin, 1904).

[57] E. Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur* (Strasbourg, 1912); S. Konow, in A. F. R. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan* (Oxford, 1916); and H. W. Bailey in many articles in the *BSOS* and books, beginning in 1935.

[58] A. Maricq, "La grande inscription de Kanishka," *JA*, 246 (1958), 345–440; W. B. Henning, "The Bactrian Inscription," *BSOAS*, 23 (1960), 47–55; E. Benveniste, "Inscriptions de Bactriane," *JA*, 249 (1961), 113–52.

history, first written in a modified Aramaic alphabet; then it was written in Arabic characters down to the Mongol conquests. Sogdian was written in its own alphabet, derived from Aramaic, or in a special Manichaean alphabet, or in a Syriac script, resp. in texts of three religions: Buddhism, Manichaeism and Christianity. Kushano-Bactrian, written in a modifed Greek alphabet, survived into the Islamic period, when it was replaced in writing by new Persian in Afghanistan or by Indian tongues to the east.

All contemporary Iranian languages and dialects are either unwritten, or have recorded literatures only from the nineteenth century, save Mazandarani which was recorded in the Arabic alphabet just prior to the Mongol invasions, and Pashtu and Kurdish, both of which are later in being written. G. Morgenstierne classified the Indo-Iranian languages of the frontier areas, while many Soviet scholars, beginning with I. I. Zarubin brought the Pamir languages into an orderly classification. In the investigation of Ossetic, pioneer scholarly work was done by V. Miller and many, especially V. Abaev, have continued his work. One may say that progress in understanding the Iranian world in all of its aspects has been remarkable in the past sixty years, and the most exciting discoveries have come in the east, in Afghanistan and Central Asia, revealing much hitherto unknown information, and the new developments are the result largely of field work.

In the twentieth century new technologies of recording, photography, transportation, etc., have opened areas to investigation which formerly had been difficult of access. The results of archaeology, anthropology and dialectology, all field work, have amply justified efforts, time and money put into them. Without the raw material from the field, cabinet scholars would not have data on which to base their studies. The combination of field and desk work is even more essential, in my opinion, than the study of both past and present in the understanding of the Iranian world, or any part of it. Because of both the unity and the continuity of this world, perhaps more than anywhere else, a Renaissance approach to Iranian Studies still has a value for all who venture onto the manifold and specialized branches of that world. This is why, in my view, the study of the pre-Islamic past of the Iranian world must begin with an appreciation not only of the complexities of that study, but also with a survey of disciplines such as anthropology and linguistics, which in other areas are of less importance to the reconstruction of the picture of the past. In the Iranian area all of this, and more, does indeed have relevance to how we seek to understand the past, and also it does aid us to appreciate the present and the future.

CHAPTER III

PRE-IRANIAN HISTORY OF THE PLATEAU AND CENTRAL ASIA

Literature: The history of the Near East in the pre-Median period is well covered by the *Cambridge Ancient History*, especially vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1973). On Iran see especially Chapter 7 by W. Hinz "Persia, c. 1800–1550 B.C.," Chapter 16 by R. Dyson "The Archaeological Evidence of the Second Millennium B.C. on the Persian Plateau," Chapter 29 by R. Labat, "Elam, c. 1600–1200 B.C.," and his Chapter 32 "Elam and Western Persia, c. 1200–1000 B.C.," plus R. A. Crossland "Immigrants from the North," Chapter 27; with bibliographies on the Hurrians. The book by I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subareans* (Chicago, 1944) is useful as a general survey, but consult also D. O. Edzard "Hurriter" in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* (Berlin, 1975) *sub* Hurriter.

The problem of the *Ur-Heimat* of the Indo-Europeans has a huge bibliography with much controversy, but a consensus has been reached that the homeland must have been in the vast steppes of South Russia and Siberia. Many linguists such as Brandenstein and archaeologists such as Gimbutas, believe the homeland can be further defined as the general lower Volga River region (cf. their articles in A. Scherer, ed., *Die Urheimat der Indogermanen*, Wege der Forschung, 166 (Darmstadt, 1968). Cf. also B. Schlerath, *Die Indogermanen, das Problem der Expansion eines Volkes im Lichte seiner sozialen Struktur*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 8 (Innsbruck, 1973). Also of interest is P. Thieme, *Die Heimat der indogermanischen Gemeinsprache*, AAWM, no. 11 (Mainz, 1953). All of the scholars quoted, however, are cautious about defining a homeland. The main dispute is between linguists and archaeologists, since the identification of certain types of burial (*kurgans*) as Indo-European, is not accepted by everyone. See R. Schmitt, "Proto-Indo-European Culture and Archaeology: Some Critical Remarks," *JIES*, 2 (1974), 279–88, and the reply by M. Gimbutas, 288–89.

It is generally agreed, however, that the unseparated Indo-Iranians must have had close contacts with the early Finno-Ugrian peoples because of very old borrowings into the languages of the latter. Cf. A. J. Joki, *Uralier und Indogermanen*, Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne, 151 (Helsinki, 1973). Soviet archaeologists have come to the conclusion that the center of the Indo-Iranians should be sought near the southern Urals, and this is not contradicted by linguistic data. Cf. K. F. Smirnov and E. E. Kuzmina, *Proiskhozhdenie Indoirantsev v svete noveishikh arkheologicheskikh otkrytii* (Moscow, 1967), esp. 51–52.

On the Andronova culture, the archaeological name for the presumed Indo-Iranian culture in Kazakhastan, cf. K. Jettmar, "Mittelasien and Sibirien in Vorttürkischer Zeit," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik, Altaistik, Geschichte Mittelasiens* (Leiden, 1966), and G. Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia* (Leiden, 1970), ch. 1. On the southern connections of this and other cultures see V. M. Masson, *Srednyaya Aziya i Drevnii Vostok* (Moscow, 1964), 184–85, and his *Central Asia, Turkmenia before the Achaemenids*, with V. I. Sarianidi (London, 1972), esp. 150–54. A survey of archaeological work to the west, in European Russia, may be found in M. Gimbutas, "Proto-Indo-European Culture: The Kurgan Culture during the Fifth, Fourth and Third Millennia B.C.," in C. Cardona and H. Hoenigswald, eds., *Indo-European and Indo-Europeans* (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1970), 155–98.

Archaeological, primarily pottery, evidence for the Indians (or Indo-Aryans) on the Iranian plateau in the second millennium B.C. has been assembled by R. Ghirshman in *L'Iran et la migration des Indo-aryens et des Iraniens* (Leiden, 1977), who proposes an early migration of the former from Central Asia, but a later one from the north Caucasus for the Iranians. The Caucasian migration of Iranians is rejected in favor of a Central Asian path by T. C. Young, "The Iranian Migration into the Zagros," *Iran*, 5 (London, 1967), 11–34, and other archaeologists. No agreement seems possible, although the Central Asian route seems more plausible.

With the coming of the Indians to the subcontinent and the Iranians to the plateau, the Vedas, especially the Rigveda, and the Avesta, join archaeology as two written sources, but their historical interpretation and attempts to find archaeological parallels to the texts are fraught with problems. An indispensable handbook to work on the Avesta is B. Schlerath's *Awesta-Wörterbuch* (Wiesbaden, 1968), while the old work of W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum* (Erlangen, 1882) is still useful as an attempt to relate the Avesta to history and geography. For bibliographies see my *The Heritage of Persia*, second edition

(London, 1976), 303–05. Finally, a linguistic attempt to put the migration of the Indians into historical perspective is T. Burrow, "The Proto-Indoaryans," *JRAS* (1973), 121–40.

RECONSTRUCTIONS

A half a century ago it would have been possible to begin the history of the Iranians with the cuneiform records of the ninth century B.C. which give Iranian names for persons met by Assyrians in their campaigns to the east. It is clear that the Iranians, when they reached the plateau, came upon natives who were at various stages of culture and with different ways of life. In western Iran before the coming of the Iranians, the Hurrians had descended to the plains in the north, while the Elamites were dominant in the south. Whatever other groups existed, we may speak of the Hurrian (and later Urartian and Mannean) sphere in the north, and the Elamite (together with Kassite) realm of the south. The former is more difficult to understand, but we must discuss both before turning to the Iranians.

From the third millennium B.C. Akkadian cuneiform tablets mention the Hurrians, first in the highlands to the east and later in northern Mesopotamia, Syria, and even Anatolia. Just as the 'Fertile Crescent' of Mesopotamia and Syria was the goal of Semitic invaders from Arabia, so it was also the field of expansion for immigrants from the eastern highlands, throughout history. And just as various Semites such as the Akkadians and then the Arameans spread over Mesopotamia, especially in the south, so did the Hurrians, especially in the north. If we use the term Hurrian in its widest sense, as a generic term for all of the peoples in northwestern Iran speaking related languages, there are three states which are recorded in history, the Mitanni confederacy, which flourished in northern Mesopotamia in the middle of the second millennium B.C., and the states of Urartu and of the Manneans, both of which flourished in the first part of the first millennium B.C. Other peoples such as the Lullubi and the Guti or Quti, mentioned in earlier cuneiform records, surely continued to exist in Kurdistan of today, but they seemingly had little or no political influence. The Mitanni are important as the Hurrian kingdom in northern Mesopotamia where the first Indo-Iranian names appear in history. Much has been written about the undoubtedly small group of Indo-European speakers who appeared from the east, just as other early Indo-European speaking peoples, the Hittites, Luvians, and others appear in Anatolia, probably at an earlier period. Much has been written also about the names of the deities in a treaty between a Hittite ruler Šuppiluliumas I and a Mitanni king Kurtiwaza, which deities now everyone agrees are to be identified with Indian Indra, Mitra-Varuna and the Nāsatyās. Likewise the terms for the training of chariot horses by a Mitanni called Kikkuli, found in a manual written in cuneiform Hittite, point also to a language used by some of the Mitanni which can be called an archaic Indian dialect of the Indo-European family.[1a] Other words in a Kassite glossary and Hurrian cuneiform texts from a site called Nuzi, attest to the presence of Indo-European speakers in the Near East in this early period. It is not the intention here to discuss any of the words, whose etymologies are much disputed, but to draw

[1a] M. Mayrhofer, *Die Indo-Arier im alten Vorderasien* (Wiesbaden, 1966), and his sequel *Die Arier im Vorderen Orient – Ein Mythos?*, SWAW, (Vienna, 1974), 294.

historical conclusions from the undeniable presence of Indo-European speakers in Mesopotamia who came from the east.

From the outset, it can be accepted now that those Indo-European speakers were Indians, proto-Indians, or Indo-Aryans (to be distinguished from Dravidians or other Indians), whatever one may wish to call them; they were neither Iranians nor unseparated Indo-Iranians. This general opinion is shared by scholars who hotly dispute the etymologies of various words such as Kammenhuber, Dyakonov, and Mayrhofer (cf. bibliographies of works in Mayrhofer, *Die Arier, supra*). The second point, that these Indians were not a group who came westward from India but rather an offshoot of probably the first migration of Indo-European speakers from Central Asia into eastern Iran or Afghanistan, is also generally accepted by most scholars. Further conclusions are rarely drawn, except the obvious one that these Indians, even though they may have been a ruling class of the Mitanni, were soon absorbed into the local populations of Mesopotamia and Syria. Unfortunately, we do not have the data to come to any more conclusions, but the important question one would ask is, what is the story of these Indians in Iran? Either they were only a small spearhead of a tribe which wandered from the east across Iran to Mesopotamia, or they were only that group of Indians who moved away from other Indians on the Iranian plateau down to the plains of Mesopotamia. If the former were true, the Indians must have been an unusual military band with a superior technology of war chariots which enabled them to cut through other peoples in Iran to penetrate like a mobile army to the plains of Mesopotamia. If the Indians of Mitanni were only part of a much larger group of Indians on the Iranian plateau, one would expect some traces of them in Iran. Also, in either case, the split between the Indians and Iranians must have occurred much earlier than hitherto supposed, and presumably in Central Asia not in Iran or Afghanistan. These two questions are related to each other, and we must examine both of them.

The latter problem has been much discussed by both archaeologists and linguists because it is part of the Indo-European problem about which there is an enormous literature. Here too there is now a consensus that the homeland of the Indo-European peoples was in south Russia, while the Indo-Iranian branch was located in the northeastern part of that general homeland. This is, of course, all hypothetical, but it is the most likely theory. Also, the Indo-Iranians probably were the last, or one of the last, of the Indo-European peoples to move from the homeland, and the movement was to the south and east. The difficulty of attaching archaeological finds to linguistic data plagues everyone seeking to reconstruct the movement of the Indo-Iranians, but a general acceptable hypothesis is that the separation of the Indians from the Iranians took place in Central Asia, or even more to the north, and the Indians moved southward in the first half of the second millennium B.C. This admittedly is imprecise, but it is not possible to go into further details given the state of knowledge at present. At the same time one must account for the existence of the Dardic languages today and other facts, so an attempt at explanation should be made, always remembering that we are not dealing with factual data but surmises.

Ghirshman reconstructs the movement of the Indians as follows[1]: the place from

[1] *Op. cit.* [ch. 2, n. 32], 18.

which they dispersed was Gurgan and Turkmenistan where they had settled in the third millennium B.C. coming from the north. He bases the settlement of Indians on the presence of grey or black pottery which replaces earlier painted pottery, accompanied by clay idols, highly stylized "violin-shaped" female figurines. Together with these two features, chariots drawn by horses and small trumpets in gold or silver complete the list of components identifying the Indians (or Indo-Aryans). Where these features occur in excavations, according to the author, we should expect to find Indians. These criteria force the author to bring the Indians to the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea already at the end of the fourth millennium B.C. Such an early date is surprising though not impossible. The first criterion for the presence of Indians is the grey or black pottery. But this pottery is also associated later with Iranians at sites such as Hasanlu south of Lake Urmia in Azerbaijan, presumably with a Mannean (Mannai) population.[2] The distribution over time and space of grey or black ware obviously precludes the incorrect syllogism that where this ware occurs we must have Indians. To turn to the "violin-shaped" female figurines, a special style centered on Turkmenistan can be argued, but the existence of similar figurines from the Indus valley to Mesopotamia from ages long before the Indo-Iranians appeared also cannot be denied, and an extensive survey of such figurines does not support Ghirshman's hypothesis.[3] Horses and chariots also do not inspire confidence in his theory, since at Uruk from the end of the fourth millennium, the character for a four-wheeled vehicle is recorded in cuneiform and the domestication of the horse is also early there.[4] This leaves the trumpet, and the evidence brought by Ghirshman for the Indo-Aryan origin of this is the borrowing of it by the Egyptians, possibly from the Mitanni. In other words, none of Ghirshman's arguments are convincing; on the other hand all of them conceivably may be attributed to Indo-Aryans if this term is stretched beyond the usual conception of these people.

All of this brings us back to philology and how the Indians came to the Near East. What happened to the Indians who did not descend to the plains of Mesopotamia as a component of the Mitanni? As mentioned, either the Mitanni Indians were an isolated band who wandered far to the west leaving no remnants behind them in Iran, or they were only a small part of a larger group in Iran, and if the latter where are their traces? If traces are to be found, they should exist in the mountain refuge areas where the remnants of the Indians survived while the rest were absorbed by their cousins, the Iranians, who came later. T. Burrow, who adheres to this view, even suggests that the name Urmia (for town and lake) goes back to a Sanskrit word *ūrmi* "wave."[5] This is unlikely, however, since in the Urartian language a number of place

[2] See E. Porada, *The Art of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1965), 108, and R. H. Dyson, "Problems of Protohistoric Iran as seen from Hasanlu," *JNES*, 24 (1965), 211.

[3] V. M. Masson and V. I. Sarianidi, *Sredneasiatskaya Terrakota epokhi bronzy* (Moscow, 1973), especially ch. 4

[4] E. E. Kuzmina, *Earliest Evidence of Horse Domestication and Spread of Wheeled Vehicles in Connection with Problem of time and place of the formation of Indo-European Unity* (Moscow, 1971) Reports of the USSR delegation to the 8th international congress of pre- and proto-historic sciences in Belgrade, 8–9. More detailed and with a large bibliography is her article "Rasprostranenie konevodstva i kulta konya v iranoyazychnykh plemen Srednei Azii," in *Srednyaya Aziya*, ed. by B. G. Gafurov and B. A. Litvinskii (Moscow, 1977), 28–52.

[5] T. Burrow, "The Indoaryans," *JRAS* (1973), 139

names begin with *ur-*, and Urmia, being in Mannean territory, is more likely a word from their language than from Sanskrit. Likewise the etymology of Mazandaran as containing the name Indra, a Vedic deity, proposed by Burrow, does not inspire confidence.[6] What is needed are some names which are indisputably Indian, such as the Mitanni deities. Unfortunately, etymologies of names are subject to as much dispute among linguists as the historical significance of pottery types among archaeologists, and none of the names suggested as being of Indian origin, Bagdatti and Artasari, Bagbartu, etc. can be definitely assigned an exclusively Indian etymology.[7] So in the realm of linguistics we depend on impressions, which suggest an Indian presence on the plateau or in the mountains of Iran, but there is no data available to confirm these impressions. If we follow Burrow in his discussion of *dēvs* in Mazandaran, again we are in the realm of conjecture, for the use of the term *dēv*, in a favorable sense, does not assure us that Indians were present, in opposition to the Iranian or Zoroastrian condemnation of the *dēvs*, and their worshippers. The *dēvs* could, of course, refer to non-Aryan deities and names found in the Caspian region later, such as *Dēvsalār* 'leader of *dēvs*,' *Dēvdād* 'Theodore,' etc., do not necessarily point to Indians or even to Iranians who did not follow the condemnation of the *daēvas* and *daēva* worship. On the other hand, the Indians of the Mitanni people must have existed, so the theory of a first wave of Aryans as manifested in these Indians or proto-Indians, before the coming of the Iranians, is not at all far-fetched.

The existence of the Dardic languages in the northeast of the Iranian area would also point to an early wave of Indo-European speakers into this area. The extreme difficulties of comparing contemporary languages with an ancient language of over three millennia ago (the Indic of the Mitanni) is obvious, and further comparison with the religion of some of the Dardic people (the deity Imra as Indra, and the like) with the Vedic deities of Varuna, Mitrā, etc. can lead to no certain conclusions, but rather little more than a subjective intuition that the remote ancestors of the Dardic peoples had some relations with the Indians of the Mitanni. There is, it seems, no objection to the proposition that when the Iranians came upon the plateau they were not the first Indo-European speakers that the autochthonous population had encountered. Surely the Indian layer on the substratum, however, was not very numerous, and in places it must have been absorbed early by the natives. The only traces of the Indians which may have survived could be the *daēva* worship (not devil worship), primarily in the Caspian provinces, which withstood the Zoroastrian reform of the ancient religion of the Indo-Iranians. As we shall see, a Zoroastrian reform is the easiest way to explain most of the divergences between the Iranians and the Indians in religion.

THE NEAR EAST AT THE TURN OF THE MILLENNIUM

Whatever the role and importance of the Indians in the Near East had been, by the year 1000 B.C. the autochthonous people were organized into small states or tribes in western Iran, according to cuneiform sources. Elam was in decline, since it had

[6] S. Kiyā, *Shāhnāme ve Māzandārān* (Tehran 1353/1975), 32

[7] Burrow, *op. cit.* [n. 5], 140; and P. Kretschmer, "Weiteres zur Urgeschichte der Inder," *KZ*, 55 (1927), 75–103, especially 100.

suffered greatly at the hands of the Babylonians over a century previously. The Kassites long before 1000 B.C. had been absorbed in Mesopotamia, although in the Zagros mountains, present southern Luristan, they continued to live, and many of the 'Luristan' bronzes were found in graves here. Known to the Greeks as *Κοσσαῖοι*, to the Latin authors as Cossaeans (both with variants) and in cuneiform sources as Kaššū, this Zagros people are mentioned as late as Alexander's conquests. To the south of them, also in the mountains lived the Uxii or *Οὔξιοι* (with variants), *hwz'* in the Talmud (but applied to the plains as well as mountains), Hūzāye in Syriac, and Khuzistan of today with its capital Ahwāz (Arabic pl. of *hwz*). These tribal peoples owed no allegiance, or only temporary, nominal fealty to Elam or other later states. In Persis to the south were primarily Elamites with their principal city Anshan (*hodie* Tepe Malyan), and to the north of the Kassites apparently were various peoples who are not clearly identifiable in the cuneiform sources. Whether the ancient, Quti/Guti, or other peoples still lived in the Zagros mountains at the beginning of the first millennium B.C. is uncertain, but surely their descendants were there. It is clear, however, that no states or tribes were either dominant or expanding in this area at this time, but this was to change greatly with a series of events which seems to have occurred in the first centuries of the millennium – the expansion of Assyria and Urartu, and, of course, the Iranians over the plateau.

If we only had information from the first century of the millennium, some of the later changes in states and peoples might be explicable, but one can only guess at the forces at work which changed this part of the ancient world. Assyria had expanded, especially to the west, under Tiglath-Pileser I (c. 1116–1090 B.C.) but after his reign had soon returned to the size of its homeland in northern Mesopotamia. Babylon likewise was in a state of decline, and the apparent reason for the decline of both powers was the spread of the Arameans into Mesopotamia. Many small states of these invaders from the desert were created, but they never united into a strong kingdom. Instead they gradually gave their language to the settled folk and fused with them. The spread of the Arameans and their language Aramaic was paralleled by the expansion of the Iranians, and incidentally also of a much more widespread use of iron and steel.[8] Whether the Iranians were carriers of this expanded metallurgy is doubtful, but they could have utilized it well in their expansion.

We return to the question of the Iranians who spread from their homeland much later than their cousins, the Indians. The Iranians, we have mentioned, remained in Central Asia and continued the tradition of the Andronovo culture after the Indians had moved south. It is interesting to note that ancient Iranians in Central Asia, and presumably extending into European Russia, did have contacts with the Finno-Ugrian peoples, but not apparently with the Baltic speakers.[9] These observations, based on linguistic data, coincide with archaeological finds of the Andronovo culture in Kazakhastan. Since the widespread (over both space and time) black or grey pottery is no useful index of the presence of either Aryans or Iranians, what were some other

[8] See C. A. Singer, *A History of Technology*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1954–58); and R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* (Leiden, 1955–58).

[9] E. Korenchy, *Iranische Lehnwörter in den obugrischen Sprachen* (Budapest, 1972), esp. 33–34; and P. Arumaa, "Baltes et iraniens," *Studi Linguistici in onore di Vittore Pisani* (Brescia, Paideia, 1969), 73–90, esp. 89–90.

features of the culture of the early Iranians? Just as with pottery one must be careful in attributing types of burial and features of material culture *exclusively* to Iranians, for they too could be borrowed or adapted by other peoples. Burials in *kurgans*, a large mound with a room for the body and burial objects, and interment of horses with the dead chieftain or warrior, are two features of the culture of the Andronovo people.[10] Can one maintain that wherever these two features are found Iranians are present, or that they are exclusive to the Iranians? In any one of these two cases, the migration of Iranians through the Caucasus to northwestern Iran can be proposed, since *kurgan* burials have been found in Soviet Azerbaijan near sites such as Mingechaur and Kirovabad.[11] The use of *kurgans* persisted into historic times and the dating of graves without inscriptions is particularly difficult, since presumably the early Iranians were nomads or semi-nomads who both adopted and gave ideas, making difficulties in entangling origins. There is no reason why Iranian bands should not have gone down the western shores of the Caspian Sea, as well as through Central Asia. And, whereas the possible traces of an Iranian migration from the north to Azerbaijan and south are difficult to find, in Central Asia archaeological indications for a migration are more promising.

In Central Asia the archaeological trail of Iranian migrations, as of any migrations of tribes, has not left clear traces. Soviet archaeologists, however, have opened new vistas on ancient Central Asia, and although excavations at Kyuzeli-Gyr in Khwarazm, Afrasiyab I in Sogdia, Elken tepe in Turkmenia, Yaz II in the Merv oasis and Kobadian I on the north bank of the Oxus River in southern Tajikistan have revealed similar pottery from the immediate pre-Achaemenid period, the earlier centuries are not at all uniform.[12] All attempts to establish the material culture of the ancient Aryans on the basis of archaeological finds, including types of burial, metal objects and the like, have failed to establish an overall accepted reconstruction of the expansion of the ancient Iranians. One feature which may confuse archaeologists is that cultural objects may go the opposite direction from a nomadic invasion or a movement of peoples. Indeed, it is likely that many aspects of early Iranian settled civilization, including city or town structures, came from Mesopotamia or at least from south to north rather than the reverse.[13] The direction of influence is always difficult to discern especially in early periods of history.

It is not possible here to discuss the many ramifications of Central Asian archaeology, the comparative stratigraphies of such key sites as Anau and Namazga tepe in Turkmenistan, and the many other excavations which have given us a picture of Central Asia different from the old view of the area as a wide expanse of steppe lands sparsely inhabited by nomads. Although deserts do occupy much of Central Asia, elsewhere the fertility is great, as Quintus Curtius, historian of Alexander the Great, noted, "the land of the Bactriani is of a manifold and varied nature. In one part

[10] Smirnov and Kuzmina, *supra*, *Proîskhozhdenie*, 6.

[11] For a bibliography see K. V. Trevor, *Ocherki po istorii i Kulture Kavkazskoi Albanii* (Moscow, 1959), 36.

[12] A good survey of the pottery of the various sites with historical notes is in V. M. Masson, *Drevnezemledelcheskaya kultura Margiany*, MIA 73 (Moscow, 1959), 218 pp. A French summary of the book by Ghirshman may be found in *IA*, 4 (1964), 69–84.

[13] Cf. V. M. Masson, "Problema drevnego goroda i arkheologicheskie pamyatniki severnoi Baktrii," *Drevnyaya Baktriya* (Leningrad, 1974), 8.

many trees and vines produce plentiful and mellow fruits, frequent streams irrigate the rich soil, the milder parts of which they sow with grain, the rest they leave for pasture for the flocks."[14] There is no evidence of any large political entity in Central Asia before or at the time of the expansion of the Iranians, and one would not be expected so early. From excavations and from the Avesta, as well as the parallel Vedas, however, a tentative conception of the life of the early Iranian tribes may be reconstructed.

The picture of early Iranian life by Geiger still retains interest for the student even though some of his nineteenth century romantic conceptions or ideas about race seem misplaced today.[15] The ancient Iranians were both conversant with agriculture and, of course, with pastoralism; at least the vocabulary indicates both forms of life. Likewise the tribal nature of Iranian society is implied by the accounts of Herodotus and other Classical writers which conform to all we know about it. There are no indications of a developed town life among the early Iranians, and we may assume that they encountered relatively undeveloped urban societies, and only in some of the oases of Central Asia and on the Iranian plateau.[16] For a long period of time the Iranians probably remained in Central Asia and eastern Iran with little contact to the west where settled cultures did flourish. We infer this since the Avesta shows no evidence of any contact with the states or civilizations which existed in western Iran or Mesopotamia. Although the 'urban revolution,' to use an expression of Gordon Childe, had not occurred in the areas where the early Iranians first lived before spreading over the plateau, some settlements even previous to the coming of the Iranians did exist in Central Asia.[17] Trade and commerce, as noted above, had been active for many centuries if not millennia before the coming of the Iranians, but settlements for the production of objects were few and small.[18] In oases such as Herat and in Seistan small centers probably existed, but we need more archaeological work to give us a clear picture of their extent and nature. Anthropologists and sociologists have proposed many criteria for the development of urbanism, or for the distinction between an urban and an agricultural civilization, and models have been created to apply everywhere. One or more of the models may fit the case of the Iranians, but from the only sources we have, archaeology and the ancient religious writings, again the dominant pastoral society of the early Iranians is what strikes one's attention. It was an heroic, tribal society probably similar to the life of the Pathans or Pashtuns today on the Afghan–Pakistan borderlands. The exploits of warriors and sacrifices to the gods were two important activities we infer from the Avesta.

Controversy has not subsided over the theories of Georges Dumézil regarding Indo-

[14] *History of Alexander* (VII, 4, 26), ed. and trans. by John C. Rolfe, 2 (London, 1962), 159.

[15] W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum* (Erlangen, 1882).

[16] See V. M. Masson, *Srednyaya Aziya i Drevnii Vostok* (Moscow, 1964), 454–56.

[17] V. G. Childe, "The Urban Revolution," in *The Rise and Fall of Civilizations*, ed. by C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (Menlo Park, California, 1974), 6–14. An immense literature exists on the beginnings of urbanism; cf. R. M. Adams, *The Evolution of Urban Society* (Chicago, 1966); R. Tringham, ed., *Urban Settlements* (Warner Modular Publications, Andover, Mass., 1973); R. Braidwood and G. Willey, eds., *Courses Toward Urban Life* (Chicago, 1962), and R. M. Adams, "The Origins of Cities," in C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, ed., *Old World Archaeology* (San Francisco, 1972), 137–43.

[18] Cf. J. A. Sabloff and C C. Lamberg-Karlovsky, eds., *Civilization and Trade* (Albuquerque, N. M., 1975).

European, and, of course, early Iranian society and religion. Indeed in the Iranian field scholars are sharply divided on the theory or on its relevance to an understanding of ancient Iranian society. Briefly Dumézil claims that Indo-European society had a tripartite division based on a conscious ideology found nowhere else in the world. Although the division of people into priests, warriors and common folk may have existed elsewhere, only the Indo-Europeans developed this ideology as a fundamental basis of both their religion and their society.[19] In this division of society, which reflects the division of the gods, there is a further subdivision of magical and juridical aspects of the three functions. Thus, among the Indians, the gods Mitra and Varuna were the deities of the priests, the highest function of sovereignty, and this corresponded to Vohu Manah and Aša in Iran, two of the Aməša Spentas "holy immortals" or archangels in the Zoroastrian religion. Although the Zoroastrian reform of the ancient religion of the Iranians changed the roles of the ancient Indo-Iranian deities, Dumézil nonetheless finds a continuation of the ancient Indo-European ideology in Zoroastrianism with a substitution of characters for the original roles. Almost everyone concedes that a tripartite division of society is almost a natural differentiation in ancient societies everywhere, the only argument concerning Dumézil's theory is the *conscious*, overwhelming importance of this ideology and its ramifications for the Indo-Europeans. It would fit in well with the caste system of India or the division of society into three classes in Iran, but the significant ramifications of this are difficult to find. To say that one important result of the division of society was the *Männerbund* or group of young warriors, upholders of the second function of force or military power, does not single out Indo-European society as greatly different from other societies. If the young men of the Indo-Europeans had better weapons or horses than the young men of another group, one can only say that in a conflict the former would win. Just how far one can use the later Turkification of Azerbaijan or Anatolia as a model for the earlier expansion of the Iranians is subject to dispute, but the process by which local people adopted the language of their conquerors must have had some analogies in both cases. If there had been a clear tripartite ideology among the Indo-Europeans including the early Iranians, it is nowhere proclaimed or spelled out in the sources. It may well have been understood by everyone thus obviating any need to explain or propound it, but it is surely not found in unequivocal fashion in any sources.[20]

To return to the Iranians, regardless of how profound a meaning the tripartite divisions of the cosmos and society had for these people, the rites and incantations used to propitiate or implore the deities for aid must have survived from the hoary Indo-European past, with possible additions or changes according to new circumstances of life or contact with other peoples. On the other hand, in religion conservatism is the rule, and an examination of the text of the Avesta does not reveal any autochthonous elements. This suggests that the ancient Iranian beliefs were perhaps closer to the

[19] The output of Dumézil is prodigious, but since he insists that one read only his latest works, see his *Mythe et epopée*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1968–73), and his earlier *L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Européens* (Bruxelles, 1958). An analysis of his work, including critics, may be found in C. S. Littleton, *The New Comparative Mythology* (Berkeley, 1973), and in G. J. Larson, ed., *Myth in Indo-European Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1974).

[20] Most divisions of any kind can only be dual or tripartite, or multiples thereof, so the peculiarity of such classifications is not apparent.

general Indo-European religious milieu than the religions of many other daughter linguistic groups. By the time the Iranians spread over the plateau, however, we may say that the social and moral aspects of the deities in their pantheon were paramount, and the functions of the gods were more important than identifications with forces of nature. Thus Mithra (Vedic Mitra), while associated with or even identified as the sun, was more the god of respect for contracts and oaths among the Iranians, which was part of the responsibility of humans to follow or to have *ṛta* (Skt.) or *aša* (Avestan). This important concept in the religion of the Indians and the Iranians which has been well elucidated by Mary Boyce as the concept of order in its widest sense – cosmic, social – and the order of sacrifice, plus truth among men, was the basis of the philosophy of life of the ancient Indians and Iranians.[21] The pantheon of the Iranians presents a problem with the name of the highest god Ahura Mazdā 'Lord Widsom,' seemingly an epithet. Although much controversy exists about the origin and identification of Ahura Mazdā, it is generally accepted that this deity is somehow related to the Indic Varuna. Just how the Iranian Varuna lost his position and Ahura Mazdā assumed the role of chief god for the Iranians is an enigma, but Boyce proposed that Varuna was tied to another deity of the waters Apām Napāt, and whereas in ancient India the figure of Apām Napāt receded and Varuna remained important, in Iran the reverse happened. Further, in Iran Ahura Mazdā assumed the role of Varuna, while Mithra/Mitra remained important for both Iranians and Indians.[22] There is much discussion among scholars about the various roles of the deities in the pantheon of the ancient Iranians, and here is not the place to investigate such details, but rather the role of religion in the life of people and related problems concern the historian. In both India and Iran hymns were sung to the deities as part of the ritual or sacrifice, and the hymns were passed on from priest to priest from hoary antiquity. If anything, the Iranians were more universal than the Indians in their objects of praise or worship, for in the Avesta we find praise for plants, animals, mountains, rivers, the days of the year, and in fact much of creation is revered (e.g., *Yasna* 17, 17). We do not find the transposition of identities of one deity to another in the Avesta as in the Rigveda of India. Thus in RV I, 94, 13 Agni is identified with Mitra and in RV II, 1, 3 with Indra and Viṣṇu, but in Iran we do not find this in the hymns. It is difficult to know what has been changed or added in later times to the text of the Avesta, but such additions seem to conform to the spirit and continuity of the ancient religion. In fact, the "long tradition" *darəγa upaγanā* is mentioned several times in the Avesta as something to be revered (Y. 17, 13, etc.). Repetition of formulae is also a constant feature of the Avesta, and the only important changes or additions to the ancient religion probably were made by Zoroaster.

Before turning to the prophet, however, one may mention several features of the religion which seem to have been in operation before Zoroaster. One was surely ancestor worship, found all over the world of the Indo-Europeans, and in the Avesta a special Yašt 13 is devoted to the spirits of the departed including animals, birds, etc. (verse 74). Prayers to mountains, rivers, the elements (fire, wind, water, etc.) have been mentioned, and we shall meet this feature again below in considering the

[21] Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, 1 (Leiden, 1975), 27.

[22] *Ibid.*, 48–52.

cuneiform tablets in Elamite from Persepolis. Ritual purification and ablutions were probably also a part of the religion of the ancient Iranians, and in later times fire occupied a special place in the worship of Zoroastrians. The eclipse or rise of certain deities, the dropping of names for epithets, and the changes in functions of certain spirits, in both India and Iran, all have provided scholars with much material for speculation. Fortunately, the detailed account of the gods of pagan Iran by Boyce obviates the need to comment on these religious and etymological questions.[23] It should be noted that the demons and evil forces in the world were as innumerable as the good spirits, and it seems that at times propitiation of demons in many forms was as much a part of some rituals as were the hymns and offerings to the benevolent spirits. Also noteworthy is that legends in the Avesta about ancient heroes blend with those of the gods. Obviously all things in life, health and sickness, poverty and wealth, and many more, were bound to religion in words and deeds, hymns and sacrifices. Belief in an afterlife also was a feature of ancient Iranian religion, but burial customs as recovered by archaeologists are notoriously difficult to interpret as reflecting theological or eschatological beliefs of those who practiced them. Whether the rulers or aristocracy espoused different means of disposal of a corpse than those of common folk is not easy to determine, but archaeology indicates that many of the early Iranians buried their dead in the ground.[24] In this connection the ancient rite of the horse sacrifice (RV I, 162) the *aśvamedha*, the skeletons of which have been found by archaeologists in graves in south Russia in later Scythian times, indicates the importance of burial for at least kings and warriors. For both Indians and Iranians horses and chariots were important, as we find in the Vedas and Avesta (*Drvāspā Yašt* I, 2; *Mithra Yašt*, 10–11, etc.). Furthermore, the horse was a symbol or incarnation (*avatar*) of various deities, including Tištriya, the star Sirius (Yašt, 8, 46). It was a feature of both Indian and Iranian religious belief that epithets and symbols were interchangeable among the deities, and thus a picture of a universal or even syncretistic pantheon of deities, overlapping each other's functions and domain, is revealed. This should have enabled the Iranians to integrate local spirits or deities of other peoples, such as those of the Elamites, into the vast Iranian pantheon. Probably only later did real syncretism become fashionable, when the gods of the Greeks were identified with Iranian deities. Obviously what we have preserved of the ancient Iranian and Indian religions is the priestly traditions, what one might call scholastic traditions, reflecting the beliefs, rituals and legalities of one group over the millennia. The mythology of the Avesta may well have been understood differently by priests than by the common folk, who were surely more inclined to magical interpretations of hymns, special incantations to ward off evil, and less formal interpretations of the meanings of sacrifices and litanies than those of the priests. The cult of *haoma* (Skt. *soma*) which produced ecstasy in the participants who drank the draught prepared from the plant, whatever it was, necromancy, divination and other popular manifestations of the supernatural, were probably more important for the common folk than the elaborate hymns to the gods and the rituals which were the specialty of

[23] *Ibid.*, 22–84.

[24] It is difficult to assign certain graves to Iranians, and to distinguish between nomadic and settled burial customs. Nonetheless, the existence of graves in those places and times when Iranians were living indicates that some Iranians buried their dead.

priests. The Avesta, as we have it, in general shows the result of much priestly preoccupation with the text, and rather than devote more space to continued discussion of the religious beliefs of the ancient Iranians, which have exercised generations of scholars in Iranian matters, let us turn to the society and perhaps political order indicated by the religious texts.

From the absence of words and expressions for city or even state in the Avesta, one may conclude that early Iranians lived in a tribal society based on the extended family. In both the RV (e.g., I, 96, 3) and the Avesta (Yašt 8, 56; Yašt 13, 10) the Aryan tribes or Aryan lands are mentioned, indicating a strong sense of solidarity and difference from the subjugated peoples. The family (Av. *nmāna*) and clan or extended family (*vīs*) were the basis of authority in ancient Iranian society with the *pater familias* (*nmānōpaiti*) under the *vīspaiti*, the clan leader. The *zantupaiti*, the tribal chief, on the other hand, seems to have represented more than just a larger unit of people, but was also a chief of a district or the land where the tribe had its home. It is difficult, of course, to distinguish between territorial and human units, but the next higher division of society, the *dahyu*, is apparently a geographical more than a social division, although if one translated this word as 'people' rather than more correct 'country,' the hierarchy in society would be maintained. Beyond this stratification an even higher confederacy of 'peoples' is implied in some parts of the Avesta, notably in Yašt 10 dedicated to Mithra, where a chief of some such confederacy is mentioned (verse 18: *fratəmaδāt*, and verse 115). Although some scholars have claimed that this means the existence of an empire, I. Gershevitch has convincingly argued that we should rather understand a confederation of Iranian peoples, perhaps headed by a council with a chief of that council.[25] Perhaps the easiest way to indicate the old Iranian hierarchy of groups is to look at the Old Persian cuneiform inscriptions where the family or *taumā* (Av. *nmāna*) is the narrow family of Darius, and the clan, or extended family, would be *viθ*, here Achaemenid (Hakhāmanishya); the tribe (unattested in OP) would be the Pasargadae, and finally the people or nation (OP *dahyu*), in the case of Darius, were the Pārsa or Persians inhabiting Persis or Fars. Above this in the case of the Achaemenids was an empire instead of a confederacy as previously in eastern Iran. The Avestan words *sāstar*, *hamō-xšaθra*, *xšaya*, and others, seem to be epithets of the ruler of the *dahyu*, or possibly of a chief of the rulers in a confederacy. Later, in western Iran, of course, different concepts of rule developed with the Achaemenid Empire, which will be discussed below.

In addition to the political hierarchy above, there existed the social division already mentioned, between priests, warriors and common folk (Yasna 40, 3). Caste divisions, as known in India (Skt. *várna*), are not found in Iran, and the special position of the priests later, an exclusive and hereditary situation, was surely the end result of priestly endeavors to exalt their own standing. As in most tribal societies, presumably also among the ancient Iranians, the young warriors of the tribe were of prime importance. Much has been written about the Old Persian word *marīka*, usually translated as 'menial' or 'servant,' although the interpretation of this as the young

[25] I. Gershevitch, *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra* (Cambridge, 1959), 296–99. The relation of the Gathic term *šōiθra* (Skt. *kṣétra*) to *zantu*, possibly a synonym, cannot be discussed here, but the picture of the hierarchy is unchanged.

warrior of a tribe makes more sense.[26] Whether the young Iranian warriors followed special cults apart from the rest of the people, as suggested by Wikander, is possible, but any definite information about them is lacking.[27] Priests, on the other hand, dominate the scene in the religious writings which have survived, again probably a distortion of their real status in the society of the time. There are many words denoting priests but one of special concern to us is *kavi*, a word with a long tradition in Iranian languages, but which originally probably meant a seer or wise man as in India.[28] Somehow and somewhere in eastern Iran the *kavis* seem to have attained temporal power and started dynasties of rulers in small areas. At least this is the easiest interpretation of the title at the time of the prophet Zoroaster, to whom we must now turn.

The figure of Zoroaster is at the core of the Avesta but his life and times are anything but historical, since legends have accumulated about him throughout the ages. Most scholars now agree that the place of Zoroaster is in eastern Iran because of the language of the Avesta and the geographical knowledge found there, both of which refer to the east. To narrow the geographical limits further is difficult, but the view of Henning that Herat and Merv was the most likely candidate for the area of activity of the patron of the prophet Kavi Vishtaspa has much to commend it.[29] Because of the shifting of place names by the movement of people any geographical identifications must be subject to great scrutiny, and no real determination of the place of Zoroaster's activity is possible. The closeness of the Khwarazmian language of later times with the two dialects of the Avesta, Gathic and the dialect of the rest of the Avesta, was shown by Henning, although he cautioned that Khwarazmian cannot be considered a descendant of Avestan.[30] The movement of the Iranian Sakas in the first centuries B.C. to Seistan probably contributed to legends about Zoroaster's activities in their new home, while those traditions assigning the prophet to Azerbaijan are even later in origin. Thus we can only say that somewhere near the Herat area would be a likely place for the area where Kavi Vishtaspa flourished.

The date of Zoroaster has produced much controversy, some scholars such as Herzfeld assigning the prophet to the time of Cyrus with the assumption that Vishtaspa is to be identified with the father of Darius who bore the same name.[31] Others adopted the tradition of some later Zoroastrian writings that the prophet lived "258 years before Alexander," a tradition whose reliability was ably defended by Henning.[32] His principal argument was the likelihood that any fabricated number would have some magical or other, perhaps historical, overtones, whereas 258 had none and therefore should be considered reliable. This date was accepted as genuine in Sasanian times and was reported in the later Arabic writings of al-Bīrūnī, Mas'ūdī and others, even though the interpretation of "before Alexander" was much disputed.[33]

[26] Cf. Frye, *supra*, *The Heritage of Persia*, 55.

[27] S. Wikander, *Der Arische Mannerbund* (Lund, 1938).

[28] On the term see Boyce, *op. cit.* [n. 21], 11, and I. Gershevitch, *op. cit.* [n. 25], 185.

[29] W. B. Henning, *Zoroaster* (Oxford, 1951), 43. His name probably means 'one who can handle camels well', an appropriate name for eastern Iran. On the prophet and his message, see the collection of articles, ed. by B. Schlerath, *Zarathustra* (Darmstadt, 1970).

[30] Henning, *op. cit.*, 44–45.

[31] E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster and his World* (Princeton, 1947), esp. 161 and 204.

[32] *Op. cit.* [n. 29], 40–42.

[33] See S. Shahbazi, "The 'traditional date of Zoroaster' explained," *BSOAS*, 40 (1977), 29–30.

Among some scholars, however, the origin or significance of the number which was passed to posterity was disputed, and Shahbazi suggested that the date "258 years before Alexander" was taken by Zoroastrian priests from Babylonian sources, which would have played down the reigns of the early Achaemenid kings, Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes, who conquered or suppressed uprisings in Babylonia, whereas Artaxerxes I, who had several Babylonian wives, does appear in the Zoroastrian tradition.[34] On the basis of a Babylonian origin for the year 258, Shahbazi finds that 539 B.C., the date of Cyrus' conquest of Babylon, is 228 years before the Seleucid era, plus 30 years for the prophet's life before he received a call to propagate the good religion. The Babylonian origin for the dates of early Zoroastrian tradition is an interesting suggestion which at the least supports an older date for Zoroaster. To go further and date Zoroaster at 1080 B.C., on the basis of a statement of Xanthos of Lydia and the Khwarazmian calendar is perhaps overly bold, but the traditional date has now been seriously challenged.[35] Inasmuch as centuries are but as a day for prehistoric times, it is hardly possible to assign even a century for Zoroaster's activity, and Boyce's "about 1500 B.C., or even earlier," places perhaps too much weight on the hoary antiquity of both the Gathic dialect and on archaic rites and the contents of the hymns.[36] To give a date to Zoroaster, even in a certain century, is hazardous.

Since Zoroaster is probably to be dated in prehistoric times and placed in eastern Iran, the continuity of his teachings, the basis of the religion we call Zoroastrianism, throughout so many centuries to the present is most striking. This is not to deny changes in the religion, but his personality and teachings must have made a powerful impact on his contemporaries to have survived. Many scholars have suggested that Zoroaster was a traditional priest who broke with the ancient religion and became a monotheist. There is nothing, however, to suggest that the prophet did more than inject his own moral and ethical ideas into the ancient religion of the Iranians seeking thus to reform it. At most he could be characterized as advocating monolatry, since in the Gathas he appeals to Ahura Mazdā, although other deities are assumed to be helpers of the great god, while followers of the evil spirit Angra Mainyu (MP Ahriman) are not denied existence by the prophet. This is not the place to discuss the doctrine of the six Aməša Spentas, helpers of the creator Ahura Mazdā, or of the ethical dualism and the choice of man, but we must seek to recover the historical significance of the Zoroastrian reform of the old religion. From the Avesta it is clear that Zoroaster had no easy time propagating his ideas. The turning point came when Kavi Vishtaspa accepted his teachings, but this led to many conflicts which are indicated in the Yašts. Possibly one reason for the slow propagation of the faith was that Vishtaspa seems to have been the last of his dynasty. Perhaps the initial establishment of the faith by the sword was followed by a more pacific spread by priests, since Yasna 42, 6 honors "the return of the priests (*āthravan*), who go (to those) afar who seek *aša* (truth, righteousness) in (other) lands." The Farvardīn Yašt 13, 94 speaks of the spread of the Mazdayasnian (Mazdā-worshipping) religion all over the

[34] *Ibid.*, 32

[35] *Ibid.*, 34 See also Boyce, *op cit.* [n 21], 17, 189–91, with other arguments for a very early date.

[36] M. Boyce, *A Persian Stronghold of Zoroastrianism* (Oxford, 1977), 17

world, and the many personal names, as well as place names, must have been real, although they cannot be identified. Verse 143 speaks of the *fravašis* or spirits of *aša* believing men and women of the Aryan, Tūira, Sairima, Sāinu, Dānu and other lands which are honored in prayer. The persons mentioned as belonging to these groups or lands have Iranian names yet there must have been something to separate them, since only the first are particularly mentioned as the Aryans. In the Iranian epic tradition the Tūira, Sairima, and Sāinu were identified as descendants of three brothers Erech, Salm and Tuč, Iranian counterparts of Biblical Shem, Ham and Japheth. The Sairima have been identified as Sauromatae in South Russia by Marquart, while the Dānu with the Dahae of Classical sources to the east of the Caspian Sea.[37] The Sāini are enigmatic while the Tūira or Tūra present many problems, since they became known as the enemies of the Iranians *par excellence* in the epic tradition, and with the advent of the Turks in this part of the world they were identified with the ancient Tūr people, who may have been originally an Iranian tribe which actively combated Zoroaster's teachings. The district of Turan (Kalat in present day Baluchistan) may reflect a movement of the Tūra to the south, but it is of interest that it is today occupied by Dravidian-speaking Brahuis, who seem to have fallen into the same category as the Turks to the north, both enemies of the Iranians.

All attempts to relate the Avesta, or the ancient Iranian epic tradition as found in the *Shahname* of Firdosi, to historical events in eastern Iran have failed, since there is nothing other than the Avesta itself as a source. Poetic fiction and tales are so mixed with what might have been fact in the Avesta that it is not possible to distinguish them from each other, but Mary Boyce is probably correct in saying that "both secular and priestly traditions transmitted by minstrel poets as well as by religious schools," mixed with superstition and tales are found, and this mixture has been transmitted down to the present.[38]

We cannot dwell on the basic features of Zoroastrianism, perhaps easily characterized as a threefold division of ethics (speaking, thinking and doing good), the correct performance of acts of sacrifice, and the keeping of the laws of purity, all of which will help the individual to secure salvation in the world to come. The cosmic history, or the "world year" of the Zoroastrians, however, should be mentioned since it does figure in problems of chronology connected with the Zoroastrian sources.

The origins of the "world year" divided into periods of a millennium each are uncertain, but Babylonian preoccupation with astronomy, mathematics and chronology suggest the lowlands as a possible place of origin.[39] Some Iranian sources give the number of millennia as nine, others as twelve, but there are further disagreements on the significance of the various periods of three thousand years each. The first period is said to be creation in the spiritual (*mēnōg*) state, followed by the second period of creation of the physical universe (*gētig*), and in the third period Ahriman launches an attack and brings sickness and death, but at the end of this period of strife Zoroaster is born, and he receives his revelation at the very beginning of the

[37] J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr* (Berlin, 1901), 155.

[38] [n. 36], 108.

[39] The exact form of the Zoroastrian 'world year' is not attested in Babylonia and it may be a late development in time speculation, but such ideas were prevalent. Cf. "Berossos," by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, 2 (Berlin 1932–), 9–11.

fourth period.[40] Again it is not possible to follow the variations in prophecies about the last period of existence, but it had a cyclic character with good and evil times. The idea of one savior and then another, one every millennium, also developed in Zoroastrianism, together with apocalyptic ideas and the final judgment when good conquers evil. Beliefs in the world periods not only influenced ideas of chronology, but later prophets of doom or salvation appeared throughout the history of Iran exercising influences on the common folk.

It should be remembered that we are talking about prehistory when history is only latent, or a history to be induced from few traces left by peoples, and those often of an enigmatic interpretation. Our reconstructions are based on surmises, and it is thus necessarily an impressionistic view which is presented. Any kind of quantitative history or 'manifest' history based on specific historical sources is impossible and probably always will remain so. The added accumulation of potsherds or other objects of material culture can only go so far in aiding our reconstruction of the past, and to reconstruct history from the Avesta is more like using the Book of Psalms rather than the historical books of the Old Testament as a source for recreating a history of the Israelites. Even the threefold division of society for that ancient period must be inferred, since there is no explicit statement of this. We can make some guesses about the early history of Zoroastrianism, but they remain only surmises.

Although the Gathas of Zoroaster usually speak in generalities about good and evil, Yasna 46 is more specific about the prophet himself: "To what land to flee, where to flee shall I go? They keep (me) away from my own (family) and my friends. Neither the community has satisfied me nor the deceitful rulers of the land." He continues to mention those who helped him in his need, Fryāna the Tūra and Kavi Vishtaspa. This information has been amplified by later traditions which tell of the tribulations of the prophet and struggles to establish acceptance of his teachings. Just how much can be read into the early struggles of the faith, a conflict between settled herders and agriculturists who followed Zoroaster, and nomads who rejected him, is impossible to determine, but conflict there was. On an ideological or religious basis, it was probably primarily between the Zoroastrians who worshipped Ahura Mazdā with his Aməša Spentas and the old *daēva* (Indian *deva*) worshippers, for whether it was Zoroaster who initiated the opposition between good *ahuras* and evil *daēvas*, or that he only emphasized what already existed, this opposition has been a fundamental difference between the Indians and Iranians. Surely some Iranians did not follow Zoroaster's reform but rather opposed him, since *daēva* worshippers are mentioned in later sources, including the Old Persian inscriptions. Since the history of Zoroastrianism has been recounted in great detail by Boyce, it is unnecessary to repeat controversies over interpretations of details of the religion. Suffice it to say that for centuries the Zoroastrian faith had to combat opposition and in the process it codified its own rites, rituals and beliefs into a way of life which held the Zoroastrians together down to the present.

[40] The MP texts about the world era are translated in and discussed by R. Zaehner, *Zurvan* (Oxford, 1955), 95–100.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND EXTRA-AVESTAN EVIDENCE

A passage in Herodotus (III, 117) says that a certain plain in Asia surrounded by a ring of hills in which five passes may be found, used to belong to the Khwarazmians, but now to the Achaemenids. Further, that plain was located on the boundaries of the Khwarazmians, Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangians and Thamanians. The last but one may be identified with the people of Drangiana (medieval Zranka) and the last with people living to the east of Seistan. From the words "used to belong to the Khwarazmians," scholars beginning with Marquart have deduced the existence of a large Khwarazmian state.[41] There is no tangible evidence, however, for the greater Khwarazmian empire, and the further supposition that Herodotus refers to an extensive irrigation system in the plain, thus requiring the existence of a centralized state, is unwarranted. It is true that archaeologists have uncovered ancient settlements on the Murghab and Tejend Rivers, but again no evidence for a large state is available.[42] The results of archaeological investigations show rather the absence of urban centers, which would not suggest an ancient centralized state in the east. In Khwarazm itself archaeological work has revealed the existence of fortified living quarters or even villages from very early periods, but they tell us nothing of the political situation in that area.[43] On the other hand, many scholars believe that the ancient homeland of the Iranians, called *Airyanəm vaēǰah* (Iranian region), is to be identified with Khwarazm, which is in accord with lists of place names in the Vendidad 1, 2 (see also Yašt 5, 17, etc.).[44] While this may be true, as the natural geographical halting place of tribes moving from the north, the place of Khwarazm in the Zoroastrian tradition is unclear, for we cannot determine later changes made by priests in the tradition.

The various Iranian tribes must have dispersed from the land north of the Oxus River to the lands where we hear of them later, not all, however, moving at the same time. To the east went the Bactrians, probably the easternmost group of Iranians at this time. They may have displaced older Indo-Iranian or Dardic peoples living on the plains of modern Afghan Turkestan, such that remnants of these earlier peoples are today found only in the mountains. The legends associating Zoroaster with Balkh (ancient Bāxtri-) seem to be late in appearance and have no discernible historical basis. The name is derived from the river Bactrus (from Pliny, *Nat. hist.* VI, 48, 52) which means 'the bestower, distributer' according to Marquart.[45] Both the origin and the etymology of the name, however, are open to question, since it is uncertain whether the name is parallel to other Old Iranian tribal names such as Māda or Pārsa, or if it is an autochthonous geographical name. If it is in fact originally a river name, it would parallel Harahuvati or Arachosia and Haraiva or Herat. The existence of a large

[41] J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), 8–12, and in other writings. Also Henning, *op. cit.* [n. 29], 42.

[42] V. I. Sarianidi, "Pechati-Amuleti Murgabskogo stilya," *SA*, 1 (1976), 42–68, with further bibliographical references.

[43] S. P. Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur* (Berlin, 1953), esp. 103–12.

[44] Marquart, *Ērānšahr* [n. 37], 118, 155, and E. Benveniste, "L'Ērān-Vēž et l'origine légendaire des Iraniens," *BSOS*, 7 (1934), 265–74, and A. Christensen, *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad et l'histoire primitive des tribus iraniennes* (Copenhagen, 1943), 66–67.

[45] J. Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānshahr* (Rome, 1931), 34.

Bactrian state before the Achaemenids also has been surmised by many scholars, but this assumption is even more tenuous than that of a Khwarazmian empire. Whatever the political realities in eastern Iran and Central Asia, we may conclude that the various oases must each have had a political organization based on the clan or tribal structure of the Iranians, but beyond a possible confederation of such oasis states we are not justified to go, at least on the basis of the scant source material which exists.

If we assume the existence of one or more confederations of oases with princelings, another question to ask is whether there was a solidarity on inner tribal lines only, or whether supra-tribal groups existed. That is, were the Bactrians only united among themselves in some kind of a Bactrian kingdom, or did the Bactrians and Sogdians, or others, have a large confederation of several tribes? Again, there is no evidence which can provide a satisfactory answer. If we remember, however, that the confederation of the Medes first came into being only at the end of the seventh century B.C., most likely because of the threat of Assyrian conquest, the existence of a parallel eastern confederation seems unlikely. The later satrapy lists of the Achaemenids cannot be used profitably for a reconstruction of past combinations of lands or peoples. In short, we cannot find evidence for the existence of any large state or even confederacy in eastern Iran or Central Asia before the Median and Achaemenid empires.

We have mentioned that Harahuvati (Skt. Sárasvatī), the name of a river probably the present Arghandāb and/or the Helmand, gave its name to the district of Arachosia, present Qandahar. In the early first millennium B.C. Iranians probably were mixing with Indians and pre-Indo-European peoples in this border area with India. Around the lake where the Helmand River empties, Iranians also must have mixed with a settled autochthonous population which had been engaged in trade and agriculture long before the coming of the Iranians. Archaeological excavations at Shahr-e Sukhte, and other sites in Seistan, confirm the antiquity of settlements and of extensive trade relations at an early period.[46] We can only speculate on the process whereby Iranians spread over Seistan, which, we remember, had the name Zranka in Old Persian, possibly the name given to the unusual mountain plateau in the middle of the lake today called Kuh-e Khwaja.[47] It should be noted that the names of Iranian peoples found in the Old Persian inscriptions are a mixture of tribal and geographical names, and do not represent a catalogue of various Iranian tribes who settled down after their migrations. Also it is difficult to determine whether names of peoples found in Classical sources from this part of the Middle East are Iranian in origin, or non-Iranian, and many explanations of names such as Derbikes, a tribe east of the Caspian Sea, the Tapuri, in the Elburz mts., and others, do not inspire confidence. Historically one would expect Iranian and autochthonous peoples to co-exist for long periods of time in any area until the Iranians eventually became dominant, at least in giving their language to others.

Archaeology is slowly filling gaps in the picture of the material culture of the ancient Iranians, but problems of connecting the discovered material culture with Iranian-speaking peoples are many and complex. There is as yet no consensus on those

[46] M. Tosi, "Excavations at Shahr-i Sokhta," *Iran*, 10 (1972), 174–75; 11 (1973), 204, and succeeding numbers.

[47] G. Morgenstierne, "Notes on Balochi Etymology," *NTS*, 5 (1933), 43.

aspects of life which can be called distinctively Iranian. Whether the future will soon see a breakthrough in this regard remains to be seen.

In conclusion, the exceedingly scant source materials from eastern Iran and Central Asia, with a consequent general reconstruction based primarily on archaeology and stories in the Avesta and later Zoroastrian traditions, plus the epic, give us a hazy and very impressionistic picture of the pre-Achaemenid history of the entire area. It is only with the formation of the Median state that we can say that pre-history passes to history.

CHAPTER IV

MEDES, SCYTHIANS AND EASTERN RULERS

Literature: Little archaeological work has been done on Median sites, and the written sources are most scanty. The literary sources have been assembled by I. M. Dyakonov in *Istoriya Midii* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1956), 485 pp. while I. Aliev in his *Istoriya Midii* (Baku, 1960), 360 pp. concentrates on archaeology, and especially the ethnogenesis of the Medes. Since the appearance of these two works, both of which have ample bibliographies of former publications, work on the Medes has been conspicuous by its absence. The popular work by W. Cullican, *The Medes and Persians* (London, 1965), 190 pp. adds nothing and emphasizes art and architecture. Archaeology is still all-important for the early history of the Medes and several sites are presumably Median, notably Tepe Nūsh-e-Jān near the modern town of Malayer south of Hamadan. For a series of reports on succeeding yearly excavations headed by D. Stronach, see *Iran*, 16 (1978), 1, note 2, for a bibliography; the date when the fort and temple complex flourished was established from about 700 to 600 B.C. Unfortunately no inscriptions have been found which would give us information about the settlement, and we must rely on the material remains to reconstruct a picture of this Median settlement. Two other sites with Median strata are Bābā Jān Tepe near Harsin to the west of Nūsh-e Jān in Luristan and Godin Tepe near Kangavar. For the former see C. Goff in *Iran*, 16 (1978), 29, note 1, where a bibliography of former articles on the site is given, and for the latter see T. C. Young and L. D. Levine, *The Godin Project: Second Progress Report*, Royal Ontario Museum of Art and Archaeology, Occasional Papers No. 27 (Toronto, 1974). The discovery in 1967 of a large palace with a columned hall at Godin Tepe, together with the fort at Nūsh-e Jān, indicated both the monumental tastes of Median rulers of this period and their quest for security from enemies. Comparisons of architectural features such as the narrow windows or 'arrowhead' slots in the wall show the widespread use of common motifs in western Iran, and the central position of the Medes in the give-and-take of such features. It is, of course, in the present state of knowledge, and before excavations at Hamadan, not possible to assign to the Medes any role of innovation in such features. Suffice it to say that the Medes participated in the general cultural milieu of the eighth century B.C. which seems to have been dominated not only by the political power of Assyria but by Mesopotamian culture.

Assyrian cuneiform sources do not give much direct information about the Medes, for only in the campaigns of the Assyrian kings to the east do we find mention of the Medes, first in the time of Shalmaneser III (Salmanasar) about 835 B.C., on which see *Die Welt des Orients*, 2 (1955), 156. The geography of Media in ancient times has been studied by L. Levine, "Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros," *Iran*, 11 (1973), 1–27 and 12 (1974), 99–124, and he convincingly argues that the horizons of Assyrian conquests must be greatly limited, since they did not at any time cross the Alvand mountain range west of Hamadan. References to texts and translations of Assyrian texts relevant to the Medes may be found in the footnotes to Levine's article, especially pp. 106–119. To the publications of the *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, texts and translations by D. D. Luckenbill (Chicago, 1926–27), and the *Prisms of Esarhaddon and of Ashurbanipal* by R. Campbell Thompson (London, 1931), add the articles of E. Michel on "Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III.," in *Die Welt des Orients*, 1 (1947), 67 foll., and D. J. Wiseman, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon," *Iraq*, 20 (1958), 1–99. Other references may be found in Levine.

In addition to the Assyrian sources one should mention Herodotus and Ctesias, Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia*, as well as the *Anabasis* (e.g., III, 4, 11) and stray remarks in his *Hellenica* (as I, 2, 19). Later texts, such as Eusebius, who gives a list of Median kings, copy the earlier sources and add little to our knowledge, while II Kings 17, 6 and 18, 11 merely tell us that after the conquest of Samaria in Palestine by the king of Assyria (Sargon II), about 721 B.C., he deported the inhabitants to the 'cities' of the Medes. The Medes, curiously, are not mentioned in Urartian inscriptions. This is all of the literary evidence we have now, about the Medes, and it seems that only archaeology can provide additional information to reconstruct more of their history. What follows is a survey of our state of knowledge. (Other references may be found in the footnotes.)

THE FORMATION OF THE MEDIAN EMPIRE

The expansion of the Medes, indeed of all of the Iranian peoples in western Iran might be compared in analogy with the expansion of the Turks in Azerbaijan in the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. Probably, just as in the case of the Turks, so in this early period other Iranians migrated into the northwestern part of the plateau, together with the Medes. This would account for the early appearance of the Parsua in this area. In the Urartian inscriptions, the same land is mentioned as Baršua, devastated by King Menua and later by Argishti, son of Menua, from the first part of the eighth century B.C.[1] The location of Parsua on the southern shores of Lake Urmia had been generally accepted by scholars, but already in 1962 I had suggested rather "a district of imprecise location north of modern Kermanshah" as the location of Parsua (Akkadian: Parsuaš).[2] In 1974 L. Levine reviewed the literature on the subject and came to the same conclusion, but he narrowed the area of Parsua to the Mahidasht, or the plain to the northwest of Kermanshah.[3] The question of the identity of the inhabitants of Parsua, however, remains. Were they the ancestors of the same Persians who moved south to the present province of Fars, which bears their name, or were they a splinter group of Persians who wandered westward from the main body moving south? Ghirshman in many writings supported the view that the Iranians came to Iran over the Caucasus route from south Russia and the Parsua of cuneiform inscriptions represents a stage of the march of the Persians to the south. Dyakonov, on the other hand, suggested that the words Parsa, Parsua and Parthia were three forms of an Old Iranian *parsava* 'rib, side, frontier,' and all three were on the frontiers of Media, hence, it was a common name to those peoples who settled on the frontiers of the central Medes.[4] Other etymologies have been proposed but none help us with the identification of the Parsua. Since this northern Parsua is different geographically from the southern Parsa (Parsu in the Akkadian versions of the OP inscriptions), one would normally surmise they were two groups of the same people, were it not for the temporal as well as geographical separation of the two.

The first mention of the Parsua in Assyrian records is also from the time of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.), when in his twenty-fourth year of rule he received tribute from twenty-seven kings of the land of Parsua.[5] Notices of this Parsua continue until the time of Sargon II (722–705 B.C.) when they cease. As far as I know, there is no reference to the northern Parsua after his reign. From the time of Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.) until the rise of the Achaemenids we find reference to the Par-su-ma-aš or Parsu (both presumably for Parsua) only in the south. The name is mentioned together with Anshan or Anzan and other allies of the Elamites, in the eighth campaign of the Assyrian king against Elam.[6] Obviously, if the name

[1] G. A. Melikišvili, *Urartskie klinoobrazny nadpisi* (Moscow, 1960), 138–40 and 218–20. For a discussion of the historical implications see N. V. Arutyunyan, *Biainili (Urartu)* (Erevan, 1970), 134–35

[2] *Op. cit.* [ch 3, n. 26], 47.

[3] L Levine in *Iran*, 12 (1974), 112

[4] Dyakonov, *Istoriya Midii* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1956), 69.

[5] D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 1 (Chicago, 1926) 206 The use of the word 'king' for these local chiefs is normal for the ancient cuneiform records.

[6] Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Chicago, 1924), I, 143. A discussion of the different forms of the name in cuneiform, and an etymology, are found in Herzfeld, *op cit* 2 [ch. 3, n. 31], 727–29, but one must be cautious in using Herzfeld's works since they mix brilliance and nonsense.

disappears from the north and then reappears a few years later in the south the natural conclusion is that the inhabitants moved from the north to the south, but this is not necessarily true. We might also suppose, for example, that some, perhaps only a few, of the Persians in the north left to go south, or as the number of Persians in the south swelled, the name was transferred even though no great movement of peoples took place. In any case, Parsua in the north disappears from history at the end of the eighth century B.C., and the name is ever afterwards applied to the province today called Fars. For a lengthy discussion on the Parsua question see Grantovskii.[6a] Here all occurrences of the name are mentioned, even possible references in Classical sources to them on the southwest shores of the Caspian Sea, as well as Indian sources referring to them to the west of the Indus River. Without investigating all possible references, many of which are ambiguous, it would seem that members of the Parsa tribe of Iranians were widely scattered, whether before the Achaemenid period or during it is not possible to determine. The Medes, although first mentioned c. 836 B.C., later than the Parsua, soon became more important for the Assyrians.

Herodotus (I, 101) mentions six tribes of the Medes, the Bousai, Parētakēnoi, Strouxates, Arizantoi, Boudioi and Magoi. Of the six, the Parētakēnoi are mentioned elsewhere (Polybius 31, 11; Arrian 3, 19; Curtius 5, 13; Strabo, 15, 732), and it seems they lived around modern Isfahan and to the south of it. An Iranian etymology could be reconstructed from this name, but etymologies are always hypothetical, and unless they give information in a larger context little can be derived from them.[7] The name Arizantoi has an obvious Iranian etymology 'Aryan clan' but again it tells us nothing. The Magi, on the other hand, present a problem since it is the same name as the later priestly caste, and we cannot determine whether originally they were a tribe of Medes who performed priestly duties, as the Levites among the Israelites, or that Herodotus is mistaken. Whether the Magi were centered around Rhages, modern Tehran, because of the religious epithets given to it in the Avesta, implying a special place in Zoroastrian tradition, again is pure conjecture. How much the Medes mingled with the local population as compared with the Persians in the south, is also open to speculation. In any case, we may assume that the people called the Medes had a number of tribes and they settled in various parts of western Iran.

From Assyrian annals it is clear that these early Iranians on the plateau were not united, but lived under minor chieftains, whom the Assyrians called kings (*šar*). We have already mentioned that in the reign of Shalmaneser III (c. 834 B.C.) he received tribute from the kings of Parsua and in his thirtieth and thirty-first years he marched against them and punished them. It was not long after this time that Urartu became a major power and rival of Assyria under King Menua (c. 810–786 B.C.) and Assyria was put on the defensive in the east until the revival of Assyrian power under Tiglath-Pileser III (c. 745–727 B.C.). This monarch penetrated deeper onto the Iranian plateau than his predecessors, and he received gifts from the chiefs of the Medes as far as Mt. Bikni.[8] Much has been written about this mountain which has been identified as Mt. Demavend, but an identification with Mt. Alvand near Hamadan, or another peak of

[6a] E. A. Grantovskii, *Ranyaya Istoriya Iranskykh Plemen* (Moscow, 1970), 133–83.

[7] There were several Assyrian forms which probably represented this name *Partakku*, *Paritakānu*, etc., cf. *Sumer*, 7 (1956), 1–2. On the etymologies of the names of the Median tribes see Herzfeld, *op. cit.* [ch. 3, n. 31], 724–26.

[8] Luckenbill, *Records* [n. 5], 281.

the Zagros chain, seems more likely.[9] The Assyrian contacts with the plateau were at first raids for booty, but then they developed into overlordships through tributaries. There is no evidence that in the many valleys and plains of western Iran the Assyrians sought direct rule through Assyrian governors and permanent garrisons. Local rulers instead were made Assyrian vassals. Epithets given to the Medes in Assyrian inscriptions such as 'mighty Medes' or 'distant Medes' do not imply any political or ethnic differentiation among the Medes, although it is clear that the Assyrians regarded the Medes as powerful adversaries even before they united to form a state. But the Assyrians had other problems in the east.

An old enemy again measured strength with the Assyrians, and the annals of the Assyrian kings are now filled with accounts of expeditions against Urartu. Already in the thirteenth century B.C. Assyrian sources mentioned the Urartians as strong opponents of Shalmaneser I. (c. 1272–1243 B.C.).[10] First a union of tribes, in the land between the three lakes, modern Van, Urmia and Sevan, this area became the center of a powerful kingdom, the Ararat of the Bible. The various forms of this name, as well as other designations of Urartu, are discussed by Melikišvili 13–22, and Piotrovskii 33, but, contrary to several scholars, there is no connection between the names Urartu and the word 'Hurrian.' The early expeditions of the Assyrians against the Urartians in the succeeding reigns of Tiglath-Pileser I (c. 1114–1076 B.C.) Aššur-bēl-kala (c. 1073–1056 B.C.), Adad-nerari II (c. 911–890 B.C.), Tukulti-ninurta II (c. 889–884 B.C.) are somewhat monotonous in their formulae of victories and booty secured. Both the early Assyrian and Urartian states had periods of alternate flourishing and decay in this time, but we cannot follow the histories of these peoples. Under Aššur-nasirapal II (c. 883–859 B.C.) Assyria revived its imperial ambitions, and it is under his successor, Shalmaneser III, as we have noted, that both Parsua and the Medes first appear in Assyrian annals. At the same time Urartu experienced a revival and soon disputed control over lands on the Iranian plateau with Assyria. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine the succession and length of reigns of the Urartian kings from Assyrian sources, but the names Aram and Sarduri are mentioned as royal opponents of Shalmaneser III. The Assyrians seem to have had the upper hand until the reign of the Urartian king Menua (c. 810–786 B.C.) who built many fortresses to defend his land against the raids of Adad-nerari III (810–783 B.C.). The small states and towns between the two powers, however, suffered most, for they were the objects of conquest and domination by both sides, and it is very difficult to determine the extent of either Assyrian and Urartian rule on the plateau at any time. Much has been written about the geography of place names on the plateau conquered by, or merely reached by, Assyrian armies. The mother of Adad-nerari III may be identified as the famous Semiramis (Shammuramat), who for a time acted as a regent for her son, but the legends about her in Ctesias, Moses of Chorene and elsewhere unfortunately cannot be used for any historical reconstructions.[11] Under her and her son, Assyrian armies raided the plateau many times, but afterwards the power of

[9] Levine, [n 3], 119.

[10] For the history of Urartu see G. A. Melikišvili, *Nairi-Urartu* (Tbilisi, 1954); B. B. Piotrovskii, *Vanskoe Tsarstvo* (Moscow, 1959); and Arutyunyan, *op cit.* [n. 1]

[11] On the ramifications of the legend see W. Eilers, *Semiramis*, *SWAW*, 274 (Vienna, 1971).

Assyria seems to have suffered a setback for we do not hear of any other expeditions to the east. The next revival of Assyrian expansion to the east under Tiglath-Pileser III (745–727 B.C.) appears to coincide with a movement of peoples on the Iranian plateau and a resurgence of the Elamites, under a series of rulers such as Shutruk-Nakhunte II (c. 717–699 B.C.). Inner conflicts, however, kept the Elamites weak, and their main arena of activity, as far as the sources reveal, was in Babylonia. As mentioned, in the north the Urartians under King Menua had begun to expand to the south and west, and under Argishti I, son of Menua (c. 786–764), they conquered a confederation of towns in the vicinity of modern Erzurum and exacted tribute.[12] In the inscriptions of the Urartian kings, copying Assyrian prototypes, booty and tribute are described in detail, while the burning of cities and taking captives was recorded by both Assyrians and Urartians.

The early period of the expansion of Assyria onto the Iranian plateau, from c. 900–825 B.C. has been characterized by Levine as an attempt to control or even monopolize trade and trade routes to the east, while the next period to 744 B.C. saw the rise of a competitor, Urartu, also interested in controlling trade especially in the northern part of the plateau.[13] Certainly trade, or perhaps also the amassing of booty, an important source of gain in the ancient world, must have played an important role in the foreign policies of both Assyria and Urartu, but other factors including a quest for fame, may have spurred the rulers to conquest. Whereas Tiglath-Pileser III directed his armies along the Khurasan road through modern Kermanshah and many times overran Parsua and received tribute from the Medes, Sargon (722–705 B.C.), turned to the north. Both rulers, however, departed from the ancient custom of turning local rulers into vassals and instead put Assyrian governors in control of newly conquered areas.[14] The policy of the Assyrians seems to have shifted from nominal control through vassals to direct rule over the trade routes to the east. Horses were important items of trade but also cattle, sheep, lapis lazuli and other semi-precious stones, and other wares, were sought by the Assyrians. In 715 B.C. Sargon captured a local Median chief called Dahyuka, together with his family, and deported them to Hamath in Syria. This is the first mention of the name which appears in Herodotus as Dēiokēs, who presumably was intriguing with Manna or Urartu against the Assyrians.[15] Much has been written about the identity of the Dahyuka of Sargon's annals, but most scholars agree that he cannot be the founder of Median unity as stated by Herodotus.[16] Herodotus (I, 102) says he ruled for fifty-three years and was succeeded by Phraortes, who ruled for twenty-two years, followed by Cyaxarēs, forty years, and then Astyagēs, thirty-five years. If one figures backward from the date of the rise of Cyrus, then Dēiokēs should have ruled c. 728–675 B.C., but problems arise in the chronology. Several scholars have investigated the rise of the

[12] Melikišvili, *op cit.* [n. 10], 234–35. Arutyunyan, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 186. This is the beginning of Urartian expansion.

[13] L. Levine, "East–West Trade in the Late Iron Age: a view from the Zagros," *Le plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale des origines à la conquête islamique*, colloques internationaux du CNRS, no. 567 (Paris, 1977), 171–79.

[14] Luckenbill, *Records* 1 [n. 5], 281; 2, 29.

[15] *Ibid.*, 2, 28. For a discussion of the name, cf. R. Schmitt, "Deiokes," *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wiss.* 110 1973), 137–47.

[16] Acc. to Grantovskii, *op. cit.* [n. 6a] 251, the Dahyuka captured by Sargon was ruler of Misi, a province of Manna.

state of the Medes, but no one has reached a satisfactory conclusion; one suggestion has it that Phraortes should change places with Dēiokēs.[17] The Cimmerian and Scythian invasion of northwestern Iran, however, further complicates the picture.

CIMMERIANS AND SCYTHIANS

The Cimmerians lived north of the Caucasus mountains in south Russia and probably were related to the Thracians, but they surely were a mixed group by the time they appeared south of the mountains, and we hear of them first in the year 714 B.C. after they presumably had defeated the Urartians.[18] Rusa, son of Sarduri, who ruled c. 735–713 B.C., was the Urartian ruler who suffered at the hands of the Cimmerians, and then from Sargon II's famous campaign of the eighth year of his rule when the Assyrians marched through Parsua, the Mannai country and defeated the Urartian army with its allies of local rulers around lake Urmia.[19] The following march of the Assyrian army through Urartian territory, plundering and burning, struck a significant blow at the expanding Urartian kingdom, which caused a temporary decline in its power. It was mainly the loss of allies and territory in what is today Iranian Azerbaijan, however, which proved more damaging to Urartian power. The decline and fall of Urartu, however, was gradual. Under Sennacherib (Sinaḫerib), 705–681 B.C., tribute from the far-away Medes, "whose name no one among the kings, my fathers, had (ever) heard" was received, and they were made tributary.[20] This king, however, had to turn his attention from the north to the south, for the Babylonians and Elamites had united against the Assyrians. Elam had the support of Parsua (now in the south) as well as Anzan (Anshan), perhaps used as synonyms, one Iranian and the other Elamite, for the same area, but they lost to the Assyrians.[21] The Urartians under Argishti II (713–685 B.C.) then took advantage of Assyrian preoccupation in the south to extend their influence, if not outright conquests, to the Caspian Sea.[22] They never regained their earlier influence south of Lake Urmia, however, and the next ruler Rusa II (685–645 B.C.) turned his attention to the west in Asia Minor. The position of the Cimmerians in the great power struggle between Assyria and Urartu is not easy to determine, but it seems that they moved westward against Phrygia and into Cappadocia, from whence probably the name Gomer came into the Bible and Gamirkʿ in Armenian. After the Cimmerians, however, came the Scythians.

Herodotus (I, 103–04) says that the Scythians had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe and then followed them, but more to the east they encountered the Medes, whose nascent kingdom they destroyed, and then they ruled for twenty-eight years (106). One problem in the Assyrian sources is the term *Ummān-manda* used, apparently, for any barbarians in the north and east in Assyrian eyes; so it is difficult to

[17] R. Labat, "Kaštariti, Phraorte et les débuts de l'histoire Mède," *JA*, 249 (1961), 3. In the same issue of the *JA* E. Cavaignac writes "A propos du début de l'histoire des Mèdes," 153–62.

[18] Pinches in *JRAS* (1913), 609, and I. M. Dyakonov, "Assiro-Vavilonskie Istočniki po istorii Urartu," *VDI*, 2 (1951), 339, also L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire*, 1 (Ann Arbor, 1930), no. 12. The form of the name in Assyrian is Gi-mir-ri.

[19] Cf. Arutyunyan, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 300 foll.

[20] Luckenbill, *Annals* [n. 6], 29, 68.

[21] *Ibid.*, 88, 91.

[22] Arutyunyan, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 322.

tell whether Medes, Cimmerians or Scythians are meant. The movements of various peoples to the north and east of the Assyrians at this time are impossible to trace, but the entire period can be characterized as one of change and displacement of ethnic groups, mostly nomads moving into settled lands together with the rise and fall of alliances and allegiances.

Already under Sargon we hear of a Median chief called in Akkadian Uksatar who sent tribute to the Assyrians. His name could be an apocopated form of *Huvaxštra in Iranian, or Cyaxarēs in Herodotus, but he was probably not related to the dynasty which later united the Medes, since the name must have been fairly common among them.[23] During the reign of Sennacherib Median chiefs, however, were undoubtedly extending both Median rule and Median settlements on the plateau. The Mannai were brought under Assyrian control by Sennacherib, but they were soon to pass under Median suzerainty in the time of Asarhaddon (681–669 B.C.), successor to Sennacherib. We can dimly discern the process of consolidation of Median power on the plateau, for soon old names would vanish to be replaced by Median names. In this process undoubtedly much of ancient traditions and practices would be preserved but integrated into a new Median society and culture.

The movement of peoples to the north and east of Assyria continued under Asarhaddon, who was worried about them. The name Kaštariti is mentioned in oracle texts of Asarhaddon together with Cimmerian and Mannai troops.[24] The Scythians also appear in the texts, called *Iškuza/Išquza*, or in the annals of Asarhaddon *Aškuza*, and a Scythian chief Išpaka, ally of the Mannai, is mentioned later in the sources.[25] In Herodotus (I, 103) Madyēs, son of Protothyēs, a Scythian king, is said to have invaded Media, and it is interesting that we find in an Assyrian source the name Bartatua (or P-) who sought the hand of the Assyrian king's daughter in marriage.[26] Although it is unrecorded, he was probably successful, since the Scythians seem to have become allies of the Assyrians for a period of time. The further history of Scythians and Cimmerians in Anatolia is outside the scope of this book, but in Iran we hear no more of the latter while Scythians, called Saka in Iranian, were probably soon absorbed by their kinfolk, the Medes. The presence of the Scythians on the northwestern part of the Iranian plateau, however, has been traced in material remains from archaeological excavations, especially in the hoard from Sakkiz and in Hasanlu.[27] One feature of material culture peculiar to the Scythians, and the Cimmerians, in this period is a three-lobed arrowhead, which has been found in many excavations and graves from south Russia to Media. This type of arrowhead has been studied by many scholars, the most recent summary of the evidence appearing in 1977.[28] This, together with

[23] Grantovskii, *op. cit.* [n. 6a], 316.

[24] G. A. Knudtzon, *Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott*, 2 (Leipzig, 1893) no. 1. Trans. in I. M. Dyakonov, "Assiro-vavilonskie istočniki po Istorii Urartu," *VDI* (1951), no. 2, 3, 4.

[25] Dyakonov *op. cit.* [n. 24], no. 35. For a discussion of the names Scyth-Saka-Ashkuz and the miswriting Ashkenaz see I. M. Dyakonov, *Istoriya Midii* [n. 4], 243.

[26] Dyakonov, *VDI* (1951), [n. 24], no. 29.

[27] The treasure of Sakkiz has produced a large literature, see A. Godard, *Le trésor de Ziwiyé* (Haarlem, 1950) esp. 125, and R. Ghirshman, *The Arts of Ancient Iran* (N.Y., 1964), 98–125; R. D. Barnett, "The Treasure of Ziwiye," *Iraq*, 18 (1956), 111–16. For Hasanlu see the bibliography in Porada, *op. cit.* [ch. 3, n. 2], 264.

[28] S. Cleuziou, "Les pointes de flèches 'scythiques' au proche et moyen orient," *Le plateau iranien et l'Asie centrale*, CNRS (Paris, 1977), 187–99, with an ample bibliography. See also B. B. Piotrovskii, *Vanskoe Tsarstvo* (Moscow, 1959), 240.

horse burials in *kurgans,* seems to identify the presence of nomads among the population, whereas the question of the originators of the notorious 'animal style' in bronze and other metals is more controversial. As evidence accumulates it is clear that the nomads had a great influence on the artistic tastes of the settled people of Iran, even though the actual presence of the nomads in any one area may be uncertain. It seems clear that Transcaucasia and Iran had much in common as far as iron weapons, horse trappings, horse burials, and even pottery, are concerned in the first half of the first millennium B.C. This is not unexpected, for obviously the rise of iron must have replaced bronze prototypes all over the area but hardly before the ninth – eighth centuries B.C. Whether nomads for the most part caused this homogeneity of culture in Transcaucasia and in Iran is uncertain, but they obviously contributed to it.[29] The question whether the Scythians, in their invasion of Iran from the north followed the same path as the Medes and Persians earlier, cannot be answered, but the Scythians, we can surmise, according to archaeological evidence, did follow the western shore of the Caspian Sea to the south. An earlier influx of Iranians by the same route has not been found.

Herodotus (I, 106, also IV, 12) writes that the Scythians ruled over Asia for twenty-eight years until Cyaxarēs and the Medes killed (their chiefs) at a banquet and recovered their independence. There is no evidence elsewhere for this statement, but at the same time there is no reason to doubt the power and rule of the Scythians, since material traces of them are plentiful, while the Assyrians under Aššurbanipal (668–632 or 626 B.C.), son and successor of Asarhaddon, did not rule the country of the Mannai or much else on the northern part of the plateau. By the end of the reign of Asarhaddon much of Assyrian authority may have been eroded, but at least many chieftains concluded vassal treaties with him, promising to continue to support his son and successor.[30] The treaties mattered little, for it was during Aššurbanipal's reign that Assyrian power drastically declined and the Medes became the real heirs of the Assyrian position first on the Iranian plateau and then elsewhere. The powerful northern enemies of the Assyrians, however, were to suffer first from the changes.

THE END OF URARTU

Enough inscriptions now have been recovered to reconstruct the succession of the last kings of Urartu after Rusa II. Urartu was on the defensive and hardly able to maintain a semblance of past glory under Sarduri III, son of Rusa, who was in turn followed by another Sarduri IV then Erimena, whose relationship to the former kings is unknown. Erimena was succeeded by his son Rusa III, after whom a final ruler either called Rusa IV or Sarduri IV appears in texts.[31] In spite of many uncertainties about the succession of rulers, it seems that the kingdom of Urartu fell to the Medes probably in the time of Cyaxarēs about the turn of the seventh century B.C. The

[29] Well documented in M. H. Pogrebova, *Iran i Zakavkaz'e v rannem zheleznom veke* (Moscow, 1977), esp. 168–73.

[30] D. J Wiseman, "The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon," *Iraq*, 20 (London, 1958), 13 (also separate publication).

[31] N. V. Aroutiounian, "La dernière période de l'histoire d'Urartu," *AAH*, 22 (1974), 428, where a bibliography is given including the differences in views between the author and I. M. Dyakonov. Here we follow Aroutiounian.

capital city Tušpa, (modern Van) was captured about 609 B.C. probably by the Medes, according to Dyakonov.[32] Archaeology fortunately has not only recovered Urartian inscriptions, but also has given us a good picture of Urartian architecture, town planning and defenses. The prominence of Urartian massive stonework had an influence on later Achaemenid as well as on Armenian architecture.[33] It was not only the Medes, however, who dealt a blow to Urartu in the south, but also the Scythians and other invaders from the north, who destroyed many towns of northern Urartu, including Teishebaini, present Erevan, about 590 B.C.[34]

The real heirs of the Urartians, however, were neither the Scythians nor Medes but the Armenians. Much has been written about the origin of the Armenians, but an attractive attempt to identify the Armenians, who today call themselves Hayk', as descendants of people living in the territory of Hayasa, north of Assyria, has not been generally accepted.[35] The Indo-European Armenian language does seem to be related to the Thraco-Phrygian group of languages, which implies a movement of people from west to east through eastern Anatolia, although the ethnic composition and dates of movement are unknown. Dyakonov has suggested that the word Hay- was used by the Urartians for westerners who had belonged to the Hittite empire (*khattini*) and the country west of the Euphrates was Khate, which the Arameans to the south called *Armina, which term then was later borrowed by the Persians.[36] He concludes that the Armenians were the result of a mixture of the inhabitants of the Urartian kingdom, which included Hurrians and Luvians as well as Urartians, together with Indo-European speaking proto-Armenians who may have been a mixture of people called Mushki and others who belonged to the Thraco-Phrygian linguistic family, plus some Scythians and others as well.[37]

We may conclude that the Armenians expanded to much the same geographical extent as the Urartians, and the Armenian language eventually was adopted by the old Urartian population. When Darius in the Old Persian version of his Behistun inscription mentions Armenia, the Elamite version has the same, whereas the Akkadian has the older Uraštu, an acknowledgment of continuity and conservatism in Babylonia.

Much controversy has existed over the role of Urartu in the development of Achaemenid culture, together with the debate on the route followed by Medes and/or Persians onto the Iranian plateau. Obviously, if one or both of the great Iranian tribes had come over the Caucasus, the Urartian influence on the later customs,

[32] I. M. Dyakonov, "Poslednie gody Urartsogo Gosudarstva," *VDI*, no. 2 (1951), 29–39. This is also the opinion of W. Kleiss, "Zur Ausbreitung Urartus nach Osten" *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 19/20 (1969–70), 135.

[33] Cf. W. Kleiss, ed., *Bastam* (Berlin, 1979), and his *Topographische Karte von Urartu* (Berlin, 1976). The excavations of Karmir Blur (Red Hill) at Erevan by B. B. Piotrovskii and K. L. Ogenesiyan I–IV (Erevan, 1950–55) have produced much on the material culture of the Urartians. See also the results of excavations in the picture album of K. Hovhannisean, *Erebunii Orsnankarnera, The Wall-Paintings of Erebooni* (Erevan, 1973).

[34] V. V. Piotrovskii, *Karmir Blur* (Leningrad, 1970), and Arutyunyan (Harut'eunean), *op. cit.* [n. 1], 334.

[35] G. B. Djaukyan in *Istoriya Armyanskogo Naroda* (Erevan, 1951), 25, and his "The Ḫayaša Language and its Relation to the Indoeuropean Languages," *AO*, 29 (1961), 353–405, esp. 398.

[36] I. M. Dyakonov, *Predistoriya Armyanskogo Naroda* (Erevan, 1969), 231–36. His surmises go farther than others and may be accepted until shown to be in error.

[37] *Ibid.*, 243. On the whole, this work by Dyakonov is the most acceptable study of the origins of the Armenians.

institutions and culture of the Iranians would have been overwhelming. W. Kleiss, the expert on Urartian architecture and archaeology in Iran, has shown the Urartian influences on Achaemenid stone structures such as the Zendan at Pasargadae and the Ka'bah of Zoroaster at Naqsh-e Rustam.[38] He described specific details of architecture in a convincing attribution of Urartian influence, whereas previously R. Ghirshman in a more impressionistic manner had claimed an Urartian origin for the cyclopean architecture and platforms of Masjid-e Sulaiman in Khuzistan and at Pasargadae.[39] Given the architectural connections, and perhaps the borrowing of the title 'king of kings' by the Achaemenids from Urartu via the Medes, does this justify what Ghirshman called an Irano-Urartian '*koine*,' implying a fusion at least of the cultures of the two peoples, if not more?[40] The answer to this question lies with future archaeological finds to determine the path of the Iranians onto the plateau and their spread over it. Since the Medes were the first to form a centralized state in northwestern Iran, however, borrowing from their northern neighbors the Urartians would not be unexpected. Specific points of influence, however, are very difficult to establish, and one must be content at present with the probability of borrowings, which by no means 'prove' that the Iranians came over the Caucasus to the plateau.

THE FALL OF ASSYRIA

We have already mentioned the chronological problems which arise with the early Median kings. The chronology of their rule proposed by Labat, combining Herodotus and meagre Akkadian sources, on the whole has been accepted by most scholars with the first ruler after an uncertain Dēiokēs being Phraortēs (OP Fravartiš, Akk. Parumartiš, Elamite Pirrumartiš), who ruled c. 647–625 or 623 B.C. during the Scythian domination.[41] This ruler probably is the same as the Kaštariti of the annals of Asarhaddon, and the difference in names can best be explained as the former being his personal name and the latter his 'throne' name, meaning 'possessing a kingdom,' Iranian *Xšaθrita. The name Kaštariti, however, appears only in the omen texts of Asarhaddon, and this has caused some scholars, such as Dyakonov, to postulate an earlier rule for Phraortēs from c. 675–653 B.C. followed by the Scythian interregnum of 653–625.[42] It is, of course, possible that Phraortēs did have a very long rule from c. 675–625 B.C., including the Scythian domination of northwestern Iran, but it may be another person according to Labat, and without new sources it is

[38] W. Kleiss, "Zur Rekonstruktion des urartäischen Tempels," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 13/14 (Berlin 1963–4), 12–14. The false windows and the crenated stone tops to the massive, square temples are the chief points of resemblance.

[39] Ghirshman, *op. cit.* [n. 27], 296.

[40] The title 'king of kings' had existed all over the ancient Near East, but in the seventh century B.C. it seems to have been in vogue only in Urartu, according to written records; cf. Frye, "The Charisma of Kingship in Ancient Iran," *IA*, 6 (1964), 111–15.

[41] Labat, *op. cit.* [n. 17], 3. The lengths of rule of the Median kings are derived from Herodotus and the absolute chronology from cuneiform records interpolated with Herodotus. On the unreliability of Herodotus on the Median kings see R. R. Helm, "Herodotus' *Medikos Logos* and Median History," *Iran*, 19 (1981), 85, 90.

[42] I. M. Dyakonov, *Istoriya Midii* [n. 4], 266, 282.

not possible to reconstruct a satisfactory chronology of the early Median kings. We can only surmise that the Median state came into formation during the time of Phraortēs in the middle of the seventh century B.C. although Dyakonov would date the declaration of independence of Phraortēs from Assyrian rule to the year 673 B.C.[43]

With the next ruler we are on firmer ground, for Phraortēs may have been killed by the Assyrians according to Cavaignac, but in any case he was succeeded by Cyaxarēs (OP *Huvaxštra, Akk. Umakištar).[44] Herodotus (I, 106) said that he ruled forty years, but this was most likely after the Scythian domination, and not before it as the historian thought. According to Herodotus (I, 103) Cyaxarēs was the first ruler to divide an army according to weapons used, separating lance bearers from bowmen and the like. This information cannot be correct as stated, and one should ask what the historical reality behind it is. As Dyakonov persuasively argued, it is probably the change from a force of tribal levies to a regular army which led to the remark of Herodotus.[45] Assyrian sources, unfortunately, do not help in elucidating the rise of the Median state, for during the reign of Aššurbanipal Assyria fought many times against Egypt, Babylonia, Arab tribes, and Elam, not giving much attention to the Iranian plateau. Elam was destroyed as an independent power under Aššurbanipal, and so too was the kingdom of the Mannai.[46] One may conjecture that the destruction of both Elam and the kingdom of the Mannai by the Assyrians, together with the fall of Urartu gave the Iranians a chance to assert their power, which was soon felt by their neighbors after the death of Aššurbanipal.

A strong ruler, Nabopolassar, became king of Babylon about 626 B.C., so Assyria was in danger from the south as well as from the Medes to the east. Unfortunately, we have no information, literary or archaeological, about events on the Iranian plateau in this period and cuneiform records also tell us little about Mesopotamia, so we are reduced to conjecture.[47] Just as we may assume that with the destruction of the power of Elam, Persian leaders took their place in Fars, if not also elsewhere, so we may conclude that the Medes consolidated their state at the expense of the Mannai, and of course of various Iranian tribes. It is quite possible that Cyaxarēs subjected the Persians in the south to Median rule in the period around 625 B.C. as Herodotus (I, 102) suggests. We must stress again that all is conjecture and must be fitted into a time scale which does not clash with earlier and later data.[48] Luckily for the years just before and after the fall of Nineveh we do have important cuneiform sources in the British Museum which give a summary of principal events relating to Assyria in the period

[43] *Ibid.*, 266. Such precise dating on the basis of oracle texts, however, is not convincing.

[44] E. Cavaignac, "Sur un passage de la tablette B.M. 25 127," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 51 (1957), 28–9. The tablet is full of lacunae, and relevant to the Medes it only has, "he turned his face towards Nineveh," followed by uncertain accounts of skirmishes. Nowhere is a proper name mentioned, and Cavaignac assumes that 'he' refers to the Assyrian king, and the skirmishes refer to Phraortēs, following Herodotus.

[45] Dyakonov, *Istoriya Midii* [n. 4], 295. In Aeschylus, *The Persians*, verse 765, the establishment of the army of the Achaemenids was ascribed to Mēdus, presumably a Median king in the mind of the poet.

[46] Luckenbill, *Records*, 2 [n. 5], 328–29. The Mannai were made subject to the Assyrians and thus lost their independence.

[47] Apparently Nabopolassar began hostilities against Assyria shortly after his accession and there was constant fighting; cf. S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts* (London 1924), 23.

[48] D. Stronach, "Excavations at Tepe Nūsh-i Jān 1967," *Iran*, 7 (1969), 6, reviews several opinions of events during this period.

of its fall.[49] It is not possible here to give an account of the rise of Babylonian military might and the decline of the Assyrian forces, but the steady advance of the Babylonians year by year against Assyria is well chronicled. In 615 B.C. the old capital of Assyria, the city of Aššur, was besieged but not taken by the Babylonians, and in October of the same year the Medes raided the province of Arraphu (modern Kirkuk).[50] The following year the Medes after marching to Nineveh turned south and captured Aššur which they plundered. Then, in the translation of Wiseman, "[The king of Ak]kad and Cy[axar]ēs met one another by the city. They established (an alliance) of mutual friendship and peace. [Cyaxar]ēs and his army returned to his land."[51] Although the text is poorly preserved for the events of the year 612, it is clear that in the summer the capital Nineveh fell to the Babylonians and Medes and the Assyrian king was killed, while his city was plundered, after which the Medes departed. Another Assyrian king proclaimed his rule in the town of Harran and with Egyptian aid maintained his independence until the summer of 610, when the Babylonian and Median allies captured the city. Skirmishes continued between the Egyptians and Babylonians until the Egyptians were defeated at a battle of Carchemish in 605 and peace was established for a time; thus the long domination of Assyria in the Near East came to an end.

REMAINS OF THE MEDES

Very little has survived which can be confidently attributed to the Medes, and excavations of Median sites are few. Until the present site of Hamadan, ancient Ecbatana, is excavated we must rely on the small fortress-site of Nūsh-e Jān, and a series of rock-cut tombs or other sites with possible Median layers or influences such as Godin Tepe and Bābā Jān Tepe. Fortunately the 'Median' rock-cut tombs have been discussed in detail and only a few remarks may be of interest here.[52] The five principal tombs which have been dated to Median times, and are said to be tombs of Median princes, are Kizkapan in Iraqi Kurdistan, Ferhād ō Širīn at the village of Ṣaḥna near Kangavar, Faḥrāqāh (or Fakhrīqah some 10 km. northeast of Mahabad) near the village of Andarqāsh, Dukkān-e Dāūd, 3 km. south of Sar-e Pul Ẕohab, and Sakawand or Ishaqvand, 3 km. north of Deh-e Nō, which village is 18 km. southwest of Harsīn.[53] Because of the poor stone carving on all of these, relative to the impressive Achaemenid tombs at Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rustam, it was generally thought that the above tombs were Median in date. Von Gall, however, convincingly argued that all of them are rather attempts to copy royal Achaemenid tombs and are to be dated to the late Achaemenid period, although they may well be the tombs of local Median

[49] Cf. D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings 626–556* B.C. (London, 1956).

[50] *Ibid.*, 13 and 57. The Mannai fought for the Assyrians. On the Mannai prisoners of the Babylonians see p. 55. Dyakonov, *Istoriya Midii* [n. 4], 304, thinks this defeat of Mannai forces gave Cyaxarēs the opportunity of incorporating their land in his domains.

[51] Wiseman, *op. cit.* [n. 49], 59. The attempt of König in *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 34], 42, to ascribe the storming of Nineveh to Manda tribes led by Arbakēs rather than to Medes, is unacceptable.

[52] H. von Gall, "Zu den 'Medischen' Felsgräbern in Nordwestiran und Iraqi Kurdistan," *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 81 (1966), 19 foll.

[53] I give official and local names and geographical locations of several of the sites since many who have written about them are either vague or erroneous in these matters.

chiefs.[54] With the tombs unable to serve as evidence for Median work, we turn to the Zendān-e Sulaimān, the remarkable crater at Takht-e Sulaiman in Azerbaijan, which was undoubtedly a holy site, for around the conical mountain, which was filled with water at this early period, houses, or rooms for piligrims or priests had been built. The high terrace on one side seems to confirm Herodotus (I, 131) when he said that the Persians do not erect statues to the gods, temples or altars, and they offer worship to Zeus and other deities on the tops of mountains. The pottery found here, however, mostly dates from the eighth century B.C., and the excavator believes the Zendān was a Mannai site which was destroyed by the Medes.[55] After a survey of a small site northeast of Maku near a village called Pul-e Dašt, Kleiss remarked that "der Bau in Čorbulaq[ist] bis heute das einzige Gebäude im Nordteil von Iranisch-Azerbaidjan, das von den Medern errichtet worden ist."[56] In a building there he was able to find an early prototype of the court-*ayvan* plan of later Iranian buildings. When we turn to the artistic finds from Hasanlu and Ziwiye, it seems that again they are remains of the Mannai, with possible Scythian (or Median?) influences on the style.[57] In the art it is clear that the two primary strains are influences from the ancient Near East, from Assyria in particular, and the nomadic or 'Scythian' style. What we are unable to discover is the relation of Median art to this 'Scythian' style, and one may tentatively conjecture that the Medes, in their early spreading over central and northwestern Iran, hardly could be distinguished from Scythians by the local, settled population.

The Median tribes undoubtedly absorbed much from the settled cultures of the Mannai, Urartians, Caspians, and other peoples, and in culture as well as political supremacy, they were the heirs of these peoples as the Persians were of the Elamites in the south. Unfortunately we know very little about the composition of the population on the Iranian plateau at the time of the fall of Nineveh. Presumably the population had been mixed to a great extent, for one reason by the policy of the Assyrian kings to deport rebellious peoples and settle them in widely scattered parts of the Assyrian domains. From the Bible (Kings II, 17, 6 and 18, 11) we have noted that Sargon II, and presumably Sennacherib, both deported Israelites to the 'cities' of the Medes. Others must have felt the wrath of the Assyrians in a similar manner, and the brisk trade quite likely also brought about a small movement of peoples. The spread of *qanat* irrigation technology must have opened new areas to cultivation on the plateau, and one may assume an increase in the population. Dyakonov is probably correct in denying the existence in Media in this period of great latifundia where large numbers of slaves were needed, and although the Medes may have brought captives home from the Assyrian wars, there is no evidence of any large-scale displacement of peoples.[58] That various peoples maintained their identities after the fall of Nineveh is suggested by the book of Jeremiah 51, 27–28, where the prophet speaks of the kingdoms of Ararat (Urartu), Minni (Mannai) and Ashkenaz

[54] von Gall, *op. cit.* [n. 52], 38.

[55] W. Kleiss, *Zendan-i Sulaiman, die Bauwerke* (Wiesbaden, 1971), 68. Urartian temples and others were also placed on heights.

[56] Kleiss, "Zwei Plätze des 6. Jh.s v. Chr. in Azerbaidjan," *AMI*, 9 (1976), 116.

[57] Porada, *op. cit.* [ch. 3, n. 2], 108–36. See also R. M. Boehmer, "Volkstum und Städte der Mannäer," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Abteilung Baghdad, 3 (Berlin, 1964), 11 foll.

[58] Dyakonov, *Istoriya Midii* [n. 4], 312. The Medes did not follow the Assyrians in this regard.

(Scythians) with the kings of the Medes, opposing Babylon. Presumably this passage refers to the time after 597 B.C. when the Babylonians took Jerusalem. If any credence is to be given this statement, we may suppose that the Median state was really more of a confederacy of various rulers than a centralized monarchy.

From the excavations at Nūsh-e Jān Tepe, and from Assyrian representations of Median towns on reliefs, it is clear that settlements were highly fortified, a necessary precaution during the long period of Assyrian raids on the plateau and tribal warfare. Archaeology suggests that fortified areas were abandoned or allowed to decay after the fall of Assyria.[59] For any picture of Median state or society in this period, however, we are obliged to interpolate from later sources, such as the inscriptions of the Achaemenid kings, and read back into Median times certain inferences. For example, the Greeks borrowed the word 'paradise,' or royal park, from the Medes and not from the Persians, since the form of the last word is with a -z, **daiza* instead of Persian **daida* (in Elamite/*par-te-taš*). This implies that the Medes had created the enclosed royal hunting park before the rise of the Achaemenids. Probably the group of Iranian tribal warriors had given place to a professional army, or at least a royal guard. Dyakonov would see in the Behistun inscription of Darius (II, 16), speaking of the Median army *kāra Māda haya viθāpatiy āha*, "the Median people which was in its domain(s)," a reference to the landed nobility on its lands, while the *kāra haya upā mām āha* "the people which remained with me (Darius)" was the professional army and court nobility.[60] Whether this presupposes a division of the Median nobility under Cyaxarēs, or his successor, into landed nobility and court nobility is questionable. It is perhaps better to admit the lack of information about the Medes and reserve discussion of later sources for later history.

EXPANSION OF THE EMPIRE

Herodotus (I, 134) said that the Medes ruled over their neighbors, who in turn ruled over those farther away, which has been interpreted as meaning that the subject peoples ruled themselves, sending tribute to the Medes, whereas under the Achaemenids the system of satraps (usually Persians) was introduced.[61] As Dyakonov aptly observed, the references to 'kings' under the Median king in both Jeremiah (25, 25 and 51, 11 and 28) and in a cuneiform text, implies a system of vassal rulers rather than a centralized state.[62] Since the OP title *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām* 'king of kings' is probably Median in origin, though the Urartians and others used the title long before the Medes, obviously the king of the Medes was the overlord of other rulers.[63] What areas did the Medes rule? To the east we have no sources to answer this question but

[59] See D. Stronach, "Excavations at Tepe Nūsh-i Jān," *Iran*, 16 (1978), 9–10. On Bābā-Jān Tepe see the same issue, 41–42.

[60] Dyakonov, *Istoriya Midii* [n. 4], 332–34. It is also dubious to assign the OP word *spāda* 'army' to the Medes and *kāra* 'people, horde,' to the Persians, cf. *Handbuch*, 144, *taḫma* for reference to etymologies.

[61] W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, 2 (Oxford, 1964), 115.

[62] Dyakonov, *op. cit.* [n. 4], 336.

[63] Cf. R. Schmitt, "Königtum im Alten Iran," *Saeculum*, 28 (1977), 386 and for the etymology, O. Szemerényi, "Iranica V," *AI*, 5, Monumentum H. S. Nyberg, 2 (1975), 313–23. Szemerényi is wrong, however, in asserting that the title 'king of kings' was used by the late Assyrian kings. It is really found in the titulary of the *early* Assyrian kings, not those against whom the Medes fought.

only surmises. The tribes of the Medes already have been mentioned, and the Parētakēni were those whose center was present Isfahan, apparently extending into the desert on the east of Tabbas (Curtius V, 13, 2). Whether the Orthokorybanti, mentioned by Herodotus as one of the contingents in the army of the tenth satrapy of the Achaemenids (III, 92), were the 'high hat' Scythians who maintained a separate identity in Media, is unknown, but a reasonable surmise.[64] Did they have a king who gave fealty to Cyaxarēs or did they merely send tribute as more distant peoples? We can only conjecture that the tribes of the Medes were directly under Cyaxarēs whereas others were more independent, such as the Persians.

The Persians, we are told by Herodotus, the Old Persian inscriptions, and a passage from a prism of Aššurbanipal, had kings going back to an eponymous ancestor Achaemenes (OP Haxāmaniš).[65] Whether there were two kings in Fars is unknown but not improbable in light of the genealogy of the early Achaemenid kings following two lines after Teispes (OP Čišpiš).[66] One may further speculate that the line of Cyrus had its center in Pasargadae, his later capital, while his brother Ariaramnes (OP Ariyārāmna) had his center to the southwest. We do not know when these local kings submitted to Median overlordship, before or after the fall of Nineveh, but probably under the rule of Cyaxarēs. Other Iranian tribes to the east are more problematical.

In Kerman lived a Persian tribe, the Germanioi or Kermanioi (Herodotus I, 125), which name some scholars have connected with the word 'German', while others have proposed various etymologies for it.[67] Presumably when Fars submitted to the Medes so did Kerman. In Seistan, ancient Zranka or Drangiana, one may guess a Median control, but again there is no evidence, and the same is true for various tribes which lived in the southeastern part of the Iranian plateau and which cannot be identified, such as the Outioi, whom Herzfeld confidently identifies with OP Yautiyā, NP *jut* or *ǰut* and Arabic Zuṭṭ 'gypsies.'[68] Whoever the inhabitants of the desolate stretches of the southeastern Iranian plateau were, any central control from western Iran must have been weak, as it has been throughout history.

Much has been made of a passage in Herodotus (III, 117), speaking of the area of the present lower Harī Rūd which has been identified as the Akēs River of the historian.[69] The Khwarazmians ruled this plain which was on the borders of the lands

[64] Dyakonov, *op. cit.* [n. 4], 338. His etymology, meaning 'fairy' or supernatural beings is less likely than 'mountaineers,' proposed by Eilers, "Demawend," [ch. 1, n. 19], 348, since the name is also applied to people in Central Asia.

[65] In the fragment of prism from Babylon of the year 639 B.C., line 7 says that Cyrus, king of (the land) Parsumaš, heard of the great victory of Aššurbanipal over Elam and sent his eldest son Arukku to Nineveh with tribute. This Cyrus should be the grandfather of Cyrus II, the founder of the Achaemenid dynasty. Cf. E. F. Weidner, "Die älteste Nachricht über das persische Königshaus," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 7 (1931), 4 and 6. Dyakonov, *op. cit.* [n. 4], 349, explains the name Arukku as Iranian *Ar(ya)uka.

[66] V. I. Abaev, "Iz Iranskoi Onomastiki," *Istoriya Iranskogo Gosudarstva i Kultury*, ed. by B. G. Gafurov (Moscow, 1971), 269, supports the reading Čispiš, while W. Hinz, *Neue Wege im Altpersischen* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 25, upholds the reading Čaispiš. More weight accrues to Abaev in this controversy.

[67] Cf. C. Bartholomae, "Iranisches," *ZII*, 4 (1926), 185, who thinks of a foreign word, whereas Eilers, "Demawend" [ch. 1, n. 19], 184, gives a bibliography of discussions of the name which he considers Iranian.

[68] Herzfeld, *Zoroaster*, 2 [ch. 3, n. 31], 733.

[69] W. B. Henning, *Zoroaster, Politician or Witch-Doctor?* (Oxford, 1951), 42, where reference is given to Markwart.

of the Khwarazmians, the Hyrcanians, the Parthians, the Sarangians (in Seistan) and the Thamanians (in Arachosia?). From this sentence W. B. Henning concluded, "We can thus be fairly certain that there was a state in eastern Iran which centered around Marv and Herat and coexisted with the Median Empire; which was led by the Khwarazmians and abolished by Cyrus, who deprived them of their southern provinces, whereupon they gradually retired to their northern possessions along the River Oxus."[70] He further puts Vishtaspa, the patron of Zoroaster, as the last ruler of this state, thus giving the prophet a fixed time and place. This implies no Median overlordship in this part of the east, a position opposed by Dyakonov and others.[71] These are interesting surmises, but they remain no more, and only new found inscriptions can resolve the question. The likelihood of some kind of Median hegemony exists, but how far it extended or its nature is unknown. Just as with the eastern Iranians, so in the Caspian area, the extent of Median rule is impossible to determine. Since Median armies went far into Anatolia and, as we have mentioned, probably put an end to Urartu, then most likely areas of easier access, such as Khurasan, submitted earlier to Median rule. Only by interpolating between earlier Assyrian and later Persian rule can we come to some appreciation of the Medes where we have virtually no sources. For example, as Dyakonov points out, Achaemenid satrapies were both larger and more independent than Assyrian provinces, so he proposes that the Median satrapies (for the form of the word 'satrap' is Median and not Persian) were between the two in size and independence.[72] Such impressionistic views of the Medes, unfortunately, at present are all we have in reconstructing the past of the Medes.

ART AND MATERIAL CULTURE

From the domain of art and archaeology we gain some impressions of the Medes and, as mentioned, their dependence on the culture of the Urartians, Elamites, and others of the ancient Near East is great. From representations on Assyrian reliefs some scholars have concluded that early Persian soldiers wore feather headdresses, or that Medes invariably wore tall, round felt hats and trousers. Again, unluckily, there are no identifying inscriptions so the designations are speculative. If we could be sure that certain figures were Medes, then something could be said about the costumes, but since styles change, it is not easy to assign decorative features to the Medes and to no one else. There is little point in repeating such statements as, "Just as the Medes probably handed down to the Persians the elements of Scythian art which they had absorbed or obtained independently through eastern connections, so they must also have been the middlemen for the continuation in Achaemenid art of other stylistic traditions which prevailed in Iran in Median times;"[73] or, "we know next to nothing about Median architecture."[74] It is clear that without extensive excavations in Hamadan, on the site of the Median capital of Ecbatana, there is little hope of progress in our knowledge of the material culture of the Medes.

[70] *Ibid.*, 42–43.

[71] *Istoriya Midii* [n. 4], 357–58.

[72] *Ibid.*, 361.

[73] Porada, *op. cit.* [ch. 3, n. 2], 140. Cf. Dyakonov, *Istoriya Midii* [n. 4], 403–12, with the suggestion that the 'animal style' in bronzes was Median by origin.

[74] Ghirshman, *op. cit.* [n. 27], 87.

RELIGION

The Zendān-e Sulaiman, probably a site of the Mannai, has been mentioned, and presumably a fire altar has been found in a room with high walls in the fortified site of Nūsh-e Jān, but this is all the material evidence we have for the religion of the Medes. A fire cult was no monopoly of the Medes, so the presence of an altar in excavations does little in explaining the uses and beliefs connected with it; even the Hittites had a fire cult.[75] Since the discovery of a fire altar in an excavation gives few details about the religion practiced at the site, we turn as usual to Herodotus, who says (I, 131) that the Persians (and presumably also the Medes) have no images, temples or altars (*sic*); they worship in the open air on mountain tops and kill their sacrifices in a place free from pollution, but one of the Magi must be present and chant a hymn. Further (I, 140), the Magi expose the bodies of the dead to birds of prey, and they kill crawling creatures, as snakes and scorpions. Much has been written about this information of Herodotus, and the question of the religion or religions of the various Iranian peoples is always bound to a comparison of Classical sources with the Avesta and more recent Zoroastrian practices. Herodotus, of course, lived long after the fall of the Median kingdom, so, as usual, one must interpolate backwards. The three forms of disposal of the dead, cremation, exposure or burial have been found in excavations in various parts of the Iranian world, although cremation, unlike among Hindus and Vikings, is rare in Central Asia and unattested on the plateau.[76] Since exposure of the dead body has been a feature of the Zoroastrian religion for almost two millennia, there is no reason to reject Herodotus' assertion that this is a practice especially of the Magi. The desire not to pollute the earth with decaying matter seems to be the principal reason why a priesthood would enjoin their followers to adopt exposure in place of former burial in the earth. Since in a passage of Xanthos (*FHG* I, 42 and *Frg. Hist.* III c. 2), the prohibition against cremation is attributed to Zoroaster by the Persians, one may accept this as an early Zoroastrian practice, however, frequently breached. No matter when the Magi adopted the reforms of the prophet, they were priests from early times, perhaps a tribe of the Medes as Herodotus says, or a priestly caste just among the Medes and then among other Iranians. In any case, we can safely assume that the Magi held a prominent place among the Medes as interpreters of dreams and auguries, as well as fulfilling their priestly functions, for the word 'magic' comes from their name.[77] The process by which the Magi became *the* Zoroastrian priests is much disputed and the early periods of their activity remain dark.[78]

THE LYDIAN WAR AND FALL OF THE MEDES

The marriage of a Median princess to Nebuchadnezzar, son of the Babylonian king, before the fall of Nineveh was part of the joint strategy of the two allies against the

[75] V. V. Ivanov, "Kult Ognya u Khettov," *Drevnii Mir*, Festschrift for V. V. Struve, ed. by N. Pigulevskaya (Moscow, 1962), 271–72. Fire is used in Hindu rituals and elsewhere.

[76] For the discovery of funeral urns in ancient Central Asia see Y. A. Rapoport, "Some Aspects of the Evolution of Zoroastrian Funeral Rites," *Trudy 25 Mezhdunarodnogo Kongressa Vostokovedov*, 3 (Moscow, 1963) 127–33, and the following article by G. P. Snesarov, 134–40.

[77] For an etymology of *magus* as 'powerful, etc.' see J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1 (Bern, 1959), 695. This is not accepted by E. Benveniste, *Les Mages dans l'ancien Iran* (Paris, 1938), 20.

[78] Cf. Boyce, *op. cit.* 1 [ch. 3, n. 21], 10–11.

common Assyrian foe.[79] Afterwards, however, one cannot speak of an alliance of the two for tensions developed over the boundaries and spheres of influence. While the Babylonians were conquering Syria and Palestine, driving out Egyptians, the Medes extended their rule in eastern Anatolia, where they came into conflict with the Lydian kingdom with its capital at Sardis. We do not know the circumstances leading to the war between the Lydians and the Medes which Herodotus (I, 74) tells us lasted five years until the famous battle of the eclipse of the sun on 28 May 585 B.C. after which peace was made through intermediaries, the ruler of Cilicia, called Syennesis, and the Babylonians. The Halys River or present Kizil Irmak formed the boundary between the two states and Aryēnis daughter of Alyattēs of Lydia (ruled c. 617–561 B.C.) was married to Astyagēs, son of Cyaxarēs, as a sign of alliance.[80] The Babylonians, however, cannot have regarded the growing power of the Medes with anything but dismay and led to the construction of a defensive wall north of Babylon, and predictions on the fall of Babylon by Isaiah and Jeremiah.

Herodotus (I, 106) assigns forty years to the rule of Cyaxarēs while, Eusebius (*Frg. Hist.* IIB, Nr. 250) gives thirty-eight, but such numbers, in these and other ancient sources, cannot be substantiated and can only be reported as fitting the general framework of chronology. He was followed by his son Astyagēs, about whom we find much folklore and fable, relating primarily to the rise of Cyrus.[81] We have conflicting information about the family of Astyagēs in various sources. Herodotus (I, 107 foll.) says that Astyagēs had a daughter called Mandanē about whom he had a dream that she urinated and flooded all of Asia. Astyagēs became fearful and instead of giving her in marriage to a Mede, gave her to Cambyses of Persis, from which union Cyrus was born. But Astyagēs later had another dream, that from the womb of his daughter a vine grew which overshadowed Asia. Then he ordered one of his nobles Harpagos to kill the boy, but Harpagos instead gave him to a shepherd called Mitradatēs and his wife Spako, which is the Median name for dog.[82] The woman substituted her dead child for Cyrus and raised the baby as her own. Years later the royal blood of Cyrus became manifest and Astyagēs found out about him, then received him into his household, but he punished Harpagos by killing his son and serving him to his father at a banquet. Then the king sent Cyrus to Persis to his real father and mother who received him and, after hearing his story, let it be known generally that he had been saved by a dog. To shorten the story, Harpagos, bent on revenge, later persuaded Cyrus to revolt against Astyagēs, and during a battle he led the Medes to desert and support Cyrus which gave the victory to the Persians.

[79] See Wiseman, *op. cit.* [n. 49], 15.

[80] The Lydian character of the names of the king and his daughter are asserted by L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague, 1964), 55, 103 but no etymologies are given. The war between the two may have been started by Median claims to rule over the Scythians in Cappadocia.

[81] On the etymology of his name **ṛšti-vaiga* "brandishing a lance," see Herzfeld, *op. cit.* [ch. 3, n 31], 1, 90, and E. A. Grantovskii, *op. cit* [n. 6a], 330. In Akkadian he is called Ištumegu with -m- for -w-. The account of Ctesias as found in Diodorus Siculus (II, 32, 6) is fantasy.

[82] The name Mitradatēs is given as Atradatēs by Ctesias in Nicholas of Damascus (*Frg. Hist.* II, teil A, 361), and in Strabo (729) the name of Cyrus himself is given as Agradatēs, probably a mistake for the same name as that found in Ctesias. Cyrus was a noble and not the son of a shepherd. The word for 'dog' is correct and much has been written about it.

This is the Cyrus saga, with parts of the myths of the Indo-European peoples integrated into it. It is not necessary to discuss the variants of the myth by Ctesias and the account of Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus, which follows Herodotus, or other more apocopated parts of the story of the rise of Cyrus, since the saga has been discussed in much detail elsewhere.[83] Binder has convincingly indicated that the various elements in the saga such as the abandonment of a royal child and its nourishment by an animal (dog, wolf, eagle or cow) are very widespread motifs relevant to the founder of a new dynasty, and probably bound to ancient rites of nomadic young warrior fraternities (*Männerbünde*) on the steppes of Central Asia.[84] To go further, however, and draw cosmogonic and far-reaching conclusions on the religious significance of the myths is hazardous, even though one may accept the premise that the stories are much more than just tales or literature but do have cultic and ritualistic origins. The saga of Cyrus must have been attached to his birth and ancestory soon after his death, for the life of Cyrus became an almost mystic symbol for later rulers of Iran. The testimony of Plutarch (*Life of Artaxerxes*, 3) that a new Persian king had to be initiated into his new position at Pasargadae by following a ritual of wearing Cyrus' robe and eating the simple food which Cyrus ate, indicates the great respect for tradition of the Iranians and the value of the saga as more than a tale. Since a later writer, Aelian (*hist. anim.* 12, 21) says that Achaemenes, ancestor of Cyrus, as a child was nourished by an eagle, we can see the extension of the variants of the myth backwards in time, as well as forward to the Arsacid and Sasanian founder legends. The *Shāhnāme*, of course, has many variants of the story of the abandonment of a child and its rearing by an animal. I have called the elements of the motif of the founder of a new dynasty in Iran part of the charisma of Persian royalty which has the following components: royal blood in descent from the previous dynasty, upbringing with common folk undergoing hardships, recognition of the charismatic 'royal fortune,' called *xvarənah* in Avestan or later *farn* or *farr*, in the youth, and his overthrow of the ruling tyrant to usher in a new age. To use the saga for a reconstruction of history, however, is an uncertain and difficult undertaking, even though it obviously contains much of value. The sifting of fact from fiction in the saga requires external sources, which unfortunately give us little more than a sequence of a few events.[85] So even when source material is available, it is often so mixed with fable and fantasy as to be suspect.

The terse Akkadian account of the defeat of Astyagēs goes as follows, "[Sixth year . . . King Ishtumegu] called up his troops and marched against Cyrus, king of Anshan, in order to me[et him in battle]. The army of Ishtumegu revolted against him and in fetters they de[livered him] to Cyrus. Cyrus (marched) against the country Agamtanu; the royal residence (he seized); silver, gold, (other) valuables . . . of the

[83] Cf. A. Bauer, *Die Kyros-Sage und Verwandtes* (Vienna, 1882), 86 pp.; G. Hüsing, "Beiträge zur Kyros-Sage" *OLZ*, 1903–06 (reprinted as a booklet, Berlin, 1906), 159 pp.; and finally with ample bibliography, G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung der Königskinder Kyros und Romulus*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, 10 (Meisenheim, 1964), esp 17–28, 175–82.

[84] Binder, *op. cit.* [n. 83], esp. 29, 45, 58. See also R. Frye, "The Charisma of Kingship in Ancient Iran," [n. 40], 40–46.

[85] The Greek didactic treatise by Xenophon, the *Cyropaedia*, is likewise difficult to use as a source of history, although he, like Herodotus, says that many stories circulated about the life of Cyrus.

country Agamtanu he took as booty and brought (them) to Anshan."[86] Another Akkadian source simply says that Cyrus "made the Guti country and all the Manda-hordes bow in submission to his feet," while a text describing Nabonidus' desire to repair the temple of Sin the Moon deity at Harran mentions how Cyrus, king of Anshan, vassal of the king of the Manda-hordes, with a small army will overthrow the far-flung Medes and take Astyagēs to his land as a prisoner.[87] From these sources we may conclude that Cyrus defeated Astyagēs in battle, and the Median army revolted against Astyagēs delivering him to Cyrus who plundered Ecbatana and took Astyagēs as a prisoner to Persis. If this battle took place in the sixth year of the reign of Nabonidus, as one text says, then we may date it 550–549 B.C. It is much better to follow contemporary Akkadian sources, sparse though they may be, than the embellished tales of Herodotus, Ctesias and their successors, who collected their stories from various sources, including tellers of tales. Their general accounts, however, do not contradict the cuneiform sources and this much we accept.

The theory that the royal house of Media was related to Zoroaster's family has been proposed and elaborated by several scholars.[88] The reason for this assertion is found in Ctesias, who gave the name of the first husband of the daughter of Astyagēs as Spitamas, and later the name of the magus whom Darius killed, not Gaumata or Bardiya, but Sphendadatēs, both of which names belong in the family of Zoroaster. Herzfeld (p. 51) concludes that Zoroaster is to be identified as Spitakēs, son of Spitamas and Amytis, daughter of Astyagēs. If the Median royal houses were in any way connected with Zoroaster, however, we would have heard of this directly in the sources and not in certain names which modern scholars use to support their theories and reject others as fantasy. Ancient authors have suffered from modern interpreters who praise and use them when it fits their fancies, and then condemn and reject those same authors when their information conflicts with modern hypotheses. The name Spitāma does appear in various sources, including probably a cuneiform tablet (Herzfeld, 48), but this in no way allows us to infer the connection of Zoroaster with all or any of the names, if they are historical. Furthermore, whereas no one should ignore the long continuity of families as well as traditions in Iranian history, to base far-reaching theories on the basis of names or etymologies alone is fraught with misconceptions. It is quite possible that Astyagēs had no son to succeed him, but it is also possible that the ancient Iranian kingly saga demanded a blood link between Cyrus and the daughter of the last king of the Medes.[89]

Although the next empire of the Achaemenids came to be called one of the Medes and the Persians, at the beginning of the rule of the Achaemenids, the Persians were

[86] Trans by A. Leo Oppenheim, with the lacunae in the Akkadian text shown by brackets and additions of the translator in parentheses, in J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (Princeton, 1955), 305.

[87] *Ibid.*, 315. The archaic reference to Guti and Manda-hordes (*Ummânmanda*) is characteristic of Babylonian sources. On the Harran text see S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts* (London, 1924), 44. The best survey of Classical sources on the battle between Cyrus and Astyagēs is by I. V. Pyankov, "Borba Kira II s Astiagom," *VDI*, no. 3 (1971), 16–37. Some of his conclusions, e.g., p. 23 that Astyagēs came from Susa to Pasargadae to fight Cyrus, are hardly acceptable. He also makes little reference to the cuneiform sources.

[88] Herzfeld, *op. cit.* 1 [ch. 3, n. 31], 48; Dyakonov, *Istoriya Midii* [n. 4], 415–16.

[89] The fact that the Median rebel against Darius, in his Behistun inscription (II, 13, or par. 24) claimed to be of the family of Cyaxarēs and not of Astyagēs is interesting in this regard.

exempt from taxes while the Medes paid as other subjects did (Herodotus III, 89, 97). Medes raised several revolts under Achaemenid rule, as we shall see, but the revolts may be attributed to the general oppression of the people by their rulers rather than to an ethnic antagonism. Gradually the Medes and Persians, as well as other Iranians, became mixed, which was in part a result of the world empire of the Achaemenids.

CHAPTER V

ACHAEMENIDS

Literature: Our sources for the early Achaemenids are more abundant than for any period of the early history of Iran until the Sasanian period. In the last four decades the results of the excavations at Persepolis have enormously enriched our knowledge of the Achaemenid court. The monumental three volumes by E. Schmidt, *Persepolis* (Chicago, 1953, 1957, 1970) are the basic handbook for the site, but the epigraphical finds of Elamite tablets and Aramaic inscriptions have produced three books, G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (Chicago, 1948), R. T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago, 1969), and R. A. Bowman, *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis* (Chicago, 1970). The articles which these works have engendered, plus new Elamite tablets, would require an enormous bibliography. To select those especially noteworthy we may mention the articles, "Persepolis Treasury Tablets Old and New," and "New Tablets from the Persepolis Treasury," by Cameron in *JNES*, 17 (1958), 161–76 and *JNES*, 24 (1965), 167–92, and especially Hallock's "The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets," *The Cambridge History of Iran*, 2 (Cambridge University, Middle East Centre separate publication, 1971), 31 pp. Many articles have been written elucidating various details of the tablets. For a bibliography of articles up to 1970 see W. Hinz, 'Die Quellen,' in G. Walser, ed., "Beiträge zur Achämenidengeschichte," in *Historia*, 18 (1972), 5–14. Since this publication, the following can be added for the Elamite tablets: I. Gershevitch, "Iranian Nouns and Names in Elamite Garb," *TPS* (1969–70), 165–99, his "Amber at Persepolis," in *Studia Classica et Orientalia Oblata*, 2 (Rome, 1969), 167–251, "Island-Bay and the Lion," *BSOAS*, 33 (1970), 82–91, and "The Alloglottography of Old Persian," *TPS* (1979), 114–90. The many publications of M. Mayrhofer, especially in the realm of onomastica, fortunately are listed in his *Ausgewählte Kleine Schriften* (Vienna, 1978), and all Iranian names will be treated in the various fascicules of his forthcoming *Iranisches Personennamenbuch*, but until then see his *Onomastica Persepolitana* (Vienna, 1973), 358 pp. For a bibliography of Old Persian see Mayrhofer's, "Das Altpersische seit 1964," in *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*, ed. by M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch (London, 1970), 276–98, and succeeding notices in the list of his own publications above. Further Hinz's *Wege* [ch. 4, n. 66], 174 pp. deals with the Elamite tablets as does his article, "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung," *ZA*, 61 (1971), 260–311, and "Die elamischen Buchungstäfelchen der Darius-Zeit," *Orientalia*, 39 (1970), 421–40, and finally his *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 303 pp.

A series of articles by R. Schmitt mostly regarding Iranian terms and names in the Elamite tablets have appeared; for a bibliography of his articles and others relating to philological questions, for the most part, see the bibliography in M. A. Dandamaev, *Persien unter den ersten Achämeniden* (Wiesbaden, 1976), 257–62.

For the Aramaic inscriptions on the green chert mortars, pestles and plates from Persepolis a large literature exists, among which we may mention P. Bernard, "Les mortiers et pilons inscrits de Persépolis," *SI*, 1 (1972), 165–76; B. A. Levine, "Aramaic Texts from Persepolis," *JAOS*, 92 (1972), 70–79; J. Naveh and S. Shaked, "Ritual Texts or Treasury Documents," *Orientalia*, 42 (1973), 445–57; J. A. Delaunay, "A propos des Aramaic Ritual Texts," *AI*, 2 (1974), 193–217, and K. Kamioka, "Philological Observations on the Aramaic texts from Persepolis," *Orient*, 11 (Tokyo, 1975), 45–66. Most scholars now agree that the texts on the objects are not ritual texts but are records of the manufacture of the objects and their presentation to Achaemenid officials; further they were made in Arachosia (modern Qandahar area). The purpose of the mortars and pestles was hardly just to press grapes or grind spices, but was probably for the *haoma* ritual, part of the ancient Indo-Iranian religion, and apparently practiced by some Iranians in the Persepolis area.

One of the most important new inscriptional sources for early Achaemenid history was the discovery of the quadri-lingual (OP, Akkadian, Elamite and hieroglyphic Egyptian) inscription on the statue of Darius I in Susa in 1973, and an entire issue of the *Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran*, 4 (Paris, 1974) is devoted to the statue, as well as articles in *JA* (1972). Other discoveries of new inscriptions were merely copies of inscriptions already known; cf. B. Gharib, "A Newly Found Old Persion Inscription," *IA*, 8 (1968), 54–69, and W. Hinz, "Eine neue Xerxes-Inschrift aus Persepolis," in his book *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (Berlin, 1969), 45–51.

Perhaps the most important epigraphical material for Achaemenid history, however, comes from inscriptions in Aramaic and in Greek found outside of Iran, but giving valuable information about the administration of the empire. It is, of course, impossible to list the numerous publications on Aramaic, but a bibliography by J. Teixidor appears regularly in the journal *Syria* called "Bulletin d'épigraphie Sémitique." The ongoing *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* by R. Degen (Wiesbaden, 1972–) is a handbook of Aramaic inscriptions to be consulted for all Aramaic inscriptions. Of special importance are the Aramaic papyri from Egypt of the satrap Arsames under Artaxerxes I and Darius II published by G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1957), and E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953), which supplement the old collection by A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923); cf. B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (University of California Press, 1968) and J. Naveh and S. Shaked, "A Recently Published Aramaic Papyrus (from Berlin)," *JAOS*, 91 (1971), 379–82, as well as P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Egypte* (Paris, 1972). The Aramaic sources give us Achaemenid titles and names as well as other information.

Excavations in Anatolia, notably at Xanthos in Lycia and at Sardis, have given us new Greek epigraphical remains from the Achaemenid period. Especially interesting is the trilingual inscription of Pixodaros, satrap of Lycia, in Greek, Lycian and Aramaic; see the *CRAI* (1974), 82–93, "Le stèle trilingue recemment découverte au Létôon de Xanthos," by H. Metzger, to be published in full in vol. 6 of *Fouilles de Xanthos*. For Sardis see L. Robert, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardis* (Paris, 1964). The fragmentary Greek inscriptions from Persepolis unfortunately add little to Achaemenid history; cf. G. P. Carratelli, "Greek Inscriptions of the Middle East, Persepolis," *EW*, 16 (1966), 31–34. They are probably marks by masons.

Numismatics and inscribed seals enter the repertoire of sources on the Achaemenids. A survey of the coinage may be found in D. Schlumberger, *L'argent grec dans l'empire achémenide*, in MDAFA, 14 (1953), 55–57. Since that time we have S. P. Noe, *Two Hoards of Persian Sigloi*, *NNM*, 136 (1956). Further articles on satrapal issues may be found in the excellent yearly bibliography *Numismatic Literature* published by the ANS in New York. The far-flung circulation of coinage with Greek legends in the Achaemenid Empire is now assured. Achaemenid seals and sealings are also a source for history, and the continuity of earlier commercial practices into the Achaemenid period is revealed by the clay sealings. On them see my "The Use of Clay Sealings in Sasanian Iran," *AI*, Varia 1976, 5 (Leiden, 1977), 117–24, for general remarks on earlier sealings. The article by C. J. Gadd, "Achaemenid Seals," *SPA*, 1, 383–88, is still valuable as are the articles by G. M. A. Richter and H. Seyrig in *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, ed. by G. Miles (New York, 1952). The seals and sealings, especially those from Persepolis, provide material for reconstructing the material culture of the Achaemenids as well as their artistic achievements.

Archaeology, of course, provides the basis for the dating and attribution of most aspects of material culture, and in addition to the volumes of Schmidt on the excavations at Persepolis mentioned above, the two volumes of Ann Britt Tilia, *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fars*, ISMEO (Roma, 1972 and 1978), and the book by D. Stronach, *Pasargadae* (Oxford, 1978), 312 pp., are significant. Work at Susa, the winter capital of the Achaemenid kings, continues, and results are published in the *Cahiers* of the French delegation in Iran and elsewhere. Fortunately, a classified and detailed yearly bibliography of the archaeology of Iran appears in *AMI*.

Journals which contain articles on the Achaemenids or related Iranian subjects are *Iran*, *JNES*, *IA*, *SI*, *VDI*, *Persica*, *EW* and *Orientalia*, while the various general Oriental journals published in different countries, all must be surveyed for articles relating to the Achaemenids. In addition, *Archaeology*, *Archeologia Viva*, *Iraq*, *Syria*, *Sumer*, *Afghanistan*, *Anatolia*, *Mesopotamia*, and *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya* from time to time have articles relating to the Achaemenids. Especially noteworthy was the series *Acta Iranica* (*AI*), published in Leiden, and the yearly reports on excavations in Iran, published in Tehran, plus the proceedings of the International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology.

The Classical sources for the Achaemenids are well known: Herodotus, Xenophon, especially his *Anabasis*, Ctesias, the Alexander historians, especially Arrian, Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, together with Plutarch's life of Artaxerxes, Aeschylus, *The Persians*, Ptolemy for historical geography, and, of course, later authors such as Strabo, Pliny, as well as fragments of minor Greek writers. The Old Testament (esp. Esther, Ezra and Nehemiah) also provides some information about the Achaemenids, as do late fourth century Aramaic papyri and coins from Palestine; see P. W. Lapp, *Discoveries in the Wadi ed-Dâliyeh*, Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Cambridge, Mass., 1974), 17–30. At any time the spades of archaeologists may uncover material which will greatly change our views of Achaemenid history, although on the whole we may expect confirmation of what the literary sources we now have tell us. (Additional bibliography will be found in the footnotes.)

CYRUS AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE EMPIRE

We have already discussed briefly the Cyrus legend and the Parsua, but a few additional remarks about Fars before Cyrus may help elucidate the circumstances of the founding of his empire. The question of whether after the *Landaufnahme* by the Persian tribes in Fars, rule was divided into two collateral families of children of Achaemenes has been proposed by many scholars on the basis of the split genealogy of the Achaemenids after Teispes. It is more likely, however, given the nature of tribal societies and the broken mountains and valleys of Fars, that even after Teispes not just two but many tribal chiefs or 'kings' existed in Fars, and it was probably only under Cyrus the Great that they were all united under him as head of the Achaemenid clan of the Pasargadae tribe. Whether the process of unification followed much the same pattern as later under Ardashir, founder of the Sasanian dynasty, is, of course, unknown but not improbable.

Although Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*, I, 2, 5) says the Persians were divided into twelve tribes, which number appears for other purposes in Xenophon, one should rather follow Herodotus (I, 125), who says there were many tribes, but he only names ten, including the Pasargadae, Maraphi, and Maspi. The first presumably lived around the capital of Cyrus and we may presume that the site took its name from the tribe.[1] The second had several prominent representatives mentioned by Herodotus (IV, 167; see also Aeschylus, *The Persians*, 778) attesting the reality of the tribe, while the third, according to Herzfeld, is preserved in a tribal name of the Lurs at the present time.[2] The name is also conceivably to be found in the province of Massabatikē or Messabate between Khuzistan and Fars.[3] The other tribes mentioned by Herodotus are more problematic, for of those he calls settled and agriculturists, the Panthialai, Derousiai and Germani, only the last can be located in present Kerman. Herzfeld suggests that the first have their name preserved in the modern town of Fahliyan, but his etymology is unconvincing, even though the area must have been settled by one of the Persian tribes.[4] The Derousiai are not mentioned elsewhere, and it is not possible to locate them. For want of anyone in the present Fasa-Darab-Jahrum area of today, this tribe might be consigned to somewhere in that expanse, but this is mere surmise.

The rest of the tribes Herodotus calls nomadic Dahi, Mardi, Dropiki and Sagarti, all of whom are found elsewhere on the plateau, or rather they are primarily elsewhere rather than solely in Fars. This argues for the correctness of the historian's assertion that they were nomadic, and also for the possible Persian–Central Asian (Sogdian) linguistic connections. The first are mentioned by many Classical authors (see PW) as living primarily east of the Caspian Sea, and the Dropiki or Derbikes are

[1] Many etymologies of the name, both ancient and modern, have been proposed, most of them reviewed by Stronach, *Pasargadae* (Oxford, 1978), 280–82. Perhaps the most plausible is by Bailey: 'the Persian settlement.' (in D. Stronach, *op. cit.* 281, footnote 17) W. Hinz, *Darius und die Perser* (Baden-Baden, 1976), 58, says the word was Median in origin **Pâtragadâ*, meaning "robbers' nest," not a likely name for a tribe.

[2] E. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster*, 2 [ch. 3, n. 31], 729.

[3] For references see Mannert, *op. cit.* 2 [*supra*, ch. 1, p. 1], 356.

[4] Herzfeld, *Zoroaster*, 2 [ch. 3, n. 31], 731. The etymologies proposed by him in *The Persian Empire*, ed. by G. Walser (Wiesbaden, 1968), 298, are interesting but unconvincing.

located there as well. The Sagartians, who probably lived on the edges of the central desert near Yazd, were said by Herodotus (VII, 85) to be Persian in speech. The name is found in the Behistun inscription (II, 79), and a revolting Sagartian claimed to be descended from the Median kings. The Mardi present problems since they are found in so many places (see PW) in Armenia, Hyrcania and Media as well as in Fars. There is no compelling reason to call them a clan instead of a tribe and equate the name with the Maraphi as Herzfeld does.[5] Another presumably tribal name rather than a geographical designation, which Strabo (XV, 727) mentions, is Patišhuvari(š) on the tomb of Darius, showing a spear bearer called Gobryas, as being a Pateisxoreis. Nothing else is known about them except the speculation among modern scholars that they were not a tribe but a clan, or that the name is the same as Pasargadae.[6] One may count the various tribes as part of the Persian folk or people, a branch of the Iranians, who settled in the south and who gradually assimilated with the pre-Iranian settled population. As usual, the tribes lost their importance in the course of settlement and the extended family, or clan, and the large unit of the 'people,' now identified with the land they occupied, became important. This is not to deny the existence of tribal areas unsuited for other than a pastoral life, but history was made primarily by the settled folk, without whom the pastoralists hardly could have existed. It was in such a situation, the settling of the Persian tribes and their mixing with the original population, that Cyrus was able to unite his people and lead them to victory over the Medes.[7]

We have already mentioned the Nabonidus chronicle which tells of the defeat and capture of Astyagēs by Cyrus. Whatever the facts about the desertion of the Median army to Cyrus, the latter must have been in a strong position to challenge his lord. One question which arises is the extent and power of vassal rulers in the Median Empire and in Fars before Cyrus. Cyrus in an Akkadian inscription says, "I am Cyrus, king of the world, great king, legitimate king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four rims (of the earth), son of Cambyses, great king, king of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, great king, king of Anshan, descendant of Teispes, great king, king of Anshan, of a family (which) always (exercised) kingship."[8] If we compare this with the statement of Darius (Behistun I, 6–11) that from long ago his family had been kings; eight had been kings before him, then obviously we can accept two lines of kings in Fars. Probably the Achaemenids ruled the most productive parts of the province – the two plains where Persepolis and Pasargadae were located. Did other 'kings' rule in the smaller oases of present Darab, Fasa, Shiraz and others? Presumably the chiefs of the various Persian tribes in their expansion over the

[5] Herzfeld, *op. cit.* 1 [ch. 3, n. 31], 70. Hinz, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 104, claims that the Kurds are descendants of the Sagartians, which is purely guesswork.

[6] Cf. R. H. von Gall, "Persische und Medische Stämme," *Proceedings of the 1st Annual Symposium of Archaeological Research in Iran* (Tehran, 1972), 2.

[7] The name of Cyrus has received many etymologies from 'son' as Luri *kur* proposed by V. I. Abaev, "K etymologii drevnepersidskikh imen," *Etimologiya*, 1965 (Moscow, 1967), 289–91, to 'fire' or 'the sun' (Ctesias in Plutarch's *Artaxerxes* I, 2), an Elamite name, or Kuru, an ancient Indian name meaning 'blind.' Cf. in detail W. Eilers, "Kyros, eine namenkundliche Studie," *BZN*, 15 (1964), 180–236. J. Harmatta, "The Rise of the Old Persian Empire," *AA*, 19 (1971), 7–8, criticized the various theories and convincingly claimed all early Achaemenid royal names could be explained as Iranian. His further assertion that they are eastern (not western) Iranian names, however, makes little sense for that early period.

[8] L. Oppenheim's translation on p. 316 of Pritchard, *op. cit.* [ch. 4, n. 86].

province did maintain separate domains until Teispes divided the age old center of Fars, Anshan, between his sons Cyrus and Ariaramnes. The Achaemenid kings apparently were long-lived as well as capable since they brought all Persians under their banner, just how or when is impossible to say.[9] Possibly the Median system of rule favored a pyramidical structure of the allegiance of small rulers through a provincial king to the central court in Ecbatana, a nascent satrapal and feudal system. Harmatta, on the basis of presumed Median titles and bureaucratic offices in the Old Persian inscriptions, plus the passage in Behistun (I, 64–5) where Darius restored what Gaumata supposedly destroyed, concluded that the Median state was a more centralized state than the Achaemenid empire.[10] He further asserts that the Achaemenid kings established military fiefs in royal domains and gave them as payment for military services to the generals of their armies, whereas the Median kings had direct bureaucratic control over their royal lands. This is a plausible theory if by no means stated in any source, but in any case one might expect the Medes to have developed a more imperial government structure than the Persians at this time. We will examine briefly the question of military fiefs below. Suffice it to say that the Persian tribes rallied around Cyrus, whereas some of the Medes deserted their king. Whether those who deserted to Cyrus were disgruntled aristocrats who opposed the centralizing of power in the hands of Astyagēs is pure speculation.

The length of time of hostilities between Medes and Persians is difficult to determine since Herodotus (I, 127–28) implies two battles in the last of which Astyagēs was captured. The sequence of events may be constructed as follows: about 559–558 B.C. Cyrus became king. Dandamaev claims he at once rebelled against the Medes, but this is unlikely.[11] Rather his early years probably were spent in consolidating his power in Fars. Two Akkadian sources contradict each other on the chronology. One, the 'Sippar' cylinder, about the repair of the temple to Sin the moon god in Harran by Nabonidus, said, "When the third year came to pass, he (Marduk, god of Babylon) made rise against them (*Ummān-manda* or Medes), Cyrus king of Anshan, his young servant, and he (Cyrus) scattered the numerous *Ummān-manda* with his small army and captured Astyagēs, king of the *Ummān-manda* and brought him in fetters into his (Cyrus') land."[12] The 'Nabonidus' chronicle, however, claimed this took place in the sixth year of Nabonidus. Tadmor has convincingly demonstrated that one should accept the date given by the Nabonidus chronicle and not the 'dream' text of Sippar, since such 'dream' texts, as well as poetry, had different objectives than a chronicle.[13] So we may date the overthrow and capture of Astyagēs

[9] If Cyrus I is the ruler who sent his son as a hostage to the Assyrians c. 639 B.C. then Cambyses I must have had a long life, given the dates of Cyrus II. Furthermore, Xerxes (XPf, 15–27) says that both his grandfather Hystaspes and his greatgrandfather Arsames were alive when his father Darius became king! It is by no means impossible for several generations to span a large extent of time, but his statement is nonetheless remarkable.

[10] J. Harmatta, "The Rise of the Old Persian Empire", AA, 19 (1971), 14–15.

[11] M. Dandamaev, "Politische und wirtschaftliche Geschichte," *Historia*, 18 (1972), 16.

[12] Translation in S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 44, rev. by L. Oppenheim in H. Tadmor, "The Inscriptions of Nabunaid: Historical Arrangement," *Assyriological Studies*, 16 (Chicago, 1965), 351.

[13] Tadmor, *op. cit.* [n. 12], 352–54. The verse account of the same time period, with many lacunae, trans. by S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 86–91, and in Pritchard, *op. cit.* [ch. 4, n. 86], 312–15, cannot be used for chronology.

at 550/549 B.C., but we still do not know when hostilities began or how long they lasted. Although frequently asserted, there is no evidence that Cyrus made an alliance with Nabonidus, ruler of Babylonia, against Astyagēs. If an alliance were made by Cyrus with anyone against Astyagēs, it would have been more likely with other Iranian peoples or tribes than with the Babylonians, although the accounts of Classical authors are not reliable in this matter.[14] What is certain is that Cyrus plundered the treasury of Ecbatana and took the spoils to Fars, perhaps to his new capital at Pasargadae. The fate of Astyagēs according to Herodotus (I, 130) was to live with Cyrus until he died, or he was banished and accidentally killed later (Ctesias, para 5). Neither the Cyrus saga, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, nor any source, says that Astyagēs was executed by Cyrus, so we may suppose he was treated well. After this conquest Cyrus had to insure fealty of his new Median subjects to himself and the Persians (Justin I, 7, 2). Whether at this time Cyrus undertook expeditions to the east beyond the borders of former Median control is unknown but not improbable. What we do know, however, is the outcome of the war with Lydia in the west.

According to the 'Nabonidus Chronicle' in the ninth year of his reign (547 B.C.), "in Nisan (April–May) Cyrus, king of Persis, called up his army and crossed the Tigris below the town Arbela. In the month Ayar (May–June) he marched against the country Lu . . . killed its king, took his possessions, put (there) a garrison of his own. Afterwards, his garrison as well as the king remained there." Much controversy has raged about the identity of the country name beginning with Lu-, many scholars suggesting Lydia, in spite of the testimony of Classical authors that the king of Lydia was not killed by Cyrus.[15] Hinz proposed to read Su- and reconstruct Suhi, a district on the middle Euphrates, but this emendation is not generally accepted.[16] Another suggestion, that the word for 'kill' (col. II, 17-*idūk*) can also mean 'beat' or 'crush' militarily, would bring the Akkadian source in line with the other sources. Again, we have only Herodotus (I, 75–91), among the Classical writers, who gives a detailed account of the fall of Lydia to Cyrus. According to the historian, hostilities were opened by Croesus, the Lydian king, by crossing the Halys River which had been the boundary with the Median state to the east. Cyrus marched to meet the Lydians, but in a hard fought battle neither side was victorious. Croesus went into winter quarters at his capital Sardis with the intention of renewing the war in the spring with the aid of the Egyptians and Ionians. Cyrus, however, did not wait but came to Sardis and after a skirmish besieged Croesus in his capital and after fourteen days captured it. At first Cyrus prepared a pyre for the defeated monarch but after lighting it he changed his mind; the fire was extinguished and Croesus was taken as a prisoner into Iran.

[14] See the discussion in I. V. Pyankov, "Borba Kira s Astiagom," *VDI* (1971), part 3, 16–36 and 83–93.

[15] According to Dandamaev, *supra*, *Persien*, 95, "Laut babylonischen Quellen sei Kroisos mit dem Tode bestraft worden." His plural is unwarranted, for the only Babylonian text which is relevant is the one under discussion. The Greek texts are Herodotus, Ctesias and their successors. On the reading of the chronicle see J. Cargill, "The Nabonidus Chronicle and the Fall of Lydia," *AJAH*, 2 (1978), 97–116, with no definite conclusion.

[16] Hinz, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 97. The exact location of Suhi is uncertain, but presumably it was in some way either tributary to or under the rule of Babylonia. Cyrus would have crossed the Tigris to go west in any case, whether against Suhi or Lydia, so neither that sentence nor the date (usually interpreted as 547 or 546 B.C.) helps us to decide exactly where Cyrus went.

Greek vases showing Croesus on the pyre do not contradict the account of Herodotus, as implied by some scholars.[17]

Much has been written about the first contacts of the Persians with the Ionian Greeks, but Cyrus clearly did not put much weight on their importance after the fall of Sardis, for there is no reason to doubt Herodotus (I, 153) who says that Cyrus left the conquest of the coastal Ionian cities to a general, while he himself, with Croesus, went to Ecbatana, to prepare for the conquest of Babylonia, the Bactrians, Sakas, and Egypt, which problems were more on his mind. The Ionian cities, as well as Caria, Lycia and Phrygia, were conquered by two Median generals, first Mazares and, after his death, Harpagos, according to Herodotus. The Greco-Persian wars, and relations between the two, were long regarded as a conflict between democracy and autocracy, but this simplistic view has long been abandoned. It is not the purpose of this work to repeat what H. Bengtson has already described, but some of the events seen from the Persian rather than the Greek side may change our traditional views of history based on both sources and prejudices from one side alone.[18] First, changes in the administration of the far west of the Achaemenid Empire were not made overnight, but were developed over much time; most of them, as we shall see, were initiated by Darius and his successors. Second, Anatolia was not Greek territory, and the Ionians themselves were invaders and colonizers, not always a boon and blessing to the natives as frequently has been proclaimed. Third, the vacillations and changes, alliances and policies of the Ionian coastal cities, frequently the result of extensive bribery, do not present an edifying picture of the Greeks. Just as all Greeks did not follow Athens, so not all Achaemenid governors or satraps did what the court at Persepolis ordered. This does not mean that Greeks were satisfied under Persian rule, any more than were the Egyptians or others, but the relative loyalty of the Ionian Greeks compared, for example, to the Egyptians, to Achaemenid rule bears investigation, which we will attempt to explain after a survey of the later fortunes of the empire.

Cyrus probably turned his attention to the east after the conquest of Lydia, in the years 546–539 B.C. Herodotus (I, 177–78) says that while Harpagos ravaged the 'lower' parts of Asia, Cyrus conquered 'upper' Asia, all of its peoples and not excepting any, after which Cyrus turned his attention to the Assyrians (meaning the Babylonians). This usually has been interpreted to mean that Cyrus conquered the eastern regions before his advance on Babylon, but Khlopin has argued that the words of Herodotus only refer to Asia Minor and not to the east.[19] On the basis of the

[17] Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, VII, 2, 3, has nothing about the pyre nor does Ctesias, 4. All agree that Croesus was well treated by Cyrus. The scenes on the amphorae, however, show Croesus immolating himself, probably merely following a canon of art. Cf. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford, 1963), 238; on a poem regarding this scene see S. Smith, "Illustrations to Bacchylides," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 18 (1898), 267, and J. G. Pedley, *Ancient Literary Sources on Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972), 41.

[18] H. Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichtes* (Munich, 1977), 130–31. The interpretation of Greek actions as part of a great power struggle between Carthaginians in the west and Persians in the east with the Greeks defending liberty between the two is an example of imposing modern concepts on the past thereby distorting our understanding.

[19] I. N. Khlopin, "Baktriiskii pokhod Kira II," *AF*, 1 (1974), 208.

revolts against Darius mentioned in the Behistun inscription, he further claims that only Parthia and Hyrcania had been under Median rule, since both areas supported the Median rebel against Darius while Bactria, Arachosia, Sogdia, and other areas in the east remained true to Darius, evidence of their prior submission to Cyrus as part of a Bactrian kingdom conquered by Cyrus. Again, the truth cannot be determined and other sources, such as Xenophon, Berossus, or Justin do not help in this regard.[20] No one disputes the conquests of Cyrus in the east and in Central Asia, because of the town of Kureskhata (Latin: Cyreschata), medieval Kurkath, and the story of the Arimaspi in Central Asia as supporters of Cyrus, but the question is when did he conquer them?[21] Since the conquest of Babylon took place in October 539 B.C. it is not easy to believe that Cyrus spent several years without any activity simply resting in palaces on the Iranian plateau. Just how much territory he conquered in the east before Babylon and how much just before his death unfortunately cannot be determined.

The fall of Babylon was an important event in world history. Many inscriptions of Nabonidus, last king of Babylonia, are known and a fairly detailed account of his stay in the north Arabian oasis of Taima, until about 540 B.C., his building activities, and reconstruction of the temple to the deity Sin in Harran, can now be reconstructed. The Babylonians were unhappy with their ruler and in the famous cuneiform 'Nabonidus' chronicle we hear the story: "In the month Tashritu when Cyrus attacked the army of Akad in Opis on the Tigris, the inhabitants of Akkad revolted, but he (Nabonidus) massacred the confused inhabitants. The fourteenth day, Sippar was seized, without battle. Nabonidus fled. The sixteenth day, Ugbaru governor of Gutium (*hodie* west Kurdistan) and the army of Cyrus entered Babylon without battle. Afterwards Nabonidus was arrested in Babylon when he returned (there).... In the month of Arahsammu, the third day (29 October 539 B.C.) Cyrus entered Babylon; green twigs were spread in front of him – the state of 'peace' was imposed on the city."[22] Akkadian sources tell us how Nabonidus did not come to Babylon for the new year's festival in honor of Marduk until the year before the fall of the city. The great 'Median wall' between the two rivers at Sippar did not halt the invaders, and many captive peoples in Babylon looked upon Cyrus as a deliverer. Certainly Isaiah (ch. 35, 40–55) and Ezra (ch. 1) testify to the high regard held for the Persian conqueror by some of his new subjects. Cyrus regarded himself as a legitimate ruler of Babylonia and performed ritual acts in a temple of Marduk to conciliate the citizenry, and if we are to believe the cuneiform sources he did just that. These sources, however,

[20] Contrary to Dandamaev, *supra*, *Persien*, 96. The use of the word κάτω 'lower' or 'seaward' Asia, is ambiguous; in Herodotus it would seem to refer to the coastal areas of Asia Minor, while the rest of Asia would be the east, and not just the mountainous areas of Anatolia as opposed to the coast. Earlier, the horizons of the Greeks may have been limited such that Asia meant only Anatolia, but by the time of Herodotus (e.g., I, 4) Asia represented much more.

[21] On the city (today Ura-tyube) cf. references in E. Benveniste, "La ville de Cyreschata," *JA* (1947), 163–66 (also Strabo, 517) and for the Arimaspi see Diod, XVII, 81, also in Arrian VI, 24, Curtius (VII, 3), etc., although their location is uncertain. Accounts of the meeting between Cyrus and Zoroaster in eastern Iran, as several scholars have proposed, is only fascinating fantasy.

[22] Pritchard, *op. cit.* [ch. 4, n. 86], 306. The Cyrus cylinder (*ibid.*, 315–16) has much the same, with many praises for Cyrus and his close relationship with Marduk the god of Babylon. The new inscriptions of Nabonidus from Taima relate to his stay there.

may be propaganda documents for Cyrus; the account in Herodotus (I, 189–191) tells how Cyrus after a long siege changed the course of the river (Euphrates, *sic*) and entered the city by a trick, a good story but unacceptable as history.

After the conquest of Babylon, "all the kings of the entire world from the Upper (Mediterranean) to the lower (Persian Gulf) Sea, those who are seated in throne rooms, (those who) live in [other types of building as well as] all the kings of the West land living in tents, brought their heavy tributes and kissed my feet in Babylon."[23] Thus, Cyrus became the heir of the Babylonian kings in the allegiance of the peoples of the 'Fertile Crescent' to the borders of Egypt. From Akkadian business documents it is clear that Cyrus introduced no great changes in the economy or the practices of his new subject peoples, and no accounts of rebellions or resistance to Cyrus have been found, rather local officials, prices, etc. continued much as before Cyrus.[24] From Akkadian sources Dandamaev has concluded that Cambyses, son of Cyrus, was made king of Babylon shortly after the conquest, but then was removed and finally reinstated about 530 B.C. shortly before the last campaign and death of Cyrus in the east.[25] Undoubtedly in the years after the fall of Babylon, Cyrus was involved in the consolidation of the 'Fertile Crescent,' as well as other parts of the empire before an attack on Egypt. Because of the raids of nomads against the settlements in the northeast of his empire Cyrus had to undertake an expedition against the Massagetai, who roamed east of the Caspian Sea. In a battle against them he lost his life in the summer of 530 B.C.[26] The 'Cyrus Saga,' of course, relates the events leading to his death, but doubtless many versions of his end existed. According to Herodotus (I, 205–15) Cyrus crossed the Araxes River to fight the queen of his opponents. Much has been written about this river, some claiming it to be the river of the same name in Transcaucasia, but Pyankov in a series of articles convincingly identified it as the lower Oxus by the Aral Sea, and he has elucidated the various versions of the war.[27] First victorious, Cyrus was subsequently defeated and slain, but his body presumably was secured by the Persians and brought to Pasargadae for burial. If we accept Herodotus (I, 214) that Cyrus had reigned twenty-nine years, he was about sixty-nine when he died, and Cambyses succeeded him, with no opposition that has been recorded, at the end of August 530 B.C. according to Akkadian documents.

Cyrus has an excellent reputation in history, apparently well deserved.[28] It is generally agreed that Pasargadae was his capital, for this is the only site which has inscriptions with his name. The inscriptions there have raised many problems about

[23] *Ibid.*, 316.

[24] Cf. Dandamaev, *supra*, *Persien*, 99.

[25] *Ibid.*, 102, and note 406 with sources. It is quite probable that Ugbaru, commander of the army that entered Babylon, held the title 'king of Babylon' under Cyrus until his death a short time after the conquest. Cf. W. H. Shea, "An unrecognized vassal king of Babylon in the early Achaemenid period," *Andrews University Seminary Series*, 9 (Berrien Sorings, Michigan, 1971), 113 foll.

[26] The date is from Akkadian documents; see Dandamaev, *supra*, *Persien*, 103. The name Massagetai is not related to 'fish eaters,' or 'great Sakas,' as several scholars have proposed; see W. B. Henning, *Zoroaster* [ch. 3, n. 29], 23, n. 2. The name might be interpreted as 'great Getae'.

[27] I. V. Pyankov, "K Voprosu o marshrute pokhoda Kira II na Massagetov," *VDI* (1964), part 3, 115–30; "Khorasmii Gekateya Miletskogo," *VDI* (1972), part 2, 2–21, and "Massagety Gerodota," *VDI* (1975), part 2, 46–70. Less likely is an identification of the river as the Jaxartes as does Hinz, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 118.

[28] Herodotus (III, 89) writes the Persians say "Darius was a huckster, Cambyses a despot but Cyrus a father," while Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* is a continuous eulogy of Cyrus.

the origins of the Old Persian cuneiform writing system which has a large literature and many partisans of the view that the Old Persian system of writing existed long before Darius.[29] The linguistic, artistic, archaeological and historical arguments advanced by those scholars who support the antiquity of the system of writing would require volumes to elucidate, but the inscriptions of Cyrus at Pasargadae using the first person singular pronoun provide the primary textual basis for the position that the Old Persian cuneiform writing existed before Darius. Others are just as vehement in defending the thesis that Darius invented the system of writing, based primarily on a famous 'letter' of Themistocles and paragraph 70 of the Behistun inscription.[30] The 'letter' mentions gold and silver vessels in Greece inscribed "with the old Assyrian letters, not those which Darius, father of Xerxes, recently wrote for the Persians."[31] Without going into further discussion, a compromise between the two camps may be reached in proposing that Cyrus, or someone even earlier than he, may have ordered work begun on a system of writing for Iranian comparable to Akkadian and Elamite, but it came to fruition only under Darius who surely had more inscriptions written in it than anyone else, and he let this be known throughout the ancient world.

To return to Pasargadae, archaeologists have determined that Cyrus did build an acropolis with massive stonework, and the basic ideas for the masonry probably came from Lydia and Ionia since masons' marks here are duplicates of those found at Sardis.[32] This would indicate a date for the building activity at Pasargadae after the conquest of Lydia. Cyrus' tomb and his palaces show similar influences from the west, although the end result is a unique blend, the beginning of Achaemenid art and architecture so often characterized as syncretic. While the remains at Pasargadae are at present not as impressive as those of Persepolis, with their original gardens and water courses Pasargadae bespeaks the character of Cyrus as reported in Classical sources, whereas Persepolis is ostentatious and more in character with Darius and his successors.

CAMBYSES AND THE 'USURPATION' OF GAUMATA

Cambyses is known in the sources for his conquest of Egypt, already planned during the lifetime of his father.[33] It already has been mentioned that, according to Akkadian

[29] More recent discussion on the pre-Darius origin of the system of writing are: I. M. Dyakonov, "The Origin of the 'Old Persian' Writing System," in Boyce and Gershevitch, eds., *supra*, *Henning Volume*, 98–124, who argues for a Median origin of the writing system. In this he is followed by R. Ghirshman, "A propos de l'écriture cunéiforme vieux-perse," *JNES*, 24 (1965) 244–50, J. Kuryłowicz, "Zur altpersischen Keilschrift," in his *Esquisses Linguistiques* (Cracow, 1960), 274–79 and with a detailed summary and bibliography by P. Le Coq, "Le problème de l'écriture cunéiforme vieux-perse," *AI*, 3 (1974), 25–107, and esp. R. Schmitt, "I. Forschungsbericht, Altpersische Forschung in den Siebzigerjahren," *Kratylos*, 25 (1981), 1–66.

[30] The main partisan of the position that the writing system was introduced by Darius is W. Hinz; cf. especially his "Die Entstehung der altpersischen Schrift," *AMI* (1968), 95–98; also J. Harmatta, "The Bisutun Inscription and the Introduction of the Old Persian Cuneiform Script," *AAH*, 14 (1966), 255–83; C. Nylander, "Who Wrote the Inscriptions at Pasargadae," *Orientalia Seucana*, 16 (1967), 135–80, and others.

[31] C. Nylander, "*ΑΣΣΥΡΙΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ*, Opuscula Atheniensia VIII," *Acta Instituti Atheniensis Regni Sueciae*, 14 (Lund, 1968), 119–36. The Greek text is *εφ' οἷς ἐπιγεγραπται τὰ Ἀσσύρια τα παλαιὰ γράμματα, οὐχ ἃ Δαρεῖος ὁ πατὴρ Ξέρξον Περσαις ἔναγχος ἔγραψε.*

[32] Stronach, *Pasargadae* [*supra*, n. 1], 20–21.

[33] The name in OP, Kambujiya, has been explained as borrowed from a people on the Indian

sources, it seems that Cambyses was made king of Babylonia by his father then removed and finally reinstated. His mother Kassandane, according to Herodotus (II, 1), was the daughter of Pharnaspes, an Achaemenid (III, 2), and he had a brother Bardiya, whom the Greeks called Smerdis, plus several sisters, Atossa and Roxane, who died in Egypt (according to Ctesias, 12). Cambyses is supposed to have married his sisters, as well as Phaidyme daughter of Otanes, son of Pharnaspes (Herodotus III, 68). Two remarks may be made, first that succession under the Achaemenids did not follow the law of primogeniture but the ruler designated whomsoever of his sons he wanted to succeed him, and second, this is the first account among the Persians of next-of-kin or brother–sister marriage, which has aroused much controversy in Zoroastrian circles.[34] Next-of-kin marriage was fostered by later Zoroastrian priests but, according to Herodotus (III, 31) Cambyses' desire to marry his sister was against the law, but the royal judges told him another law permitted the king to do what he wished, so he married his sisters. Since the Greeks regarded next-of-kin marriage as disgraceful and against the law, and since Herodotus gives a most hostile Greco-Egyptian, and perhaps a special Persian account of Cambyses, it is not unexpected that this sin should be laid upon the Achaemenid ruler.[35] Incest did and does occur, but among the Persians it is asserted that the practice was recommended as part of their religion. We shall examine this later under the Sasanians, but must be careful in ascribing a later religious injunction to the Achaemenid period. In any case, at that time the practice is not attested elsewhere.

Early in 525 B.C. Cambyses invaded Egypt, several years after mounting the throne and after establishing his authority over the empire. We have Egyptian sources which do not corroborate the long and critical account of Herodotus (III, 1–38), rather it seems clear that Cambyses was accepted as a new pharaoh of the twenty-seventh dynasty, and he respected local traditions and honored the Egyptian religion. Like his father in Babylon, so Cambyses in Memphis kept the previous administration intact, only bringing Achaemenid garrisons into the land.[36] Foreign mercenaries such as the Jews of Elephantine Island in the upper Nile continued to serve now new masters.

frontier, the Kambojas, in the same way as later Roman appellatives such as 'Germanicus,' by J. Charpentier, "Der Name Kambyses," *ZII*, 2 (1923), 140–52, and followed by V. Abaev in *Etimologiya* 1965 (Moscow, 1967), 291–92. See also K. Hoffmann, "Vedische Namen," *Wörter und Sachen*, 21 (1940), 146. This explanation, however, ignores the fact that there were at least two rulers called Cambyses, and both are hardly derived from the same source, while the activities of Cambyses I in the east are both unattested and unlikely.

[34] The practice of appointing the first son born after his father became ruler did occur, but not as an iron-clad rule. For next-of-kin marriages among the rulers, the Elamite matriarchate may have provided a model.

[35] See H. Diels/W. Kranz, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 2 (Berlin, 1951–52), 408, the Dissoi Logoi or Dialexis. See also Euripides, text and trans. A. S. Way, 2 (London, 1965), 428–29, in a speech of the Spartan Hermione to Andromache, an Oriental slave. The special Persian account about the misdeeds of the king is traced to the tribal Persian aristocracy, inimical to the centralized despotism of Cambyses, acc. to Dandamaev, *supra*, *Persien*, 156.

[36] The best account of this period is by G. P. Posener, *La première domination perse en Egypte* (Cairo, 1936), followed faithfully by F. K. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jh. vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin, 1953). On the Elephantine garrison see B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 421 pp. with bibliography. That Cambyses dated his regnal years by the Egyptian method and from the beginning of his reign, not his invasion of Egypt, has been shown by K. M. T. Atkinson, "The Legitimacy of Cambyses and Darius as Kings of Egypt," *JAOS*, 76 (1956), 167–70.

Expeditions up the Nile into Ethiopia and westward to the oasis of Amon were not successful according to Classical authors. The reasons for the later Egyptian denigration of Cambyses probably can best be explained by the reduction in revenues and land imposed on the temples of Egypt by Cambyses, and this action may have been provoked by an uprising in Egypt following his return from Ethiopia.[37] Cambyses was also disparaged by the Greeks for his fratricide, and even in Plato's *Laws* (III, 694) the decline of the empire under Cambyses was attributed to the lack of discipline and pampering of princes when young. Further, according to Plato, Cambyses killed his brother through envy that his brother was equal to himself, and then through drunkenness and debauchery he lost his throne to the Medes, led by a eunuch who despised the stupidity of Cambyses. Plato probably gives a version current in Greece at the time, but this does not conflict with the account of Darius in his inscription on Behistun (I, 26–27). The account of Herodotus also does not conflict with the story given by the Behistun inscription, and to paraphrase the two, this is the combined account. Cambyses had a brother called Bardiya (Smerdis in Greek), both of the same mother. After he became king Cambyses murdered his brother but kept it a secret. When Cambyses was in Egypt a Magian called Gaumata (Herodotus says he had the same name as Bardiya) revolted and proclaimed himself Bardiya the true brother of Cambyses. The heart of the empire, Persis and Media, as well as other lands, supported the rebellion against Cambyses, but the latter died from a wound on the way back to Persis from Egypt.[38] According to Herodotus the new king was very popular since he instituted reforms, remitted taxes for three years, and in general was liked. He continues that only a few noble Persians suspected that the new king was in truth an imposter and he tells several stories about this discovery and the plot to overthrow him. The Behistun inscription is more laconic and simply relates that Darius with a few men attacked Gaumata and killed him with his chief followers. He then says that he restored property which had been confiscated and reestablished the people in their positions and over their property as it had been before the usurpation.[39] Afterwards he goes into great detail in the Behistun inscription about the various uprisings all over the eastern part of the empire which he had to suppress. Curiously nothing is said about rebellions in Egypt, Palestine or Anatolia in the inscription although they can hardly have remained completely loyal to Darius from the outset.

In any case, such is the famous story of Darius' rise to power and the overthrow of pseudo-Bardiya, for both Herodotus and the Behistun inscription proclaim the usurpation of the Magian. Just how far one can interpret the struggle which brought Darius to power as a conflict of different interests or classes, or even ethnic differences

[37] Posener, *op. cit.* [n. 36], 170, n. 6, and Kienitz, *op. cit.* [n. 36], 59, with references.

[38] Much has been written about this, but most scholars agree it means he died a natural death (from an accident acc. to most Classical sources), and not suicide, or other. Dandamaev, *supra*, *Persien*, 146–51, devotes a long, detailed discussion to this and concludes it meant Cambyses received his 'just dues' (accidental death) for his bad behavior.

[39] The translation in appendix 2 is mainly based on R. Kent, *Old Persian* (New Haven, 1953), 119–20. Paišiyāhuvāda has been identified as the present district of Fasa in Fars by J. Hansman, "An Achaemenian Stronghold," *AI*, 6 (Monumentum H. S. Nyberg 3) (1975), 304, while Herzfeld, *Zoroaster* [ch. 3, n. 31], 1, 205, identifies Sikayauvati with Sikawand near Kermanshah, which is probably Sagvand in Luristan, an unlikely identification.

rather than as a purely personal clash, is difficult to determine. Plato and others speak of the episode of the pseudo-Bardiya as an attempt to reassert Median preponderance over the Persians in the empire. It is curious in the history of Iran that when we have a primary source such as the Behistun inscription, many scholars do not believe the account of Darius but consider him a rebel against the true Bardiya.[40] The truth is that again we do not know and can prove nothing one way or the other. It would be impossible to even merely enumerate the pros and cons of both sides, but the partisans of Darius' mendacity cite the following arguments against him: (1) The accounts of Ctesias, Herodotus, Behistun and others have too many inconsistencies to be plausible and the story is too contrived to be believed; no one like the 'false' Bardiya could live for five or more years without being 'discovered.' The last argument is unconvincing, however, since no one claims that the Magian proclaimed himself to be Bardiya as soon as the latter was murdered. If he fooled people, it was only from the time of his revolt to his death, which as we know from Akkadian documents was from March to 29 September 522 B.C. (2) Aeschylus (774–77) consideres Mardis/Mardos (Bardiya) the fifth legitimate king of the Achaemenids. (3) Herodotus (III, 72) claims Darius approved of lying, and in the Behistun inscription Darius speaks so much of 'the lie' that one is hard pressed to believe his integrity. Many more persuasive arguments have been advanced, none of which, however, 'proves' the position. The proponents of Darius' veracity assert that (1) The main sources should be believed unless proved to be false. (2) The second false-Bardiya in Persis after the death of Gaumata (Behistun III, 21–52), a certain Vahyazdāta, caused much trouble, and he hardly would have also proclaimed himself Bardiya if something had not been wrong about the fate of the true Bardiya. (3) Comparisons with other false claimants in Iran's history such as the Safavid Ismaʿīl II, are made by proponents of Darius' veracity, and there are also other arguments.[41] As remarked, not one of the arguments clinches the case one way or the other, but some details command more agreement than others. For example, the role of the Median Magi as opposed to Persians, or the slaughter of the Magi commemorated in a festival after the death of Gaumata, cannot be taken seriously or productive of any policy, or as enlightenment of the historical record.[42] Religious questions will be discussed below.

More interesting is the suggestion of Dandamaev that Cambyses was disliked by the Persian aristocracy for his tendency to centralize power in his hands at the expense of the nobility, and that Gaumata/Bardiya sought the support of the people against the nobility which led to his overthrow and the "support of the nobility was for Darius."[43] The revolts against Darius then were 'popular' revolts against the

[40] It is not possible to list those for and against the veracity of Darius in his inscription. Dandamaev, *supra*, *Persien*, 120; A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948), 93, and others are contra. Hinz, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 132–33; S. Shahbazi, *Darius the Great* (Shiraz, 1971); 7–11, Herzfeld, *op. cit.* [ch. 3, n. 31], 2, 205–09, and others support the veracity of Darius.

[41] E.g., the difficulty of uniting six noble Persians against a legitimate Achaemenid king, Bardiya brother of Cambyses. All arguments, unfortunately, are subjective. Obviously Darius convinced many, otherwise he would not have been successful against many odds, and it would be difficult to prove that he lied.

[42] Dandamaev, *supra*, *Persien*, 143–45, has convincingly downplayed these facets of the story, though the anniversary of the killing of Gaumata or Bardiya apparently was celebrated as somehow connected with the Magi, and Dandamaev's dismissal (138–39) of this as a mere coincidence of the killing of Gaumata/Bardiya with the festival of *bagayadiš* is unconvincing.

[43] *Ibid.*, 157–67.

aristocracy headed by Darius, and Dandamaev translates an OP word *viθāpatiy* as simply 'house' in the Behistun inscription (II, 16 and III, 26), thus "the Median people, which were in (their) houses," and the "Persian people, which were in their houses," revolted against Darius, while the professional army and the aristocracy supported him. Note that this proposition is based primarily on the interpretation of one word, which is by no means universally accepted.[44] On the other hand the reasoning of Dandamaev is attractive; in effect it goes somewhat as follows: the centralized army of Cambyses returned to Iran to suppress a usurpation either by Bardiya or Gaumata, who was popular among most of the subjects of the empire, especially since a moratorium of three years on the payment of taxes had been declared (Herod., III, 67).[45] Then Bardiya/Gaumata seized the property of the Persian nobility, who presumably were in the army of Cambyses, and destroyed the sanctuaries of these nobles, whatever they were. So Darius and the other Persian nobles, who supported him, killed and overthrew the usurper, and then restored the privileges and sanctuaries of the nobility. This explanation of the conflict between the central government (of Cambyses and the usurper) on the one side and Darius and the landed nobility on the other, does make a consistent sense, but it is again only a conjecture, but perhaps better than other surmises. This further implies that Darius was more the head of an oligarchy rather than an all-powerful potentate, and the correctness of Dandamaev's proposal can be measured only by the consequences or aftermath of the accession to the throne to which we must now turn.

The rebels whom Darius had to suppress were mostly those who sought to reestablish their local independence, and only one Vahyazdāta in Persis, by proclaiming he was Bardiya son of Cyrus, made pretensions to the Achaemenid throne. One was a local chieftain in Merv whom Darius, in order to increase his importance, raised to the rank of 'king' in Margiana (DB IV, 24). Two, Phraortēs and Čiçantakhma, claimed descent from the Median ruling house; further two, Nidintu-Bel and Arakha, each claimed to be the son of Nabonidus, last king of Babylon, while the Elamites were more rebellious than any other people mentioned in the inscription, their third rebellion occurring in 520 B.C. Several remarks come to mind; first, all the revolts take place in the heartland of the empire, on the plateau or the Mesopotamian plain. None of the revolts in the western possessions are mentioned in the Behistun inscription, although (II, 7) Egypt is recorded as a rebellious land. It may be that the inscription was intended primarily for the Iranians, who seem to have been the principal and most dangerous rebels, such that Darius' first year could be called

[44] The Akkadian version of the above passage, not fully known to Dandamaev when he wrote, says, "all the Persian troops who had previously come to me to the palace of Babylon from Anshan revolted from me and went over to Vahyazdāta." Cf. E. von Voigtlander, *The Bisutun Inscription of Darius the Great Babylonian Version* (London, 1978), 59. The text also could be translated "the Persian troops as many as had been collected in the house of Babylon from Anshan." This means that the Persian troops who had come to join Darius at Babylon instead returned to Persis and joined the rebel, which implies a struggle for power rather than a people vs. aristocracy struggle.

[45] If Bardiya revolted against his brother, some reason must have induced him to this action, and furthermore the main army was with Cambyses. Herzfeld, *Zoroaster* [ch. 3, n. 31], 1, 208, gives different motives for different revolts, including the east Iranian revolts directed against the strict centralization of the Achaemenids. As noted, the revolt of Vahyazdāta in Persis, claiming to be Bardiya, at least indicates great uncertainty in the minds of the people about Bardiya.

one of civil war. Second, the rebels claimed legitimacy by family connections with dead rulers; whether they actually did have legitimacy or were liars according to Darius, they surely were all taking advantage of the end of the family of Cyrus and the usurpation of Darius (in their eyes). So, whether Bardiya was really himself or Gaumata using his name, many people thought a legitimate ruler had been killed by Darius, a usurper, and the Behistun inscription is Darius' greatest propaganda device against this position. The civil war then appears to have been more a struggle for local autonomy or personal competition with Darius for power rather than a series of battles embodying social classes or interests, as Dandamaev perceives. It was a time of confusion and one can well imagine that Persian troops on the way from Fars to Babylon, when they heard that someone calling himself Bardiya was raising a force in the homeland, would return to their homes to support one known for his remission of taxes and his benevolence, rather than to support a relatively unknown Darius.[46] Again, there are so many possibilities of interpretation of motives that it becomes an exercise in futility to seek to divine the true intentions of the actors in the drama.

Two other passages in the inscription relevant to the motivation for revolt, however, have been much discussed. After the overthrow of Bardiya/Gaumata, Darius says he rebuilt destroyed sanctuaries and returned to the people the fields, herds, slaves and houses which had been taken from them.[47] Why would Bardiya/Gaumata destroy sanctuaries and confiscate property, and whose property? Since Darius restored everything as it had previously existed, it would seem that Bardiya/Gaumata indeed had sought to change the *status quo*, which was then restored by Darius. Were the sanctuaries those dedicated to many minor or local deities, whom Bardiya/Gaumata sought to replace by a more restricted devotion to one deity? If Bardiya/Gaumata revolted from Cambyses, the revolt was also against the army generals with Cambyses, who had received fief lands from Cambyses.[48] The easiest explanation of the actions of Bardiya/Gaumata is that he gathered supporters and confiscated the property of the supporters of Cambyses, most of whom would be military officers. Then he destroyed their sanctuaries, but this action is unclear. Were many of the officers devotees of a cult to Mithra or to a *Männerbund* fraternity? Was this action primarily religiously or politically motivated? We do not know, but we may believe Darius when he claims to have restored everything as it was previously; but was the second passage of the inscription a return or something new, the elevation of his accomplices to a special standing?

The privileges of the Persian nobility existed before Darius, but it is possible that the seven great families of Iran, which we often meet in later sources, began with

[46] As a matter of methodology, one should accept any *additional* information in one of the linguistic versions of the Behistun inscription, since it adds information which easily could have been omitted from the other two languages since it was considered insignificant. Thus, the fact that the Persian troops from Anshan (Fars) were on the way to Babylon, only in the Akkadian version, would likely only interest the Babylonians; therefore it should be believed since it only adds and does not contradict.

[47] The Akkadian version, in the translation of von Voigtlander, *op. cit.* [n. 44], 55, has "I gave back to the army the herds, the flocks, the fields, (and) the hired workers, (comprising) the 'bow' estates which that Gaumata, the Magian, had taken from them." The *qašti* 'bow' estates were fief lands given to military officers in lieu of service.

[48] Attested in Babylonia already in the first year of Cambyses, 529 B.C. Cf. Dandamaev, "Die Lehnsbeziehungen in Babylonien unter den ersten Achämeniden," *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, ed. by G. Wiessner (Wiesbaden, 1967), 36.

him.[49] His six helpers are listed in the inscription, in Herodotus and by Ctesias. In Behistun IV, 80–88 we have:

O.P.	Akk.
Vindafarna son of Vāyaspāra	Vintaparna son of Visparu
Utāna son of Thukhra	Vittana son of Sukhra
Gaubaruva son of Marduniya	Gubaru son of Marduniya
Vidarna son of Bagābigna	Vidarna son of Bagabigna
Bagabukhša son of Dātuvahya	Bagabukshu son of Zātūa
Ardumaniš son of Vahuaka	Ardimaniš son of Vakhku

The Elamite version is either illegible or it copies the OP. Herodotus (III, 70) has *Ἰνταφέρνης, Οτάνης, Γωβρύης, Ὑδάρνης, Μεγάβυζος* and *Ἀσπαθίνης*, while Ctesias (14) has *Ἀταφέρνης, Ὀνόφας, Μαρδόνιος, Ἰδέρνης, Νο(ρ)ονδαβάτης, Βαρίσσης*, and he adds two more later conspirators *Ἀρτασύρας* and *Βαγαπάτης*.[50] We may take the Behistun inscription as the most reliable, but the substitution of the name Aspathinēs for OP Ardumaniš is noteworthy, since Aspačina is depicted and named as the bowbearer, but holding a battle-axe beside the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-e Rustam. We may suppose that Aspačina was not one of the conspirators but later became powerful, and when Intaphernes was executed and his family fell from honor (Herod, III, 118–19), then Aspačina either took his place, or Herodotus thought he did. In any case, we hear of these families many times, that they owned land in various parts of the empire, that they held special privileges in court and the like. They may have provided the basis for the 'seven great families' of Iran in Parthian and Sasanian times with origins in Achaemenid times.

It is not possible to discuss details of the Behistun inscription such as the chronology, for Darius gives month dates, and when he says he did so much in one and the same year (IV, 42–43), this has brought forth much controversy.[51] The entire veracity of Darius has been based on this assertion, but many are the possible explanations, and Darius would hardly put on stone and parchment, and send throughout the empire statements which obviously could be proved false, such as the adding up of dates. Whatever the dispute about the truth of his statements in the inscription, Darius won, and then he did so much it is difficult to even list his accomplishments.[52] Here we shall briefly speak of his further conquests, his reorganization of the empire centrally and the satrapal system, and finally religious questions and his buildings at Persepolis.

[49] The seven great Persian families became a tradition well known to outsiders. Cf Aeschylus, 956–60; in the Bible, Esther I, 14, Ezra VII, 14, Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XI, 3, 1, and others.

[50] On the reading and etymologies of these names see R. Schmitt, "Medisches und persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot," *ZDMG*, 117 (1967), 120–22; Kent, *op. cit.* [n. 39], in the vocabulary, as well as Brandenstein und Mayrhofer, *Handbuch*, and especially R. Schmitt, "Nachlese zur achaimenidischen Anthroponomastik," *BZN*, 6 (1971), 1–16. He argues for the reading Ardimaniš for the Artasyras of Ctesias. The study by F. Gschnitzler, "Die sieben Perser und das Königtum des Dareios," *SHAW*, 3 Abh. (1977) 5–40, summarizes the sources but does not add anything.

[51] E.g., from A. Poebel, "The Reign of Smerdis and Others," *AJSL*, 56 (1939), 121–45, to A. S. Shahbazi, "The 'one year' of Darius re-examined," *BSOAS*, 35 (1972), 609–14. Darius obviously was in a hurry to carve his inscription, since the Scythian campaign was added later in the fifth column of the inscription, and the Egyptian reconquest is not even mentioned.

[52] Attempts to prove that the insciption was written in verse, or to analyze all OP inscriptions as following some scheme of organization are interesting, but do not throw light on the history of the

FURTHER CONQUESTS

After the civil wars were over, Darius in 519 B.C. says in the fifth column (20–30) to the Behistun inscription, which was clearly added later than the first four columns, that after suppressing the third Elamite revolt, "I went with an army against the Scythians (*Saka*). Then the Scythians who wear the pointed cap, these Scythians went away from me. (When) I came to the *draya* ('sea' or 'river'), I crossed it with all my army. Then I smote the Scythians mightily and another I took prisoner; this one was led bound to me and I slew him. The chief of them, by name Sku(n)kha, him they seized and led to me. Then I made another their leader, as was my desire."[53] One new theory proposes that this passage refers to the famous expedition of Darius against the Scythians of south Russia which then took place in 519 (Herod. IV, 1) and not in 513 B.C. as usually supposed.[54] Without going into an exegesis of the fascinating information in Herodotus about that campaign and the description of the Scythians, suffice it to say that the Persians were not successful in holding these Scythians as subjects, but still a problem of identification of those Scythians remains. For Darius tells us (II, 8) that Egypt and Scythia (Saka) were among the lands which revolted against him after he had suppressed the first revolt in Babylon in 519 B.C. This implies that the Sakas had been part of the Achaemenid Empire under Cambyses, and probably under Cyrus, but which Sakas had Cyrus subdued – those in south Russia? Or did Darius lead an expedition against the Scythians of south Russia, supposing them to be the same people who had submitted to Cyrus in Central Asia? Also Darius' inscription at Persepolis (DPe) includes Hinduš (India) in the lands of the empire but not Thrace (Skudra), which, however, does appear in the inscription on his tomb at Naqsh-e Rustam, presumably engraved late in his reign. This suggests that the campaign against Skunkha mentioned in the fifth column of Behistun was not the expedition against the Scythians of south Russia, rather it was an earlier campaign directed against the Scythians of Central Asia.[55]

times. See C. Hauri, *Das pentathematische Schema der Altpersischen Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1973), and Cl. Herrenschmidt, "Désignation de l'empire et concepts politiques de Darius I d'après ses inscriptions en vieux-perse," *SI*, 6 (1976), 33–65. Her assertion that the word *būmi* means 'empire' for Darius is hardly acceptable.

[53] (V, 21–30). There is no Akkadian or Elamite version of column V, and the OP text is poorly preserved, so the translation is based on a number of hypothetical restorations. The section beginning "another I took prisoner" is unclear, but the meaning seems to be that the Persians caught one Scythian chief and executed him, whereas Sku(n)kha, the primary (?) chief was captured but not killed. Also many scholars have taken the word *draya* as meaning 'river' and have put the action in Central Asia. Others claim the river was the Danube.

[54] Cf. J. M. Balcer, "The Date of Herodotus IV, 1, Darius Scythian Expedition," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 76 (1972), 99–132, and G. C. Cameron, "Darius the Great and his Scythian (Saka) Campaign," *AI*, 4, Monumentum H. S. Nyberg 1 (1975), 77–88. See also the OP inscription on a clay brick from Gherla, Rumania, which might have some relevance to the presence of Achaemenids in the Balkans, J. Harmatta, "A Recently Discovered Old Persian Inscription," *AAH*, 2 (1954), 1–14.

[55] It is not possible here to discuss the various Scythians (Saka) mentioned in the inscriptions, or seek to locate them precisely. The Naqsh-e Rustam inscription of Darius distinguishes between Scythians with pointed hats, Amyrgian Scythians (*haumavarga*) and Scythians across the sea (*tayaiy paradraya*). In spite of many other theories, the first two Scythians are to be located in Central Asia, and the last probably in the Balkans or south Russia. The Egyptian expressions on the Suez stele and the Susa statue, 'Sakas of the marshes' and 'Sakas of the plains,' seem to be an Egyptian manner of expression and do not aid us in locating them. Cf. Kervran, "Une Statue de Darius découverte à Suse," *JA* (1972), 258.

Egypt was brought back into the empire probably in the winter of 519–518 B.C. by Darius himself, seemingly after he had issued a decree permitting the Jews to finish building the temple at Jerusalem (Ezra VI, 1). Probably at the end of 518 B.C., after he had left Egypt, Darius gave orders for the codification of Egyptian laws, which was followed elsewhere such that Darius was called a great lawgiver.[56] To return to his conquests, the Indian campaign meant a great extension of the empire.

The date of the Indian campaign can be determined by a comparison of the Behistun inscription where Hinduš is not mentioned as one of the countries which 'came to' Darius, whereas in Persepolis (DPe) and in Naqsh-e Rustam Hinduš is added to the list of countries. Therefore, in the first part of his reign Hinduš was at some time added to the other eastern possession, Gandhara (where the Akkadian version of Behistun I, 16 has *pa-ar-ú-pa-ra-e-sa-an-na* or Avestan *upāirisaēna* 'above the eagle') and Arachosia. As Herzfeld noted, since the voyage of Skylax, the Carian admiral of Darius who was sent down the Indus River and back to the Red Sea on a voyage of exploration, probably took place after the conquest, because a 'royal garrison' is mentioned in a fragment of Hekataios' account of the journey as preserved in Stephan of Byzantium, 175, the date of the conquest would be between 518 and 515 B.C.[57] The limits of Hinduš, however, are by no means clear and most scholars have considered it only the Indus valley south of Multan to the sea. More likely, however, the name came from the river, the Sindhu, and would include the people living in the entire valley including the Punjab, and the border with Gandhara would be the lowlands of the present NW frontier province extending to the mountains.[58] The voyage of Skylax opened sea communications between India and Egypt and probably induced Darius to build a canal in Egypt. The idea for this canal was an incomplete project started by a pharaoh Necho (c. 610–595 B.C.), but Darius finished a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea and erected a number of steles in commemoration of the opening of the canal, probably in the year 498 B.C.[59] Statues of Darius were also erected in various temples in Egypt and Darius took his place as a legitimate pharaoh of Egypt in the eyes of the people.

The last expedition, recorded by the sources, is the famous invasion of Greece which ended at Marathon in defeat presumably at the end of August 490 B.C., although the exact date is uncertain. It was the aftermath of the long Ionian revolt on the coasts and islands of Asia Minor, which lasted c. 499 to 493 B.C. and was suppressed only after much fighting by the Persians. Some scholars have regarded the Ionian revolt and the battle of Marathon as insignificant in the eyes of the great king, proposing this as a kind of balance to the obviously biased Greek sources, but the

[56] For the Egyptian sources see R. A. Parker, "Darius and his Egyptian Campaign," *AJSL*, 58 (1941), 373–77, esp. note 1. The Persian governor of Egypt Aryandes was executed by Darius acc. to Herod. (IV, 166), who gives several reasons for this action.

[57] Herzfeld, *op. cit.* 2 [ch. 3, n. 31], 662, and a discussion in detail with the same remark in B. Breloer, *Alexanders Bund mit Poros* (Leipzig, 1941), 5–17. Presumably by a 'royal garrison' Hekataios meant Achaemenid, although this is not certain.

[58] Many scholars consider that the entire Punjab was included in Gandhara, e.g., Breloer, *op. cit.* [n. 57], 27, but it is more likely that Gandhara only extended to the modern boundaries of the Punjab, but including Taxila. Cf. Tarn, *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 23], 135, and V. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini* (Lucknow, 1953), 50.

[59] M. Kervran, *op. cit.* [n. 55], 266; and W. Hinz, "Darius und der Suezkanal," *AMI*, 8 (1975), 115–21.

pendulum should not swing to extremes. The Achaemenids found Greeks in Egypt and in Cyprus, and cannot have regarded them as insignificant, since the Greeks dominated the seas perhaps even more than did the Phoenicians, who were more loyal subjects of the Persians. Furthermore, the cultural and technical achievements of the Ionians were also known and appreciated by the Persians as testified by the many Ionians in trusted positions under the Achaemenids.[60] The Ionian revolt, which it must be remembered included Greeks in Cyprus and Carians on the Anatolian mainland, as well as the Ionians, culminated in the capture and burning of Sardis in 498 B.C.; and this must have persuaded the Achaemenids that the Greeks were much more than a mere thorn in their far western side. Much has been written about the Persian support of the Greek tyrants in the Ionian cities, who were overthrown and driven out by the people, as well as economic reasons for the revolt in Ionia – fears that the Persians would manage trade by their control of the Bosphorus and the grain trade of south Russia, as well as Egyptian trade.[61] It was inevitable that the mainland Greeks would also become involved thus leading to Marathon. But before the expedition to Greece, Thrace and Macedonia had to be reconquered after the Ionian revolt, an undertaking headed by Mardonius, son-in-law of Darius which cost many lives and hardships (Herod. VI, 44).[62] Thus the expedition to Greece headed by Datis, a Mede, was not simply an expedition of revenge on mainland Greece for support of the Ionian revolt, but was a continuation of Persian policy to secure a position as master of the seas, while the Greek building of a fleet and reconquest of some of the islands of the Aegean Sea after Marathon indicates that the conflict was perceived as serious and continuous by both sides.

Two warnings about the Classical sources should be kept in mind. First, the tendency to assign personal motives for all events is dominant in Herodotus and other authors, and the stories told to explain why something happened, although entertaining, and in many cases even important for our understanding, nonetheless must be regarded with great circumspection. Names of generals, governors and others abound as actors in a drama, but in a survey of the history of Iran even accounts of those important Iranians, such as harem figures and governors of provinces, cannot be elaborated or even discussed. Second, the tendency to use fixed figures and standard plots in describing events does not persuade one to have confidence in the information given. For example, the number six hundred is the standard for ships in the Achaemenid fleet in Herodotus (IV, 87 on the Scythian campaign, VI, 9 by Lade and VI, 95 for Marathon), while numbers like 700,000 soldiers on the Scythian campaign (IV, 87) are absurd. That the Greeks were better armed and better protected with armor than the majority of the Achaemenid army is generally accepted, and as time

[60] See A. R. Burns, *Persia and the Greeks* (London, 1962), 241, and n. 10.

[61] See J. M. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East* (London, 1962), 98–120, 132–33; and C. Nylander, *Ionians in Pasargadae* (Uppsala, 1970). The 'royal road' from Susa to Sardis indicates the importance of western Asia Minor and the islands in the minds of the Achaemenids. See discussion and bibliography in H. Bengtson, *op. cit.* [n. 18], 156–61.

[62] The expedition to the north has been considered a first attack on Greece which failed because of storms off Mt. Athos which destroyed much of the Achaemenid fleet, and because of fierce resistance in Macedonia. More likely was the need to first secure the northern areas which had broken away from Persian rule before dealing directly with mainland Greece.

progressed the Greek mercenaries became the professional core fighting force of the Achaemenid army, while Persians lost both their ability and their will to fight.[63] But in Darius' time they were still good soldiers, though poor sailors. Darius, even in his old age, was determined to counter-attack Greece by land, and began preparations for a long campaign, but Egypt rebelled in 486 and in the same year in November Darius died, according to Akkadian documents.[64]

REORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE

Darius seems to have been the first of the Achaemenid great kings to take a 'throne-name' since his meant 'possessing good(-ness),' and his successors also selected throne-names.[65] Whether his own name was Spentadāta, which Ctesias (frg. 10) claims was the real name of Gaumata, is impossible to determine.[66] If we consider the etymology of Xerxes (OP *Khšayāršan*) as 'ruling over heroes' and Artaxerxes (OP *Artakhsçasa*) 'having just rule,' the religious nature of them is apparent, but it is interesting that only the names Darius and Artaxerxes were taken by the later kings of the dynasty.[67] The names were a proclamation of the right to rule, but by their own qualities, as well as by divine intervention, as found in the inscriptions, where we see that it was by the will of Ahura Mazdā that rule was bestowed on the kings. The king was the supreme arbiter, above all men, and his exalted position was proclaimed by court ceremonies, especially by proskynesis, which meant kissing the king's feet for servants, to a cheek kiss for the nobility.[68] The title 'kings of kings,' as already noted, was probably used by the Medes, although only its phonetic form suggests this, since no inscriptions of the Medes have been found.[69] The crown prince was obviously next in court, but some scholars have confidently postulated the existence of an institution of double kingship under the Achaemenids.[70] Why one should confuse the 'institution' of

[63] By far the greatest number of Greeks serving the Achaemenids named in the sources were in military service. Cf. J. Hofstetter, *Die Griechen in Persien* (Berlin, 1978), 216 pp.

[64] R. A. Parker and W. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* (Providence, 1956), 17.

[65] It is interesting that in Aramaic documents, dated c. 480 B.C., the name is *drwš*, later became *drywš* (also in the Bible), and for Darius II we have *dryhwš* or *drywhwš*, thus the later the time the longer the name, contrary to what one would expect. On throne-names see R. Schmitt, "Thronnamen bei den Achaimeniden," *BZN*, 4 (1977), 422–25, who convincingly suggests that Darius innovated the practice of throne-names as part of his overall policy to raise the place of kingship in the eyes of his subjects. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 1 [ch. 3, n. 31], 1, 89–99, first proposed the idea of 'throne names.'

[66] Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 1 [ch. 3, n. 31], 95, identifies Darius with the son of the Vishtaspa who was a patron of Zoroaster, the Isfandiyār of Firdosi, which is unlikely.

[67] On other etymologies for Xerxes, see Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 1 [ch. 3, n. 31], 97, 'who commands the right will,' and Kent, *op. cit.* [n. 39], 182, 'hero among kings' (unlikely). The name 'Xerxes' was only used once. Cf. K. Hoffmann, "Altpers. *afuvāyā*," *Corolla Linguistica*, Festschrift F. Sommer (Wiesbaden, 1955), 85, n. 15.

[68] Cf. J. Hofstetter, "Zu den griechischen Gesandschaften nach Persien," *Historia*, Einzelschriften 18 (Wiesbaden, 1972), 106, with further bibliography. The kings were not divinised, as some have thought. On proskynesis see F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, 2 (Berlin, 1960), 125–52.

[69] Szemerényi, *op. cit.* [ch. 4, n. 63], 321, claims that the Medes did not use the title since they were under the suzerainty of the Assyrians and could not use such a proud title. After 612 B.C., in any case, this statement is nonsense, if not previously as well. Although the title *šar-šarrāni* 'king of kings' is well attested among the Old Assyrian kings, we do not find it attested for the neo-Babylonian kings. Cf. M.-J. Seux, *Epithèts royales akkadiennes et sumeriennes* (Paris, 1967), 318.

[70] *Ibid.*, 365, and from the artistic side see H. von Gall, "Die Kopfbedeckung des persischen Ornats,"

crown-prince with the idea of a dual kingship I do not understand, for neither a crown-prince nor an 'advisor' to the king, or chief minister, or whatever he may be called, can be designated a 'double king' as we find among later Turkish kingdoms of Central Asia, or in ancient Sparta. If there was no institution of a 'double king' in ancient Iran, then did the crown prince have a special title? In Akkadian we have the term for 'crown prince' *mār šarri* used of Asarhaddon and Aššurbanipal, but whether this was also used of other sons of the king as well as (or only) the crown prince is unknown.[71] Many scholars have mistakenly assumed that the co-regency of king and crown prince at the end of the king's reign is proof of the institution of 'double kingship,' but this practice of associating one's successor in rule as a kind of apprentice is found throughout the history of Iran, and elsewhere in the world, and should not be confused with an institution of 'double kingship.'[72] Likewise the office of 'second to the king,' a major-domo or top minister of court, is normal throughout history, and again does not mean co-king. Was there a 'second' or assistant to the king under the Achaemenids? Again no title is attested, but in later Parthian and Sasanian times, we do find a title *bidakhsh* which may go back to an Old Iranian **dvitiya-khšaya* – 'ruling as second,' with an extensive literature about it.[73] It is uncertain, however, whether the notices about a 'second' after the king refer to a title in the governmental organization or in the court, or to an honorary appellation given to a favorite of the ruler. In either case it does not refer to the crown-prince, who was surely the real 'second' after the ruler, and there is no title attested in the sources. Greek authors, however, imply that a title χιλίαρχος, 'a thousand leader,' meant 'second' (after the king), although this is probably by origin a military title, the equivalent of Iranian **hazārapati-*, attested in languages other than Old Persian. From researches of Marquart and Junge it seems that the chiliarch, as commander of the royal guard and probably also of the 'immortals' (royal guard), did act as an usher of persons who wished to speak with the ruler and consequently could be regarded as a kind of minister of court or prime minister by the end of the Achaemenid dynasty.[74] Thus the power of the chiliarch grew as time progressed with both executive orders and

AMI, 7 (1974), 157–59 and especially P. Calmeyer, "Synarchie," *AMI*, 9 (1977), 63–68, who writes, "Das persische Doppelkönigtum ist also von Dareios I/Xerxes I bis zu Artaxerxes II/Dareios belegt." And not afterwards?

[71] Seux, *op. cit.* [n. 69], 160. It was also used in late Akkadian documents for Cambyses and in the time of Darius II, so it continued in use, but, of course, we still do not know whether it was used *exclusively* for the crown prince or for other princes as well. For the designation of Cambyses as 'king's son' as recognition that he was his father's successor, see W. Dubberstein, "The Chronology of Cyrus and Cambyses," *AJSL*, 55 (1938), 417–19.

[72] The co-regency of Cambyses with Cyrus, before the latter left on his eastern campaign which led to his death, has been taken wrongly by many as proof of the existence of an institution of 'double kingship'; cf. F. W. König, *Der Falsche Bardija* (Vienna, 1938), 114–15. Akkadian documents confirm the association of the king's son as successor, but never as co-king with the same titles as his father. When Xerxes says (XPf) that Darius had other sons but made him 'greatest' *maθišta* after himself, this is hardly a title. In India the crown prince was called *yuvarāja* 'young king,' but again no 'double' kingship.

[73] W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (Berlin, 1969), 153, note 22, where further bibliography may be found. The expression 'after self' also implying second authority, is a later development.

[74] For references see J. Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran* (Göttingen, 1896), 57–63; E. Benveniste, *Titres et noms propres in Iranien ancien* (Paris, 1966), 67–70; and J. Junge, "Zur Stellung des Chiliarchen der kgl. Leibgarde im Achämenidenstaat," *Klio*, 33 (1940), 13–38.

control of finance under him, as well as control over the court and protection of the person of the ruler. If we may assume, as Junge argues, that the chiliarch did become 'second' after the king, then we may conclude that any expressions denoting 'second' were not official titles in the government but rather appellations, either bestowed by the ruler or current among the people as a matter of designation of the great power of an official, second only to the ruler.[75]

We cannot clearly discern whether there was a bipartite or even a tripartite division of authority in the Achaemenid Empire, as appeared later in the history of Iran. The three parties wielding power were the court, the bureaucracy (perhaps including priests) and the army. Inasmuch as the chiliarch combined military and administrative functions, as did the satraps, we may assume such a mixture in other high offices. At the court of the great king, several positions of influence stand out from the time of Darius. One was the 'bow carrier' *vaṣṣabara* and the other the 'spear bearer' *arštibara* of Darius, both 'honorary' appellatives given to close friends of the ruler, who might be considered as his bodyguards and confidants.[76] At the court royal princes, of course, had great influence simply as members of the royal family (Aramaic BR BYT', O. Iran. **visapuϑra*) and other nobles (*āmāta*), both Iranian and non-Iranian, gave advice to the king. We do not know whether a council of advisors, perhaps the six helpers of Darius in his time, existed as a kind of cabinet under later Achaemenids, for there is again no evidence. Perhaps there was an informal, indefinite group of advisors, the *'drgzry'* or **handarzakara*? of Daniel III, 3, who may have been part of a hierarchy of friends around the king. Greek sources have much information about confidants of the king but the Greek words may apply to Greek interpretations rather than Persian realities, especially when the Persian words for the Greek terms do not appear anywhere. The Greeks, for example, speak of institutions called 'the king's friends' *φίλοι* and 'the king's benefactor' *εὐεργέτης*, these latter according to Herodotus (VIII, 85) called in Persian *ὀροσάγγαι*.[77] There may have been divisions in the category of 'friends,' some greater (Diodorus XV, 10, 3), others lesser, as well as different degrees of closeness to the king among the kinsmen of the ruler. The eunuchs, harem ladies, princesses (*duxši*), made of the court a large collection of people using their influence on the ruler.[78] Also probably connected directly with the court were the famous 'eyes and ears' of the king (Xenophon, *Cyrop.* VIII, 2, 10–12) which have produced a large literature.[79] It seems we are dealing with a chief overseer, the 'eye,' and many spies of the king, the 'ears,' who reported to him about affairs in the

[75] W. Hinz, "Achämenidische Hofverwaltung," *ZA*, 61 (1971), 303 proposes a title **viϑa-patiš* 'Hofmarschall,' for the second in authority, as a continuation of Akkadian *rabekalli* 'palace chief.' His theory in *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* [n. 73], 63–68, that this officer was always a Mede is unacceptable. It is possible that the chiliarch later took over the duties of an earlier majordomo, but again there is no evidence.

[76] Hinz, *Wege*, [ch 4, n 66], 57–59, interprets the first as 'clothes carrier' who carries the bow and arrow for Darius at DNd.

[77] For an etymology of this word possibly meaning 'widely known,' see R. Schmitt, "Medisches und persisches Sprachgut bei Herodot," *ZDMG*, 117 (1967), 131. The identification of *φίλος* in Iranian as Gathic *rvaϑa-* by Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 1 [ch. 3, n. 31], 155–56, is unconvincing. More likely is *dauštar*, or another word.

[78] Cf. Benveniste, *op. cit.* [n. 74], 49–50. One should not forget the education of young nobles and princes at the court (Xenophon, *Cyrop.* VIII, 6, 10 and Plato, *Alcibiades*, 121–22) since the strict Persian rules of raising the young impressed the Greeks. Unfortunately, sources are lacking on details of the education.

[79] On the *ὀφϑαλμός βασιλεύς* see Herodotus I, 114, Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 12, 1, Aeschylus, 979, etc. Among the possible Iranian words proposed for the 'eye,' are the following: **spasaka*, *âxša*,

empire, especially in the provinces, independently of the governors and military commanders, in other words a secret service of spies reporting directly to the court. Every official, courtier, indeed theoretically everyone, was a *bandaka* or 'slave' of the king, but the word was used probably more as a form of address than anything else.[80] There is another word *anušiya* 'follower,' which seems to have been misunderstood by the Greeks who translated it as ἀθάνατος 'immortal,' for the royal guard, which was theoretically maintained at the same size at all times.[81]

Information was brought to the king by the famous postal system, which was not new but was reorganized by Darius, with the main artery of communications the 'royal road' from Sardis to Susa (Herod. V, 52). Other roads also existed, especially a continuation of the 'royal road' from Susa to Persepolis and Pasargadae, traces of which have been found by archaeologists.[82] According to Herodotus these roads were measured in *parasangs* (c. 6 km.), and he describes the stations and system of couriers on the royal road (VIII, 98).[83] The Achaemenids were also active in the construction of bridges over rivers, in the use of boats for commerce and communications, as well as fire signals for the latter.[84] Although all of this activity was not solely for the benefit of the king, his orders played a dominant role in the creation of the system of transportation and communication.

The Elamite tablets from Persepolis have not only given an enormous increase in Old Iranian onomastica but also new information about the chancellory, the organization of work, and religious practices in the homeland of the Achaemenids. The chief of court or *major domo* at Persepolis under Darius was a certain Farnaka until 497 B.C., followed by Abišvanta to 484 B.C., then Dargāyuš to 482, Ṛtatakhma to 466 followed by Ṛtasūra.[85] The picture of a complex bureaucracy with many officials is clear from the tablets, but it is not possible to put them in a hierarchy or order. The

**kasaka*, **didīka* or **dītaka*, **patyaxša-*; cf. A. Pagliaro, "Riflessi di etimologie iraniche," *Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Serie 8, vol. 9 (Rome, 1954), 133–53, with references; also H. Lommel, "Die Späher Varuna und Mitra," *Oriens*, 6 (1953), 323, who proposed **spaθaka*. Further W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferungen* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 105. Another title in the Elamite tablets from Persepolis has been reconstructed as **apiy-āxša-pā* 'controller of the overseers'! by M. Mayrhofer, "Die Nebenüberlieferung des Altwestiranischen," *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 25 (1974–77), 182. The 'eye' may well have been a 'chief inspector' for the king.

The ears ὦτα or *gaušaka* are found in an Aramaic papyrus as *gwšky'*, A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford, 1923), 99–102, and may be spies. Cf. H. H. Schaeder, Iranica, *AGWG*, 10 (1934), 3–24. It is also possible that these terms are Greek misunderstandings of offices which did not exist.

[80] For a discussion of *bandaka* see Geo Widengren, "Le symbolisme de la ceinture," *IA*, 8 (1968), 133–46. The remarks on *marīka* 'member of a Männerbund' should be read with caution, especially in regard to the mythological and religious ramifications.

[81] Cf. Pagliaro, *op. cit.* [n. 79], 151.

[82] Stronach, *Pasargadae* [*supra*, n. 1], 166–67, and M. T. Mostafavi, "The Achaemenid Royal Road," *A Survey of Persian Art*, 14 (Oxford, 1967), 3008–10, who traces the road through modern Firuzabad, ignoring the Anshan-Pasargadae part of the road, which is far to the north and thus contradicts the southern path proposed by Mostafavi.

[83] On the etymology of *parasang* see H. H. Schaeder, *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 15 (Berlin, 1935), 563, and for the word ἄγγαρος 'postal courier' see R. Schmitt in *Glotta*, 49 (1971), 97–100.

[84] Acc. to S. Mazzarino, "Le vie di communicazione fra impero Achemenide e mondo Greco," *La Persia e il mondo Greco-Romano*, Acc. Naz. dei Lincei (Rome, 1966), 75–83; the Greeks learned much from the Persians in matters of communication.

[85] See Hinz in *ZA*, 61 (1971), 308. There were many scribes and assistants busy in the chancellory with a complex procedure of dictating, engraving and registering clay tablets in Akkadian and Elamite, as well as scribes writing Aramaic on parchment.

dīvān (OIr. **dipi-pāna*) or chancellory of later times surely goes back to an Achaemenid prototype, and in Persepolis many titles have been found for persons in the bureaucracy, the treasurer **ganzabara* (attested in Aramaic and Elamite), his assistant the *upaganzabara*, then the *framātar* and the *framāna-kara* both in charge of, or directors of, work, the *bāji-kara* 'tribute collector,' the **hamāra-kara* 'tax collector,' the **gṛdapati* 'foreman' over workers, the *raučapāna* 'overseer of daily rations,' and many other officials.[86] It is difficult to separate from each other the functions of many of these officials and to determine who controlled what, for example, who could use the king's seal, for there were many copies of the seal used by various officials. Another question is how much the organization of officials at Persepolis was common to other sites such as Susa, or Babylon, and how much was duplicated in the provincial organization. On the whole, it seems that the provincial courts tried to copy the imperial court, but there were obviously differences in various parts of the empire, but we have no direct information about this and subjective impressions may give false ideas if used as proven fact.

When we turn to the provincial organization, in spite of copying from a central model, the variety rather than uniformity of institutions is striking. Two questions which may be elucidated are the role of local dynasts in the provincial organization of the empire and the subdivisions of the satrapy. A few local rulers like the Syennesis of Cilicia, probably the personal name of the ruler in the time of Cyrus which then became a hereditary appellation, the ruler of Paphlagonia (Xenophon, *Cyrop.* VIII, 6, 7–10) and others held special positions in the empire because of their aid to Cyrus, or otherwise. In the revolt of Cyrus the younger against his brother Artaxerxes II, however, the Syennesis lost his throne for support of the younger Cyrus and his place was taken by a Persian.[87] Many local princes such as those of the Phoenician cities, Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, etc., tyrants of the Ionian cities, as well as the kings of Caria, Cyprus and other areas in the north and east where we have no information, were on the whole hereditary or at least in some tributary or vassal relationship with the Persians. What Darius did was to create twenty great satrapies over many of the local rulers, according to Herodotus, but this was not an innovation, rather a reorganization of the multifaceted parts of the empire which had existed under Cyrus and Cambyses. The former had divided Lydia into two satrapies with capitals at Sardis and Daskylion, and other changes had occurred until Darius' reform of the satrapies which we find in most detail in Herodotus (III, 89–94). The word 'satrap' was frequently used in Classical sources both for the governor and sub-governor as well.[88]

[86] See the books of Bowman, Cameron, Hallock as well as the bibliographies of articles about the Elamite and Aramaic sources in M. Mayrhofer, "Neuere Forschungen zum Altpersischen," in *Donum Indogermanicum*, Festgabe für Anton Scherer (Heidelberg, 1971), 41–66. There were, of course, other officials as well as various designations of them. One official the **paθpabaga* provided provisions for the road for other officials, while various inspectors undoubtedly existed, but one must not confuse synonyms, or public as opposed to official usage, as does J. Harmatta, "The Rise of the Old Persian Empire," *AAH*, 19 (1971). See also the references in R. Schmitt's survey, "Forschungsbericht" [n. 29]. The fluctuation of titles and offices is revealed in the Persepolis Elamite tablets; see R. Hallock, "The Evidence of the Persepolis Tablets," *CHI*, 2.

[87] Cf. W. Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien* (Marburg, 1892), 209, and the detailed article on 'Satrap' by F. C. Lehmann-Haupt in *PW*.

[88] On the etymology of the word 'protector of the kingdom,' see the detailed exposition of R. Schmitt, "Der Titel 'Satrap'," *Studies in Greek, Italic, and Indo-European Linguistics offered to L. Palmer*, ed. by A. M. Davies and W. Meid

Much has been written about the lists of lands or people in the OP inscriptions, the reliefs of tribute bearers at Persepolis, and the names of satrapies in Classical sources, many authors seeking to reconcile the three.[89] It is clear that the inscriptions speak of lands or peoples of the empire rather than satrapies (the word 'satrapy' is not mentioned), whereas the tax-list of Herodotus is defective; but it is possible to secure a measure of agreement of the various sources for the satrapies of the empire from the time of Darius to the end of the empire. Persis (Pārsa) was the homeland, especially supplying soldiers and bureaucrats, and it extended to the ocean on the south and included Kerman in the east. Although uncertainty exists about the eastern borders of the satrapy, it would seem that thoughout most of the period it included most of modern Kerman, although Alexander found a satrap of Kerman which implies a separation of the eastern part of Persis before the fall of the Achaemenids. Pasargadae (**pārsa-argada* 'settlement of Persians') and Persepolis (OP Pārsa) were the two capitals, the older and the younger.[90]

Media (Māda) was not free from taxation but nonetheless held a special position, since the Medes and Persians were associated together in the minds of other peoples of the empire (e.g., Esther I, 19, Daniel VI, 8, 15). The satrapy of Media extended to the upper Tigris in the west and in the east to the 'Caspian Gates,' located east of modern Tehran, to Persis to the south and Armenia to the north, for it seems that Darius instituted a satrapy of Armenia, separating it from older and 'greater' Media. The Armenians are mentioned in the various lists of peoples in OP inscriptions, and they are represented on reliefs at Persepolis, but the northern extent of the Armenian satrapy cannot be determined, for the Georgians, Albanians and other peoples of the Caucasus Mts. apparently were never integrated into the empire although some of the Caucasian tribes were according to Herodotus (III, 94). The peoples of the south Caspian Sea coast were at some time separated from Media and made into a satrapy, probably after Xerxes, but at all times central authority was difficult to maintain in this area. Another important satrapy was Elam or Khuzistan (OP Huža) with its capital Susa, probably absorbed by Cyrus after his conquest of Babylon, which maintained its old boundaries of lowlands and mountainous regions to the time of Alexander.

The eastern Iranian provinces and India present problems of geographical

(Innsbruck, 1976), 373–90. The Persian rather than Median form of the word is found in OP *khshaṣṣa-pāvan* which implies an Achaemenid origin rather than a Median origin of the word. In the OP inscriptions we find *dahyu-* 'land' and not the word 'satrapy.' Darius' attempt to separate the military from the civil functions of the satrap was unsuccessful later, while the number of satrapies increased as time went on. Diodorus (XVIII, 5–6 and 39) gives the satrapies at the end of the empire, but this list must be used with caution.

[89] On the reliefs see G. Walser, *Die Völkerschaften auf den Reliefs von Persepolis* (Berlin, 1966), and W. Hinz, "Die Völkerschaften der Persepolis-Reliefs," *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* [n. 73], 95–113. On the OP inscriptions see G. C. Cameron, "The Persian Satrapies and Related Matters," *JNES*, 32 (1973), 47–56. For the Classical sources see the detailed article on 'Satrap' by Lehmann-Haupt in *PW*, and for a synthesis E. Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 288–365, comparing lists of Hekataios, Herodotus, the OP inscriptions, etc. G. Walser follows Herzfeld in his "Missing Peoples in the Persepolis Procession," *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Iranian Art and Archaeology*, 1 (Tehran, 1972), 372.

[90] Of the many etymologies proposed for Pasargadae, that of H. W. Bailey mentioned here is the most convincing; cf. Stronach, *Pasargadae* [*supra*, n. 1], 280–81.

identification. Parthia, to the east of Media, included Hyrcania (OP Varkana) modern Gurgan; thus it comprised the modern provinces of Khurasan and Gurgan with a capital at Zadrakarta near the southeastern shore of the Caspian (Arrian, III, 25) and possibly a second capital in the east, although Herzfeld's assertion that *Tausa (Ṭūs) was that capital finds no echo in any Classical source.[91] The suggestion of Pyankov that Parthia was ruled by a hereditary dynast instead of an appointed ruler on the basis of Ctesias, is not at all convincing.[92] Hyrcania was probably made into a separate satrapy under Xerxes (Herod. VII, 62), possibly because of its importance as a border province against nomads, but at the end of the empire it and Parthia were reunited (Arrian III, 8, 4). The Gils and Cadusians may have been united with Hyrcania at times, but we do not know.

The Khwarazmians are placed in the same satrapy as Parthia by Herodotus (III, 93), presumably reflecting the time of Darius, whereas later they are separate, and by the end of the empire they were independent. This may well reflect their movement from the region of the Murghab River north to the Aral Sea, and for a time they seem to have comprised a separate satrapy. The belief that the Oxus River once flowed into the Caspian instead of the Aral Sea is not attested for historical times by archaeologists, so the Kharazmians are not to be placed on the eastern shores of the Caspian. The Sogdians most of the time were joined to the satrapy of Bactria, as was also Margiane or Merv, in the time of Darius, although later Margiane was joined to Aria (Herat). The satrapal capital was at Bactra, modern Balkh, with another center at Marakanda (Samarqand).[93] The independence of local lords in Sogdiana is attested by the fighting which Alexander did there; unfortunately we cannot say when Sogdiana was a separate satrapy and when combined during the Achaemenid period. Aria (OP Haraiva), although included in the large east Iranian satrapy of Parthia and Khwarazm by Herodotus (III, 93), was thereafter made into a separate satrapy with its capital Artacoana (with many variants) probably near the site of modern Herat.[94] Drangiane (OP Zranka) apparently was joined with Aria for tax purposes (Strabo X, 516), although Herodotus (III, 93) puts the Zarangians (also with S-) together with inhabitants of the central deserts of Iran through Baluchistan to the ocean. At the end of the empire Drangiane was together with Arachosia under one satrap acc. to Arrian (III, 2, 1), while the name of the principal city is Greek Prophthasia in Strabo (514 and

[91] Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 318. His corrections of Arrian and Ptolemy may be correct, but Ṭūs was not an important center. Although some sources imply that Hyrcania was detached from Parthia and attached to Media it is impossible to trace changes in the boundaries of satrapies which lasted short times. On Jews deported to Hyrcania see J. Marquart, *Fundamente israelitischer und judischer Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1896), 30.

[92] I. V. Pyankov, "Istoriya Persii Ktesiya ī Sredneaziatskie Satrapi Akhemenidov," *VDI*, 2 (1965), 43. Ctesias gives no list of satrapies but rather peoples ruled by the Achaemenids from the time of Artaxerxes II, and any projection backwards in time by Ctesias is to be regarded with great suspicion.

[93] The etymology of Samarqand proposed by A. Pagliaro, "Cyrus et l'empire Perse," *AI*, 2 (1974), 6, *zamar kanta* 'dug in the earth' is unconvincing since the latter part really meant 'town,' to be sure from the root 'to dig,' but the former part was a proper name or appellation rather than a common noun. See also I. V. Pyankov, *Drevnyi Samarkand v izvestiyakh antichnikh avtorov* (Dushanbe, 1972), 59 pp.

[94] W. Tomaschek in *PW* etymologizes the name as *arta-kāvano* 'righteous *kavi*-like' or 'royal,' which also does not inspire confidence.

723) which tells us nothing.[95] Arachosia (OP Harahuvati) was an important satrapy which probably had an Achaemenid garrison town for guarding the southeastern frontier of the empire, at least in the later period of the empire when India had fallen away from Achaemenid rule. Stephan of Byzantium and other Classical sources knew that the land was named after the river, but the capital before Alexander is not known, although the fortress of Arshada is mentioned in the Behistun inscription. Northeast of Arachosia the hilly region of Sattagydia (OP Θatagu-) and the lowlands of Gandhara (OP Gandara) may have been joined to Paropamisos, the center and eastern part of modern Afghanistan extending into Pakistan, which was a satrapy under the early Achaemenids.[96] It later broke or drifted away from Achaemenid rule, and when Alexander came there was no Achaemenid satrap to oppose him. When the satrapy of India dropped from Achaemenid rule is impossible to determine but probably towards the end of their rule. Gedrosia (OP Maka), or present Baluchistan, extending to the west, possibly extending over the water to Oman, was never firmly under Achaemenid rule, and it is doubtful whether it ever was a separate satrapy, although for Herodotus (III, 94) it is his seventeenth satrapy.[97]

In the west of the empire the satrapies are much better known. The 'Fertile Crescent' was at first united under one governor and comprised Babylonia and Assyria (which once had extended from northern Iraq to Egypt), and the Arabs of the north Syrian desert were included (OP Arbaya). This lasted throughout the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses, and the neo-Babylonian kingdom was retained as a unit with two parts officially – Babylonia, and the west or Ebirnari (or Aramaic: Abr Nahara) 'over the river.'[98] The name 'Assyria' and its derivative 'Syria' have caused much difficulty because of changing geographical designations throughout history, but when Darius or Xerxes divided the 'Fertile Crescent' into two satrapies the old usage of 'Assyria' for the western part, as well as the homeland of Assyria, was retained, as we see from the OP lists of Darius and Xerxes; this western part the Greeks and others called Syria. Boundaries were adjusted from time to time but the division between Mesopotamia and Syria remained to the end of the empire, and even on the relief of

[95] Two etymologies have been proposed for Zranka, one 'sea-land' by W. Tomascheck *sub* Drangiane in *PW*, followed by Herzfeld, and another by G. Morgenstierne, comparing Baluchi *drang* 'precipice,' referring to the island mt. of Kūhe Khwāja in the Hamun lake, *NTS*, 5 (1932), 43.

[96] Herzfeld, *op. cit.*. 342, identified Sattagydia with the Punjab, 'land of seven rivers.' Since the figures of the Gandharan, the Sattagydian and the Indian are almost the same on the reliefs at Persepolis, showing persons from hot lands (see Walser, *op. cit.* [n. 59], 53–55), one would infer that all inhabited the plains of the subcontinent, and probably parts of both the Gandharans and Sattagydians did, but one must be careful in drawing conclusions from the reliefs alone. To identify Sattagydia solely with the Punjab is unwarranted. The hill country to the west is more likely, since it is hot in summer.

[97] Many attempts to interpret the lists of lands and peoples in the OP inscriptions are misleading, such as G. S. Akhvlediani, "Drevne persidskoe Mačiya-i Gruzinskoe mesx-," *Trudy 25 Mezhdunarodnogo Kongressa Vostokovedov*, 2 (Moskow, 1963), 373, where the author identifies Maka as 'Georgians' in the Caucasus!

[98] Cf. O. Leuze, *Die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromlande von 520–320* (Halle, 1935), 117–43; H. Bengtson, *Kleine Schriften zur Alten Geschichte* (München, 1974), 83–100. For a comparison with the names of satraps at the end of the empire, see H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich* (München, 1926), *passim*. Marquart, *op. cit.* [n. 91], 75, asserted that 'Abr Nahara was called Arbaya by the Achaemenids, but the OP lists were of peoples and not satrapies.

thronebearers on the tomb of Artaxerxes II or III the OP text only speaks of the Babylonian and Assyrian, the latter surely for what moderns would call Syrian. One capital of the satrapy 'across the river' was probably near Aleppo as we may infer from Xenophon, *Anabasis* (I, 4, 10), or at Tripolis on the sea, although there seem to have been several seats of authority for the huge region, Damascus being one of them at least for a time.[99] Egypt's boundaries were always fixed by geography, although the southern extent of Achaemenid rule up the Nile varied throughout the period of the empire. Memphis was the capital, and the Achaemenids were integrated into Egyptian culture as pharaohs of a new dynasty. Fortunately we have more documents from Egypt (and Babylonia) than elsewhere in the empire, but we cannot transpose the Egyptian organization to other parts of the empire. Under the satrap was the head of a *nome* with the Iranian title *frataraka*, the equivalent of Greek ὕπαρχος, although, as mentioned, the latter word was also used for the satrap. Under the *frataraka* was the chief of a district, the *hpṯhpt'* (**haftaxupātā*) in Aramaic, which has been etymologized as the head or protector of one of seven districts, and both of these titles were found in Persis after the fall of the Achaemenids.[100] In Egypt perhaps the *hpṯhpt'* was head of a *topos* or toparchy 'county,' although sometimes it seems that the *frataraka* was more like a toparch. Just as Babylon had revolted in the early years of Xerxes' reign and had been brutally suppressed, also Egypt revolted already before Darius died, but Xerxes put down the Egyptians and changed the tolerant policy of his father into one of control with severity, as Herodotus (VII, 7) says, with Achaemenes, brother of Xerxes, as satrap.

On the reliefs of tribute bearers at Persepolis and in the OP inscriptions appear the Ethiopians (OP Kūsha) and the Libyans (OP Putāya), but it is uncertain whether they were part of the satrapy of Egypt, or more likely just tributaries as Herodotus (III, 13) says. In any case, both were on the fringes of the empire and at times did not even send tribute to the great king. The people of the north Syrian desert have been mentioned, but there is no evidence that the Arabs of Arabia were under Achaemenid rule. The Hebrews in Palestine, on the contrary, were usually loyal supporters of the Achaemenids even in times of trouble when Egypt or Syria was in revolt, and the Old Testament books of Esther, Ezra and Nehemiah, though not to be treated as history, indicate a closeness of the two. The diaspora of Jews throughout the empire, from a military garrison in Elephantine, an island on the upper Nile, to exiles in Hyrcania, probably aided their standing with the Persian overlords.[101] Samaria was a hyparchy under the satrapy, and the names of the sub-governors of Samaria from c. 460 to the

[99] Cf. K. Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels im persischen Zeitalter* (Tübingen, 1964), 192, argues against Aleppo and Damascus as capitals, and for sites on the coast. In Phoencia, the cities of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos and Arados were four separate principalities in a special relationship to the empire.

[100] W. B. Henning, "Ein persischer Titel im Altaramaischen," *In Memoriam Paul Kahle* (Berlin, 1968), 138–45, and M. N. Bogolyubov, "Titre honorifique d'un chef militaire Achéménide en haute-Égypte," *AI*, 2 (1974), 109–14. The satrap of Egypt under Cambyses was Aryandes, under Darius it was Pherendates, for Xerxes his brother Achaemenes, then followed the Egyptian revolt put down by Megabyzes. Under Artaxerxes I we find Arsames as satrap after which a new revolt broke out in 404 B.C. which led to independence until 343 B.C. when Artaxerxes III retook Egypt and installed another Pherendates as satrap followed by Sabakes and Mazakes.

[101] Galling, *op. cit.* [n. 99], 165–84 on Ezra and the Achaemenid governors.

end of the empire can be reconstructed thanks to new Aramaic documents.[102] The satraps of the land 'across the river' (Syria and Palestine) cannot be determined as in the case of Egypt, but some names do appear in the sources such as Tattenai in Ezra (V, 3) under Darius and part of the reign of Xerxes, Megabyzes under Artaxerxes I, Belesys I under Darius II, Abrocomas under Artaxerxes II, acc. to the *Anabasis* of Xenophon I, 3, 20 (see also Diodorus XIV, 20), although he may have been only the sub-governor of Phoenicia, Belesys II under Artaxerxes III (Diodorus XVI, 42) and Mazaios, first satrap of Cilicia then of all Syria, under Darius III.[103] For Asia Minor the list of satraps of Lydia and 'on the sea' (Daskylion) is difficult to reconstruct, for here, more than anywhere, the joining and separating of territories, plus the uncertainty in the use of the term 'satrap' for large provinces and for rulers of subdivisions of provinces as well, greatly complicates the picture. After the revolt of Cyrus the younger against Artaxerxes II, the province of Cilicia was taken away from the ruler Syennesis, and given to a satrap, although provincial coins struck later indicate a certain continuation of independent tendencies under the Iranian satraps Datames and Mazaios.[104] Noeldeke gave a tentative reconstruction of the hereditary post of satrap of Daskylion beginning with Pharnakes followed by Artabazos then Pharnabazos, but Mitrobates and Otanes should be added to the list, and the list cannot be checked for authenticity.[105] It was different in the important satrapy of Lydia, with its capital at Sardis, for Sardis was really the Achaemenid center for Asia Minor, and we find a succession of satraps, frequently the same persons as the commander-in-chiefs of Achaemenid armies in the west (Greek *κάρανος*). Beginning with Harpagos under Cyrus, Oroites (Herod. III, 126) under Cambyses, we find an Artaphernes under Darius, perhaps for a time Mardonius under Xerxes, and under Artaxerxes I, Pissuthnes, followed by Tissaphernes, Cyrus the younger, then a certain Droaphernes who left an inscription probably dating from 367–366 B.C.[106] Then we find Tithraustes, Tiribazos, Struthas, Tiribazos again, Autophradates, and under Darius III Spithridates, with dates and sequences, as usual, uncertain. In Asia Minor there were many local dynasts in Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Lycia and elsewhere, either under satraps or in direct relations with the central government. The boundaries of such areas, as well as those of the satrapies themselves, varied throughout the history of the empire. From the names of the satraps mentioned above, it is clear that Persians, and especially nobles related to the king, were the great majority. Indeed, by the end of the empire, the domination of Persians had become

[102] *Ibid.*, 210: Mithradates, Rechum, Sanballat I, his son Delaia, Sanballat II, Hananiah, and Sanballat III, to use Galling's transcriptions.

[103] There are uncertainties of time and extent of rule; cf. Leuze, *op. cit.* [n. 98], 153–63. The identity of the coins of *'brkmw*, supposedly struck at Sinope, and the Abrocomas of Syria is disputed; see J. de Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique orientale*, 1 (Paris, 1923–26), 53. On the name Tattenai see Marquart, *op. cit.* [n. 91], 52.

[104] For the coins of Mazaios (Aramaic legends *mzdy*) and his predecessor Datames (Aramaic legend *tdnmw*?); cf. G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia (London, 1922), cxli; J. de Morgan's reading, *op. cit.* [n. 103], 50, is wrong.

[105] Article in *PW* 'Daskyleion' by Rugge. The names of the satraps of Daskylion and Sardis, as well as the commander of Achaemenid forces in the west, are often confused in the sources.

[106] Cf. L. Robert in *CRAI* (Paris, April 1975), 308. The name **druva-farnah* would mean colloquially 'solid luck,' but it might be an appellative instead of a personal name.

well established everywhere. One may guess that noble families proliferated and intermarried, with family members holding high positions throughout the empire, and genealogies of some of the noble families reveal the interconnections.[107] This nobility held the real power in the empire, but the bureaucracy was also important, especially in regard to financial matters.

The later Seleucid administrative division of satrapy, hyparchy and toparchy probably was inherited from the Achaemenids, and the main function of the subdivisions of the province was to collect taxes.[108] Taxes were mostly in kind, even after the introduction of coinage in the empire by Darius about 490 B.C. as we learn from the Elamite texts of Persepolis.[109] The situation at Persepolis may have been unique, since there we find a hierarchy of treasurers, sub-treasurers, those who apportioned salaries, others who authorized travel rations, foremen (Elamite *kurdabattiš*, OP **gṛdapati-*) and many others. The impact of the introduction of a money economy into the empire must have had far-reaching consequences for the growth of trade as well as the stability of the empire, and the reduction of all goods to a common money denominator by royal edict was an event in world history of great significance.[110] Only the great king struck gold coins, called *stater* by the Greeks, for the Iranian word *daric* (c. 8.4 gm. in weight) was probably named after Darius, rather than from a word for 'gold.' Silver was also struck by satraps or by generals for use in war, to recruit mercenaries or for rewards, or bribery. If a satrap struck gold coins, as in the satraps' rebellion in the time of Artaxerxes II, it was a sign of revolt. Herodotus (III, 90 foll.) tells us that taxes were reckoned in talents, a Greek unit of weight, but the Iranian system is difficult to reconstruct exactly. A **dānaka* was 1/8 of a silver *shekel* or σίγλος (c. 5.6 gm.) a word the Greeks borrowed from a Semitic language as did the Persians; twenty of them equaled a gold *daric*, and ten *shekels* in weight made one weight of a *karsha*, an OP word.[111] The relation of gold to silver was about $13\frac{1}{3}:1$, but it varied as did indeed the weights and measures in various parts of the empire. In spite of the introduction of coinage by Darius, it did not develop and receive wide acceptance any more than the Old Persian cuneiform writing, for the coins usually were accepted only for their metal content and not for any nominal value given to them. Later in the empire Greek coinage became popular, even more than the local satrapal coins of Cilica, Phoenicia or Asia Minor, such that the Attic coinage became

[107] Cf. F. W. König, "Altpersische Adelsgeschlechter," *WZKM*, 31 (1934), 309; 33 (1936), 55; 35 (1938), 35; also see F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* (Marburg, 1895), 398–99.

[108] Usually the OP **hamārakara* collected the taxes and delivered them to an OP **ganzabara* 'accountant,' and the **dipi-bara* 'scribe' recorded the transactions. Other words denoting similar functions occur in various sources, as *gnzsr* 'treasurer' in Aramaic documents. See the various books on Elamite and Aramaic sources noted in the bibliography at the beginning of the chapter. On the whole the satrapal bureaucratic administration copied the central one

[109] See Hinz in *ZA*, 61 (1971), 274; M. Dandamaev, "Forced Labour in Achaemenid Iran," *AF*, 5 (1975), 74

[110] Cameron, *supra*, *Treasury Tablets*, 1–4. The word **ganza*, usually translated as 'treasury,' obviously means 'storeroom' where wine, oil and other commodities were stored and not just precious metals or objects.

[111] On the relationship of **dānaka* to a *shekel* see Cameron, *op. cit.*, 37, 132. On the value of a *karsha* see Brandenstein und Mayrhofer, *Handbuch*, 129, but especially Driver, *supra*, *Aramaic*, 97. On all these wts. and denominations see W. Eilers, "Akkad. *kaspum*, Silber, Geld, und Sinnverwandtes," *Die Welt des Orients*, 2 (1957), 326–67, also E. Schwyzer in *IF*, 49 (1931), 8–28.

almost an international tender, while the eastern part of the empire had little to do with coins until Alexander.[112]

Taxes were many and varied, on markets, livestock roads, etc., and, of course, on land. In Greek sources we find that the revenues of the great king consisted of φόροι 'tribute' and δῶρα 'gifts,' or perhaps better 'taxes' and 'tribute,' which probably would correspond to OP **bāj-* and **hāraka*, whereas a 'gift' would be **dāšna*.[113] Whatever the terms used, state income could be classified as from regular taxes plus tribute, and from expected gifts, most of which were in kind rather than specie. As far as the central government was concerned, state property and the king's private property were intertwined, although details of accountancy are lacking. After the conquest of Babylonia, and presumably Egypt, Asia Minor and elsewhere, state lands in the conquered territories passed into possession of the Achaemenid king, who then gave this land to relatives and friends. Under Darius this process was accelerated and not only the royal family but the nobility held hereditary estates all over the empire. Much of the land was administered by agents such as the banking firm of Murashu in Babylonia, although other lands were given in fief (OP *bāga*) as a reward or payment for military service.[114] In Babylonia traditional feudal lands were called after the form of service 'bow' land, 'wagon' land, or 'horse' land, and the relation of military service to the land tax was complicated, but in any case, land came to be continually divided among the heirs of an owner until by the end of the empire military colonists no longer supplied any military service and the Achaemenids had to rely on mercenaries to fight for them.[115] In land holding as well as high offices, the Persians acquired more and more as time progressed, which cannot have endeared them to their subjects, and revolts were more frequent towards the end of the empire. Land, of course, was measured, registered and taxed extensively.

The lot of the ordinary person was very hard in antiquity, also in the Achaemenid empire, and in Akkadian documents we hear of parents selling their children into slavery to pay debts.[116] Much has been written about slavery in the empire and

[112] See the interesting discussion in R. Curiel et D. Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan, MDAFA*, 14 (Paris, 1953), 16–30. M. Dandamaev, *Historia*, 18 (1972), 45, distinguishes between (1) royal gold coins, (2) satrapal silver coins, (3) provincial silver coins with the same features as (1), and (4) local coinage of people conquered by the Achaemenids.

[113] Cf. W. B. Henning, *AI*, 14 (1977), "Arabisch ḫarāǧ," 355–57. On **bāj-* (attested in Elamite), perhaps originally meaning a 'pot,' see Hinz, [ch. 4, n. 66], 101, 129. On **dašna* see Driver, *op. cit.* [*supra*, n. 111], 43, where another word for 'tax' OP **bara* is also discussed on p. 97. Gifts were usually additions to taxes for special occasions and land taxes were assessed on the productivity of the land, availability of water and other factors.

[114] The literature on banking in Mesopotamia is large; see G. Cardascia, *Les archives des Murašû* (Paris, 1951); M. W. Stolper, "The Genealogy of the Murašu Family," *JCS*, 28 (1976), 189–200; M Dandamaev, "The Domain-Lands of Achaemenes in Babylonia," *AF*, 1 (1974), 123–27, also in 2 (1975), 71–78. On *bāga-* see Driver, *op. cit.* [n. 111], 40, and Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut* [n. 79], 53.

[115] For the Akkadian names see Cardascia, *op. cit.* [n. 114], 7, and Dandamaev, "Lehnsbeziehungen" [n. 48], 41. The land holders in OP probably were called **dahu-pati-*, see Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut* [n. 79], 80, the later *dehkāns* of Sasanian times. O. Klima, "Zur Problematik der Sklaverei im alten Iran," *AF*, 5 (1977), 91, considers the **dahu-pati-* a title of one over a subdivision of a province, which is unconvincing.

[116] Dandamaev, "Kontrakt o sdache vnaem skota, prinadlezhavshego Satrapu Arshamu," *Problemy sotsialno-ekonomicheskoi Istorii drevnego mira*, Sbornik pamyati A. I. Tyumenev (Moscow, 1963), 146, also in detail Dandamaev, "Politische und wirtschaftliche Geschichte," *Historia*, Einzelschriften, 18 (Wiesbaden, 1972), 33–45.

especially about the meaning of the frequent word in the Elamite documents from Persepolis *kurtaš* (OP **grda-*), although originally meaning 'house servant,' in Achaemenid times it meant 'worker,' usually subject to corvée labor, but it seems the word was also applied to slaves, free men, war prisoners and others, hence a general designation.[117] Slave labor was used, especially on the latifundia in Babylonia and especially in Egypt, and after the suppression of revolts there was always an increase in the number of slaves who were deported to various parts of the empire, a continuation of ancient Assyrian practices. Slavery on the Iranian plateau, however, does not seem to have been as profitable as in the lowlands. Cuneiform documents, in Akkadian or Elamite, tell us about the different wages paid to various workers or craftsmen which sometimes varied according to season, demand or geographical location. Groups of workers on large projects, such as building Persepolis, were organized into tens, hundreds or more, under foremen, with scribes and accountants to keep records, evidence of an organized economy.

Trade, of course, flourished under the empire and luxury objects were carried over long distances, with import-export firms such as the house of Egibi in Babylonia financing international trade.[118] Temples, from ancient times, had been large holders of land with slaves, and it seems the temples in Babylonia received a tenth of the produce of all who paid taxes before the time of the Achaemenids.[119] Under the Achaemenids, however, both in Babylonia, Egypt, and undoubtedly elsewhere, although ample sources are lacking, the temples lost their privileged positions, and they had to pay taxes and send their slaves on corvée labor or royal projects. Although the Achaemenids were tolerant in their regard for all religions in the empire, this did not prevent them from levying taxes and other obligations on temples, although there were exceptions and certain temples received privileged treatments.[120]

Even though vast sums of gold and silver poured into the royal treasuries, the advantages of living in one large empire for merchants and craftsmen caused a flourishing of trade and industry. Craft guilds also developed in the towns, much more than in the pre-Achaemenid period, and the guilds became centers of security and power for their members. Possibly the guilds followed the same organization as the associations of feudal tenants called *ḫaṭrū* in Akkadian, but not enough evidence is at hand to determine guild relationships even though information does exist on their workshops, apprentices, patron deities and the like.[121] The huge empire did last more than two centuries so many people must have supported the government, and we may guess that military force was not the main reason for the stability, but perhaps one factor in holding the allegiance of the inhabitants of the empire was the legal system.

It is generally recognized that the Achaemenids preserved the past legal heritage in

[117] For various meanings and references see Dandamaev, *op. cit.* [n. 116], 39–43, and his *Persien* [*supra*, n. 20], 189–94, for references.

[118] Dandamaev, *Historia* [n 116], 50–51. On the house of Egibi, whose activities are not attested after Darius I, see S. Weingort, *Das Haus Egibi in neubabylonischen Rechtsurkunden* (Berlin, 1939).

[119] Dandamaev, "Der Tempelzehnte in Babylonien während des 6.-4. Jh. v.u Z.," *Festschrift für F. Altheim*, ed. by R. Stiehl, 1 (Berlin, 1969), 82–89.

[120] For references see Dandamaev, *Historia* [n. 116], 54.

[121] D. B. Weisberg, *Guild Structure and Political Allegiance in Early Achaemenid Babylonia* (New Haven, 1967), 96–104.

the countries they conquered, especially in Babylonia, while the law of that land, just as the Aramaic language, spread elsewhere in the empire. The new 'laws of the king' (OP *dāta*) introduced by Darius made a great impression on his contemporaries, in the Bible (Daniel VI, 8, etc., Esther I, 19), in Plato (*Epistles* VII, 332B, *Laws*, III, *Alcibiades*, etc.), and of course the numerous borrowings of legal terms in Armenian and Syriac further attest the great influence of the Achaemenid laws in the Near East.[122] Royal judges served in courts to pass on the king's law, according to Herodotus (III, 31; V, 25). The severity of the king's law engendered many stories about punishments, but one must be careful in accepting tales as history. There was a dual system of laws in the empire, the 'king's law' applicable everywhere, and local laws which were codified by order of the king. Akkadian texts speak of the *dīnu* or the *dāta* of the king synonymously, one a Semitic, the other an Iranian word, but originally the former would be used primarily for local law, and the latter for imperial law, almost a distinction between local, religious and secular, and imperial law.[123] Unfortunately nothing of an imperial law code has survived and only inferences can be drawn from cases which appear in Akkadian or Aramaic sources. Nonetheless the laws of the Achaemenid Empire made a profound influence on the ancient world, and the Romans, famous for their laws, were building on the precedent of the Achaemenids and Alexander.[124]

To turn to the power behind enforcement, the army, one can discern a change from the collection of warriors of the Persian people (OP *kāra*) at the beginning of the empire to a professional force (*spāda* in Avestan), the core of which were the merceneries, at the end of the empire. As with the satraps, Persians came to occupy commanding positions in the army, and the officers over Jewish garrison troops in Elephantine, Upper Egypt and elsewhere were Iranians. Local troops, of course, were mobilized in time of war in various centers (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, I, 9, 7; *Oecon.* 4, 6). The army comprised cavalry (*asabāra* 'horseman') and infantry (*pasti-* 'footsoldier'), and a special part of the foot-soldiers were the archers (OP *Θanuvaniya*).[125] The army was divided into units of ten thousand (OP **baivara-*), a thousand, a hundred, ten and five (**pasča-daθapati-* in Elamite transcription).[126] In the Greek sources we hear from time to time of a supreme military commander above the satraps, who frequently

[122] Plato (*Epist.* VII, 332B) considers Darius the lawgiver whose laws preserved the empire.

[123] For a bibliography on law see J. Wolski, *Introduction bibliographique à l'histoire du droit et à l'ethnologie juridique*, ed. by J. Gilissen, A/5 (Brussels, 1965), 15–17, 23–26. For Akkadian usage see Dandamaev, "Bagasarū ganzabara," in *Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft und Kulturkunde*, Gedenkschrift für W. Brandenstein, ed. by M. Mayrhofer (Innsbruck, 1968), 237. For royal cases in the sources see M. Ehtécham, *L'Iran sous les Achéménides* (Fribourg, 1946), 82–84.

[124] The Iranian words which entered other languages relating to law are many, especially in Armenian. In addition to *dāta* we have **dātabara* 'judge,' **frapādaka* 'tribunal,' **patifrāsa* and *frasaka* 'state's attorney' or 'accuser,' *framātar* 'judge,' and many others. Cf. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut* [n. 79], 86, 97, also R. Schmitt, in *Die Sprache*, 13 (1967), 208. For Armenian borrowings, see E. Benveniste, "Mots d'emprunt iraniens en arménien," *BSL*, 53 (1957–58), 61–62.

[125] The spearmen were *arštika* or *arštibāra*, and other words appear for short sword and perhaps 'battle axe carriers' (*vaṣṣabāra*). Cf. G. Widengren, "Über einige Probleme in der altpersischen Geschichte," *Festschrift für Leo Brandt* (Cologne, 1968), 524–27.

[126] On the words see E. Benveniste, "Interférences lexicales entre le gothique et l'iranien," *BSL*, 58 (1963), 41–57. See also Aeschylus, 303–05. The OP word *maθišta* 'greatest' used as 'commander' does not imply a military title.

commanded their satrapal troops, and it is uncertain whether this was a standing post, or only appointed in time of war. Herodotus (VII, 82–83) names six army commanders plus the head of the imperial bodyguard 'the immortals,' as the top officers who led the forces assembled by Xerxes into Greece. Whether this meant that the empire was divided into that number of permanent military districts or not, we cannot determine although it is not impossible. On the other hand, in the army of Artaxerxes II against Cyrus the Younger, only four commanders are mentioned (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, I, 7, 12), which may reflect only those areas subservient to the king and not to Cyrus. The first thousand of the 'immortals' were noble Persians who served as the imperial bodyguard, who according to Herodotus (VII, 41, also 83) carried golden pomegranates on the points of their spears. Their leader was a χιλίαρχος whose position rose very much after Darius and they are portrayed in stone at Persepolis. The archers and cavalry were important for Achaemenid tactics, and in open fields they were very effective, but in hilly areas and narrow valleys, the Greeks, who wore better armor, usually had the upper hand.

The garrisons in unruly provinces such as Egypt or Ionia were composed of soldiers from all over the empire, to judge from the information from the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, and these troops were settled on land given them as military fiefs.[127] This practice of settling troops in places other than their homelands, gave to the Achaemenids support against local revolts and was a factor in the long life of the empire. As time went on, however, the military fiefs were divided and sold and the system broke down. As noted, sometimes commanders of armies outranked satraps with their provincial troops, but towards the end of the empire the separation of civil and military authority was rare and the satraps were more powerful than in the time of Darius or Xerxes and even hired their own mercenaries. The fleets were managed by the Phoenicians (and Cypriots), Egyptians and coastal peoples of Asia Minor, such as the Cilicians and Carians. Soldiers, however, fought on the ships as marines, but in naval tactics the Achaemenids were not experienced. In time it became more profitable to hire professional mercenaries, mostly Greeks, than to rely on local levies whose enthusiasm to serve the Persians declined with economic problems on the land which impoverished many, not the least cause of which was the greediness of Persian officials and landowners. The armies of the Achaemenids at the end of the empire had declined in both spirit and training compared to earlier forces, and devices such as the scythed chariots at the battle of Gaugamela did nothing to restore confidence in victory, and surely the leadership had faltered in its duty.

RELIGION

The question whether the Achaemenids were Zoroastrians or not has brought forth much discussion and controversy, but this presupposes the existence of a modern concept of a 'Zoroastrian religion' in those days, which is erroneous.[128] Both the

[127] See the interesting remarks in Kraeling, *op. cit.* [*supra*, Brooklyn], 32–48.

[128] J. Duchesne-Guillemin, "Die Religion der Achämeniden," *AA*, 19 (1971), 35, surveys the literature pro and con for this question, and again in his "La Religion des Achéménides," in *Historia*, Einzelschriften 18 (Wiesbaden, 1972), 59–82. Cf. M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians* (London, 1979), 48–77, a summary of her forthcoming, *History of Zoroastrianism*, 2, and the article by G. Gnoli, "Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides," *AI*, 2 (1974), 118–90.

followers of Zoroaster and the Achaemenids concentrated their worship on the great god Ahura Mazdā and both did not deny the existence of other deities. Both abhorred 'the lie' and extolled 'the truth,' as we find in the Gathas and in the OP inscriptions. This should be sufficient to indicate that both followed the same religious system, although surely with some differences in beliefs if not so much in cult or practices. Three general factors can be singled out as the background for discussion about the religion of the Achaemenids, first the general Iranian beliefs and practices inherited from Indo-Iranian ancestors, second the message of Zoroaster grafted onto, or mixed with, the former, and finally ancient Near Eastern religions with temples, priests and ancient practices. In time, under the empire the third factor obviously grew in importance, the most striking example of which is the remark by Berossos (*Frg. Hist.* III, C, 391) that Artaxerxes (presumably II because of his inscriptions) was the first Persian king who erected statues of Aphrodite (or Anahita in Iran) in Babylon, Susa and Ecbatana. This development under the Achaemenids parallels what we know of the religious tradition in the Avesta, and further what one would expect from the policy of tolerance towards religions in the empire by the rulers, although religious policy was always subordinate to economic and political policy. The best example of the dominance of political and economic considerations over others was the harsh behavior of Xerxes in Babylonia and Egypt in contrast to his predecessors. The destruction of temples by Gaumata and their restoration by Darius possibly refers to certain cult centers of the Elamites and other non-Iranian peoples on the Iranian plateau, although the details of these actions are unclear.[129] Whether the Magi were originally followers of Zoroaster or not is unknown, but they came to be the priesthood of the Iranians and at any rate later the preservers of the Zoroastrian tradition.

Only Xerxes among the Achaemenid kings showed strong feelings about religion, for not only his destruction of the temple and statue of Marduk in Babylon and his actions in Egypt betray this, but his anti-*daevic* inscription as well.[130] In this he says (XPh, 35–41) "among these lands was (one?) where previously *daivas* were worshipped. Afterwards by the will of Ahura Mazdā I destroyed that *daiva* place, and I proclaimed 'let the *daivas* not be worshipped.' Where previously the *daivas* had been worshipped, there I worshipped Ahura Mazdā in proper ritual."[131] The identity of the *daivas* has been much disputed, from the gods of Babylonia, presumably proscribed after suppression of the revolt, to the Indo-Iranian deities not accepted by

[129] A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago, 1948), 93, followed in more detail by Dandamaev, *Persien* [*supra*, n. 20], 234–37, claim that Gaumata destroyed the temples of the Persian nobility, even though there is no evidence that the Persian nobility had temples or cult buildings whereas the Persian people did not. An indication that both in Persis and in Elam the Elamites first supported Darius and then turned against him in the Behistun inscription are the revolts of Aššina and Martiya, both of whom were deserted by the Elamites, although later they supported Atamaita. Even though Darius restored their temples, some Elamites became disillusioned and turned against the ruler, whereas the Persians at first supported Bardiya and then the pseudo-Bardiya Vahyazdāta.

[130] For a description of his actions and the sources, see Olmstead, *op. cit.* [n. 129], 235–37, and Dandamav, *Persien* [*supra*, n. 20], 240, n. 1088.

[131] The last two words *artācā-brazmaniy* have had many interpretations; cf. J. Duchesne-Guillemin in *BSOAS*, 25 (1962), 336–37, who suggests 'facing *arta*' or '*arta*-wards.' Whatever the interpretation, it means 'in proper ritual and attitude.' I had proposed 'properly with the law (*arta*)' in my *Heritage* [*supra*, ch. 3, n. 26], 127.

Zoroastrians.[132] Xerxes was acting in a more aggressively religious manner than his predecessors which does not, however, prove that he was in any way more 'orthodox' Zoroastrian than other rulers. No matter what the beliefs of the rulers, from the Elamite documents at Persepolis, we see that thoughout the reigns of Darius and Xerxes the deities worshipped in the area were Iranian, Elamite and even Babylonian, as well as rivers and mountains, offerings to all of which were subsidized by the state. We find a priest called Marduniya (Mardonius, a good Iranian name) who sacrifices to the Elamite god Humban (PFT 348), while a *magus* with the un-Iranian sounding name of Ukpiš received rations for a ceremony dedicated to Mithra, a mountain and a river.[133] The ceremony called *lan* in the texts, according to some, was reserved for the god Ahura Mazdā but this is refuted by the texts themselves where syncretism and multi-faceted worship is found.[134] It is not possible to draw general conclusions from the presence or absence of designations of persons in the tablets; for example, of the nine persons called *magus* two have names which are difficult to identify as Iranian, viz. PFT 1798 Limepirde and 1955 Ukpiš, while 757 and 2036 Kurka, also seems difficult to claim that he was Iranian. Among those designated as 'priest' (Elamite *šatin*), too we find names obviously Iranian, such as Mardonius (PFT 348), sacrificing to Humban, the chief Elamite deity. So what conclusions can one draw from the Elamite texts about religions in Fars province? The king, and presumably much of the court, worshipped Ahura Mazdā at least in word if not in deed. But the rulers also not only tolerated, but had rations given for ceremonies and libations to many deities, including rivers and mountains, honored by the local inhabitants or foreign workers at Persepolis. Two words appear in the texts for priests, one Iranian *magus* and the other Elamite *šatin*, but their functions seem to have been very similar, and it is clear there were many religious libations and ceremonies in the daily life of the people, Elamites and Persians, with no great conflicts between them. One may suppose,

[132] For the Babylonian thesis see Duchesne-Guillemin in *Historia*, Einzelschriften, Heft 18, 66, and for the *Stammesgottheiten* of the Iranians see Dandamaev, *Persien* [*supra*, n. 20], 239, who calls Xerxes a follower of Bardiya in this regard Incidentally the old Babylonian triad of gods – Anu, Nabo and Ištar – mentioned by Gnoli (in Duchesne-Guillemin, *op. cit*, 68, and in *AA*, 19 [1971], 29) as a parallel with Iran is highly dubious as any specialist in Mesopotamian religions knows. The best explanation of the *daiva* worshippers is either aberrant Indo-Iranian cults to the east of Persis, or the Elamites in Khuzistan (and Persis), but not Babylonia which revolted and would have been described in the inscription in the usual fashion.

[133] References are to Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets*, [*supra*, Lit.], (PFT). See also my article on "Religion in Fars at the time of the Achaemenids" (in Persian) in *Chahâromîn kongreye tahqîqât-e Irânî*, ed. by M. H. Iskandarī (Shiraz, 1353/1975) 2, 218–21.

[134] The meaning of the *lan* ceremony is unknown, but it seems to have been a general religious ceremony with offerings in which all participated, although it may have been Elamite in origin. Cf. H. Koch, *Die religiösen Verhältnisse der Dareioszeit* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 181. Unfortunately, Koch is mistaken in various details, e.g. p. 178 that Mithra does not appear in the tablets (*sic*), and 158, n. 200, where she implies that Persian Magi only worshipped Ahura Mazdā, but in PFT 1957, Irdazana a Persian *magus* conducts a religious ceremony for the Elamite deity Turma and Mithra not for the *lan* ceremony, while another *magus* (PFT 1955) received rations for Mithra and for a mountain and a river. Furthermore to say (p. 138) that no *lan* ceremony was performed for Elamite deities is incorrect, e.g., see tablet no. 773. Thus offerings are made to many spirits, which is characteristic of folk religions.

however, that gradually the Iranian deities, with the great Ahura Mazdā above all, replaced the others and Iranian rites and rituals became dominant.

Burial customs always have been an index of religion, although interpretations based solely on archaeological finds must be supported by other evidence. All dead bodies decay, and the disposal of them is incumbent on all societies. Cremation, mummification, exposure or burial were the usual methods of disposal, all of which removed decaying matter from the living, thus avoiding pollution. Gradually the practice of exposure of the dead, which Herodotus (I, 140) says was practiced mainly by the Magi, came to be the accepted way of disposal, although others (presumably royalty and nobility) were covered with wax before being buried. Some scholars suggest that the rite of exposure and the collection of the bones in an *astodan* or ossuary was native to eastern Iran and Central Asia and then was gradually adopted in western Iran, although even in Asia Minor of the Achaemenid period archaeological evidence of this practice is found.[135] In any case, even the embalming of bodies and placing them in stone receptacles was considered adherence to a belief not to pollute the earth with decaying matter, and the mode of disposal of the dead should not be used to prove or disprove the Zoroastrian belief of the defunct. We know where the Achaemenid kings were interred at Naqsh-e Rustam and at Persepolis in rock-cut tombs, with rock-cut places for family members covered with stone covers.

When we turn to the Aramaic inscriptions on the mortars and pestles and plates of green chert found at Persepolis we find a picture different from the Elamite tablets, for the names seem to be all Iranian, and a certain fondness for the theophoric names in "Mithra", at least much more relatively than in the Elamite tablets, indicates at least that Mithra was not proscribed at Persepolis. The inscriptions, however, are merely records of registration of the objects, possibly cut or fashioned in different rooms of the 'treasury' at Persepolis.[136] What is clear, however, is that these objects in green stone were made for cultic purposes rather than for culinary aims since the numerous mortars and pestles were hardly used just for crushing seeds or nuts. On the other hand, they do not seem to have been used much, if at all, and the Aramaic inscriptions written in ink were placed mostly on the heads of pestles, an unlikely place for an inscription on an object to be used.[137] In other words, the stone which came from Arachosia in eastern Iran may have been made into mortars, pestles, plates and trays by Arachosians as presents or tribute for the Achaemenid king who had them registered and deposited in the 'treasury' of Persepolis, but never used them. So the promise of any new material on the religious picture at Persepolis in the inscriptions on these objects seems to have evaporated.

Fire probably was an important feature of religious ceremonies for the Iranians as well as for the Elamites who had special priests for the fire ceremonies.[138] Since at

[135] S. Shahbazi, *The Irano-Lycian Monuments* (Tehran, 1975), 125–27 and 154–56. Xanthus (*FHG* I, 42; *Frg. Hist.*) says that Persians claim they learned from Zoroaster the rule against burning dead bodies or defiling fire, which may be correct.

[136] Cf. the book by Bowman [*supra, Aramaic*], and the convincing interpretation of the inscriptions by J. Delaunay, "A propos des 'Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis' de R. A. Bowman," in *AI*, 2 (1974), 193–217.

[137] Bowman, *op. cit.* [*supra, Aramaic*], 1–5, 16, 44–52.

[138] On the Elamite 'fire' cult see F. W. König, *Die elamischen Königsinschriften*, Archiv für Orientforschung, 16 (Graz, 1965), 58, and the 'fire watcher' of the Persepolis treasury tablet, Cameron, *PTT* [*supra*], 7, no. Fort, 3126.

Persepolis, no temple or altars have been found, we may conclude that on the whole the court did not pay much attention to religion, and that royal religious ceremonies were performed on smoothed platforms in the stone in the open on the heights above the platform, as Herodotus (I, 131) said of the Persian sacrifices. The answer to the question regarding the religion of the Achaemenids is that it was in the general Mazdā worshipping framework of which Zoroaster himself was a part, but towards the end of the empire many influences, especially Babylonian, possibly because of the Babylonian mothers and concubines of later kings, came into Achaemenid beliefs and practices. But certain priests maintained what they thought were proper rites and rituals, and there may have been a school of Avesta learning at Persepolis which both resisted and compromised with other beliefs and practices. How much influence priests who called themselves followers of Zoroaster had upon royal pupils is unknown.[139] One may speculate that by the time of Alexander the Great the Magi had become the 'Zoroastrian priests' for many if not most Iranians in the empire, and had begun the amalgamation process which was to result in the fixed text of the Avesta and the rites and rituals as we know them in Sasanian times.

THE CAPITALS

The first capital of the Achaemenids was Pasargadae where Cyrus lived in palaces surrounded by parks and gardens with a citadel or platformed area about which we know much, thanks to excavations.[140] Much has been written about the palaces, the tomb of Cyrus and the enigmatic ruined building called the Zendan which has a copy at Naqsh-e Rustam near Persepolis. These two structures have been designated as fire temples, tombs, or archives where copies of the Avesta or royal paraphernalia, perhaps for coronation ceremonies, were kept, but no conclusive evidence about their function has been found.[141] The theory that they were both fire temples has been almost abandoned, since no fire temple of a similar structure can be found for comparison, and the stone doors and lack of windows make any internal fire altar most dubious. Since deep traces of much usage of the doors on both are evident, the theory of a tomb does not appear likely, so we are left with a structure either where a dead body was prepared for last rites or it was a kind of safe for objects. In either case it was reserved for royalty, and since the Zendan is said to be older in date than its counterpart the Ka'bah of Zoroaster at Naqsh-e Rustam because of the use of tooth chisels on the latter, but not on the former, one may suggest that the structure at Naqsh-e Rustam was erected by Darius after moving his 'capital' from Pasargadae to Persepolis.[142]

[139] Plato in *Alcibiades* I, 122, says a future king was taught Magian lore by Zōroaster son of Ōromaz. On the 'Avestan' school in Persis see K. Hoffmann, "Das Awesta in der Persis," *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, ed. by J. Harmatta (Budapest, 1979), 89–93; also my "Religion in Fars under the Achaemenids", in *Mélanges pour J. Duchesne-Guillemin*, ed. by P. Lecoq (Louvain, 1984)

[140] See Stronach, *Pasargadae*, *op. cit.*, n. 1, *passim*; C. Nylander, *Ionians at Pasargadae* (Uppsala, 1970); and A. Sami, *Pasargadae* (in English), (Shiraz, 1971).

[141] On the various theories see E. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 3 (Chicago, 1970), 34–49, and Stronach, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 132–36.

[142] On the chisel marks see C. Nylander, "The Toothed Chisel in Pasargadae," *AJA*, 70 (1966), 373–76, and Stronach, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 99–100.

Following archaeological discoveries there is good reason to believe that on the plain of Marvdasht, a number of palaces had been built with gardens and parks similar to Pasargadae before Darius conceived Persepolis.[143] Having seen the architectural splendors of Babylonia and especially Egypt, Darius apparently resolved to build a magnificant complex of palaces on a large platform as a summer capital, but also as a royal symbol of the power and glory of the Persians in their homeland. Darius started building on the platform c. 520 B.C. and work continued on it until the end of the dynasty, although the first three rulers did the most.[144] The platform was called a fortress (in the Elamite tablets *birta*, OP *dīda*), but it was more a ceremonial area than a military center, for the king and his courtiers probably lived most of the time in the palaces at the foot of the acropolis when they stayed in Persis. The ruins of Persepolis have provided material for innumerable books and articles on the art, architecture, royal ideology and much more. The whole area was surely occupied and on the platform embassies were received and all who came were impressed, for such was the intention of the builders, the Achaemenid kings. We cannot discuss the many theories that Persepolis was constructed according to certain astronomical orientations, or that it was solely a ritual city, for these sometimes fascinating observations have little bearing on history.[145] Likewise the implications of OP words relating to buildings at Persepolis (and Susa) such as *tačara* 'summer palace,' *hadiš* 'royal residence, or seat' *apadāna* 'courtyard,' and others have produced voluminous writings which have enriched our knowledge of Achaemenid times but again cannot be discussed here.[146] The false idea that the Greeks knew nothing about Persepolis before Alexander is refuted by Ctesias who uses the name Persis for both the site and the province, and by the notices of Strabo 727–28, Diodorus XVII, 68–71, and many others who, though later writers, quote earlier sources.

Susa has been excavated by French archaeologists for almost a century and much has been learned about the winter capital of the Achaemenids, which rich city was probably so designated first by Darius.[147] The uncovering of new palaces and the first Achaemenid sculpture in the round, of Darius, has provided much new material for reconstructing our picture of this winter capital. At both Susa and Persepolis many artisans and workmen from all over the empire constructed and decorated the buildings; perhaps never since the ancient pharaohs of Egypt had so many workers labored on the construction and embellishment of royal structures, and an inscription gives details about the precious stones, cedar from Lebanon, and other materials used in construction and which people worked on the various projects (Darius, Sf). Babylon was another place of residence in the winter and Ecbatana in the summer,

[143] A. B. Tilia, *Studies and Restorations at Persepolis and Other Sites of Fars*, 2 (Rome, 1978) 73–91.

[144] Cf. A. S. Shahbazi, "New Aspects of Persepolitan Studies," *Gymnasium*, 85 (Heidelberg, 1978), 487–500, and his "From Parsa to Taxt-e Jamšīd," *AMI*, 10 (1977), 197–207.

[145] W. Lentz und W. Schlosser, "Persepolis – ein Beitrag zur Funktionsbestimmung," *ZDMG*, 121 (1971), 254–68, also talks by A. U. Pope, J. George, and S. Shahbazi's observations on the number of steps in the great staircase and other measurements.

[146] On these terms see W. Eilers, "Die Ausgrabungen in Persepolis," *ZA*, N. F., 19 (53) (Berlin, 1959), 248–60; G. Ito, "On the Function of Darius' Palace (*tačara*) at Persepolis," *Memoirs of the Faculty of Letters*, Kyoto University, 13 (1971), 1–23.

[147] Arrian III, 16, 7, and Curtius V, 2, 10–12, and the many volumes of the Délégation archéologique Française en Iran, as well as the *Cahiers*.

but neither one had money lavished on them as did Persepolis and Susa, both of which were particularly symbolic of Achaemenid power and majesty.

XERXES AND STAGNATION

The reign of Xerxes was a period of consolidation of the foundations built by his father, but it was also a change of direction in both the religious and ruling policies of his predecessors, and the beginning of a stagnation and decline in various features of the Achaemenid Empire. In an inscription at Persepolis (XPf) Xerxes, whose throne name seems to mean 'ruling over heroes,' says that Darius had other sons, but his father made him greatest after the king, and in this and other inscriptions it is clear that Xerxes was very much in the shadow of, and under the influence of, his father.[148] According to Herodotus (VII, 2) and Aeschylus (753), Xerxes was the son of Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, whom Darius married after coming to power. It is idle to speculate on harem intrigues which may have induced Darius to select Xerxes as his successor, but it is significant that he made Xerxes his crown prince, and presumably his representative in Babylon, although cuneiform documents do not reveal this. They do tell us that Darius probably died in November, 486, B.C., and Xerxes succeeded him, but a few months earlier Egypt had revolted from Achaemenid rule and Xerxes had to re-establish control over that rebellious satrapy before he embarked against Greece.[149] Xerxes was successful in Egypt and changed the policy of his father, who had subsidized and built temples and had employed Egyptians in high positions. Xerxes apparently stopped all of these, and Herodotus (VII, 7) says he laid a heavier yoke on the Egyptians than his predecessors.

Babylonia followed Egypt in revolt, the reasons for which are unclear. Cuneiform tablets in Akkadian indicate two rebels were recognized as rulers in Babylon in the fourth year of Xerxes, one called Bel-shimanni and the other Shamash-eriba.[150] Xerxes was able to suppress these revolts, and he changed the traditional titles on documents there: 'king of Babylon, king of lands,' to an additional 'king of Persis and Media,' an indication that the Achaemenid ruler had changed his attitude towards Babylonia, and although some modern scholars describe Xerxes' destruction of Babylon in vivid detail the sources are silent about this. In any case, Xerxes is most remembered for his invasion of Greece, which began in the spring of 480 B.C. The battles of Thermopylae, Salamis, and Plataea are well known, and much has been written about them based on Classical sources. There is nothing to add from the Persian side, except to caution against the inflated numbers of the Achaemenid forces given in Greek sources. The military discipline and better armament of the Greeks were important factors in their victories. The later invasion of Asia Minor in the late summer of 479 and the decisive defeat of Achaemenid forces at Mykale ended the first

[148] We do not know the personal name of Xerxes. For an assessment of his character see M. Mayrhofer, "Xerxes, König der Könige," *Almanach der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 119 (Vienna, 1969), 158–70.

[149] For dates of rule of the kings see Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.* [n. 64], 17–19. On Egypt see Kienitz, *op. cit.* [n. 36], 67. An analysis of the reaction of Greeks to Xerxes' invasion of Greece in their literary writings is given by W. Kierdorf, *Erlebnis und Darstellung der Perserkrieg*, Hypomnemata 16 (Göttingen, 1966), 130 pp.

[150] Parker, *op. cit.* [n. 56], 17.

phase of Greek-Persian hostilities, and the Persians, now on the defensive, turned to intrigue and bribery to repair their blunders in the field.

We hear no more of Xerxes either in the field, as on the expedition against Greece, or in new endeavors. The book of Esther in the Bible and Aeschylus' *Persians* give an unflattering portrayal of Xerxes, who is said to have retired to his harem after the defeat of the Persians at the hands of the Greeks. The politics of Themistocles, Pausanius and others, accused of being pro-Persian, is part of Greek history and need not detain us here. The steadily growing Greek cultural influence in the western part of the Achaemenid Empire, especially in Anatolia, can be seen in monuments, in inscriptions and art objects, while Greek craftsmen were active at Persepolis, where Xerxes did so much construction, and elsewhere.[151] Xerxes was probably in Persepolis when he was murdered in the summer of 465 B.C.

Ctesias (29–30) gives an account of the murder of Xerxes by a certain Artabanus and a eunuch, Spamitres, who then told one son Artaxerxes (whose personal name was Cyrus according to Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*, XI, 6, 1) that Xerxes had been killed by his brother Darius, the crown prince. Artaxerxes then had his brother killed and assumed the throne, apparently after dispatching both Artabanus and Spamitres.[152] Probably an uprising broke out at the death of Xerxes, reported by various Classical sources as that of a son of Xerxes in Bactria, but which was quickly suppressed.[153] The earliest cuneiform tablets dating from the reign of Artaxerxes (throne name meaning 'rule by rectitude') begin in June 464 and end in December 424, a long reign. Since Herodotus does not extend into the reign of Artaxerxes we are left with only a few scattered fragments. Artaxerxes, unlike his father, left few remains in Persepolis, and apparently he spent more time in Susa and possibly elsewhere on the plateau.

Egypt revolted again in 460 and a certain Inarus, who had been in control of Libya, soon became ruler of most of the country of Egypt, and for the account of events we rely on Ctesias (32–35), who unfortunately is hardly a reliable source.[154] The Athenians aided Inarus, but Megabyzus, a noble Persian, with the aid of some

[151] Cf. Nylander, *op. cit.* [n. 140]; J. Hofstetter, *Die Griechen in Persien* (Berlin, 1978).

[152] S. Shahbazi, "The Persepolis Treasury Reliefs Once More," *AMI*, 9 (1976), 151, claimed to have first proposed that the bas-relief of a seated king and his crown prince seated behind him in the treasury of Persepolis represented Xerxes and his crown-prince Darius, rather than Darius and Xerxes as had been hitherto assumed. In reality, first, both myself and H. von Gall independently came to this conclusion before Shahbazi, and second, his further reconstructions and identifications in the article above are subject to doubt. For example, Diodorus (XI, 69) says Artaxerxes slew his brother Darius, although here Shahbazi rejects Diodorus while accepting him elsewhere. In my article, "Persepolis Again," *JNES*, 4 (1974), 383–86, submitted to the journal in *1972*, shortly after the discovery by G. Tilia that the two reliefs had been removed from the Apadana and put in the Treasury in Achaemenid times, I perhaps too boldly had suggested that Darius had been involved in the murder of his father because of Herodotus (IX, 108) explained by Olmstead, *op. cit.* [n. 129], 289. Shahbazi rejects all of this, presumably as Greek calumny. It is difficult to know which source is telling the truth and rather than dogmatically assert my own views as right, it would be better to reserve judgment since we do not know. Shahbazi's confident assertion that Artaxerxes had no part in the murder of his brother is based on the assumption that Iranian rulers would not stoop to fratricide. For a later dating of the transfer of the relics see P. Calmeyer, *AMI*, 9 (1975), 78–79.

[153] References in Olmstead, *op. cit.* [n. 129], 290, n. 3.

[154] J. M. Bigwood, "Ctesias' Account of the Revolt of Inarus," *Phoenix*, 30 (Toronto, 1976), 19.

Egyptians who had not supported the revolt according to Thucydides (I, 104, 2), reconquered Egypt. The new satrap of Egypt Arsames (O. P. Aršāma) helped to defeat the Athenian fleet which had come to the assistance of the Egyptians, and by 454 B.C. Egypt was again in Persian hands, but not completely or firmly, and it was only by the peace of Kallias between Athens and the Persians that Greek interference in Egypt was ended. Nonetheless in Libya and the western delta some Egyptians still maintained independent rule not under Persian jurisdiction, as we learn from Herodotus (II, 30 and III, 15) who visited Egypt at this time. Egypt was a center of unrest throughout Achaemenid rule, and since it was located far from Persis, opportunities for independent actions of the Egyptians were many, but information is very sparse throughout the fifth century B.C. Nonetheless, throughout the rule of Artaxerxes I it seems that Egypt on the whole remained loyal to the Achaemenids and not until 404 B.C. in the time of Artaxerxes II did Egypt successfully revolt and maintain independence for some sixty years.

The peace of Kallias, named after the Athenian ambassador to the Persians, has been mentioned, and this was an important event in the reign of Artaxerxes I, which established a *modus vivendi* between the Ionian cities under the Delian league, which was really an Athenian empire, and those under Persian rule. This peace in 448 B.C. gave a certain prosperity to both sides, with an agreed non-interference by each in the affairs of the other.[155] Also during the reign of Artaxerxes I may be placed the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem by Nehemiah, but one must be careful in accepting much of the information in the Bible as fact, especially when it refers to the royal court and the roles of various people in it even though certain details, as in the book of Esther, betray more than a casual acquaintance with affairs of court. There is no point here in examining the stories of court intrigue reported by Ctesias, for even though interesting they only reveal the decadence and greed of the royal family. Records from Babylonia show the increasing control of land by the Persian nobility, a situation undoubtedly matched elsewhere in the empire. As long as tribute and gifts came to the Achaemenid court, however, the satraps were allowed to rule practically with free hands. Anatolia, on the other hand, was especially important for the Achaemenids, since the Greeks were enemies and when Tissaphernes was made commander of all forces on the Aegean Sea coast, he was above the satraps in rank. In 408 B.C. he concluded a truce with Athens indicating his position over that of the satraps, a situation, however, applicable only to Ionia, or perhaps to other frontiers of the empire where a supreme military command was necessary.

It should be borne in mind that our sources are Greek and they naturally place great emphasis on matters of interest to the Greeks, and it is only by chance that a remark is made that throws light upon internal affairs of the empire. We know about frequent revolts in Anatolia, Cyprus and Egypt, but the corresponding picture of a quiet and monolithic Iran is hardly true. A revolt of the Medes occurred at the beginning of the reign of Darius II according to Xenophon (*Hellenica* I, 2, 19), while the Cadusians on the Caspian Sea revolted about 405 B.C. (II, 8, 13), and we may surmise that many

[155] The terms of the treaty are discussed in detail by Olmstead, *op. cit.* [n. 129], 311. The date of the treaty, 448 or 449 B.C., is in dispute; cf. M. Heichelheim, "Geschichte Kleinasiens" in *HO*, 2, Keilschriftforschung und alte Geschichte Vorderasiens (1966), 35–36.

other internal revolts took place about which we hear nothing. From Babylonian cuneiform tablets we can infer the general and steady economic decline and the growing impoverishment of the people. With high interest rates of 40 or 50 percent on loans, usury was rampant, and many were the victims of both the ruinous taxation and the special levies for the suppression of revolts, or gifts to the royal court. The Babylonian and Egyptian (mostly Aramaic) documents tell us of ordinary life, whereas the Greek historical sources on the Persians are primarily about court intrigues or details of battles, with little concern for the ordinary subjects of the empire. Consequently it is very difficult to construct a picture of ancient Iran on the basis of two kinds of foreign sources. Furthermore we can never determine whether conditions in Babylonia and Egypt also obtained in the heartland of the Achaemenid empire, and it would be dangerous to infer that the conditions of land tenure, taxation and the like, in Mesopotamia also applied to Persis, the Achaemenid homeland, thus we are reduced to conjecture and surmise. We may be certain that taxes such as tolls on roads, market taxes on animals, and many others were manifold and oppressive everywhere.

The work of M. Dandamaev on Babylonian cuneiform documents of the Achaemenid period indeed has given us a picture of economic and social conditions in Mesopotamia, especially in regard to slavery and forced labor under the Achaemenids.[156] The result of this research is that various kinds of slavery and forced labor existed in different parts of the empire, and the Elamite word *kurtaš* in the cuneiform documents meant 'workers' in general but under different conditions, many serving a term of forced labor on royal estates, others enslaved prisoners of war, and even free workers earning wages. It is interesting that at Persepolis under Xerxes the *kurtaš* received payment according to the work done irrespective of their legal status, and the rewards here were higher than elsewhere.[157] Land ownership under the later Achaemenids also underwent a change from the earlier periods. The granting of 'feudal' lands to officers and soldiers, mentioned in the sources as 'bow land,' 'horse land' and 'wagon land,' began soon after the Achaemenid occupation of Babylonia, but the constant division of those lands among heirs impoverished the descendants of the military fief holders. By the end of the fifth century the military obligations of these settlers had fallen in abeyance, and mercenaries had taken over much of the military needs of the Achaemenid empire.[158] Obviously there are many details which cannot be discussed in a general book, but the picture we have of impoverishment of land holders in Babylonia probably is true of most of the empire in the last century of its existence.

The involved system of tax collecting in Babylonia, where feudal obligations and other taxes were managed by banking firms, such as Murashu and sons at Nippur, the Egibi family in Babylon and others, is fascinating in revealing an economic life based on credit and loans with modern features. When we remember that the introduction

[156] See especially a series of his articles in *AF*, 1 (1974), "The Domainlands of Achaemenes in Babylonia," 123–27, and "Forced Labour in Achaemenid Iran," 2 (1975), 71–78, and his book *Rabstvo v Vavilonii VII–IV vv. do n.e.* (Moscow, 1974), Cf. also O. Klima, "Zur Problematik der Sklaverei im alten Iran," *AF*, 5 (Berlin, 1977), 91–96.

[157] Dandamaev, *AF*, 2 (1975), 78.

[158] Dandamaev, „Lehnsbeziehungen" [n. 48], 37–42.

of payments in money, indeed coinage itself, is an Achaemenid phenomenon, then the significance of greatly expanded commercial and banking activities can be appreciated. It is not too much to suggest that the spread of a money economy played an important role in the stability of the Achaemenid empire and continuing allegiance to it. The traditional explanation of the fall of the empire as the result of abuses of their positions by those in power, the decadence and corruption at court and among the aristocracy, combined with a fall in the standards of living of the common folk, can be further documented by Babylonian tablets.[159] The ever growing taxation and the greed of Achaemenid officials, just to mention two factors, helped to undermine the expansion of agriculture and irrigation, trade and commerce and handicraft production, which had characterized the early *pax Achaemenica*, which had provided prosperity for many subjects.

DECLINE OF THE ACHAEMENIDS

The first half of the fourth century B.C. is almost a complete blank in our history of Iran, and of the entire empire. Inscriptions are rare and Classical sources also reflect little of the internal affairs of the empire, while the Babylonian documents cease. This latter situation represents a change in recording from clay tablets to papyri, leather, or ostraca with Aramaic writing instead of cuneiform, which came to be restricted to temples and the activity of priests who copied and recopied ancient spells and charms or religious texts. Scholarly articles dealing with Babylonia in the late Achaemenid period are characteristically scant in the information they provide and without sources one is reduced to conjecture.[160] Likewise Egyptian, Aramaic and Anatolian (primarily Lydian and Lycian) inscriptions give us little new information which can be used for historical purposes. One development of Achaemenid weakness, though nowhere expressly stated in sources, was the increasingly independent actions of satraps, especially those in Anatolia. One has the impression that they negotiated with Greeks much as they pleased, with or without royal sanction, which was sought only when needed. The varying fortunes of Athens and Sparta and the activities of the satraps of Sardis following Tissaphernes – Tithraustes, Tiribazos, and Autophradates – again are part of Greek or Anatolian history and shed little light on inner-Iranian history.

Egypt became independent from the Persians about the time of the revolt of Cyrus the younger, and it remained so until 343–342 B.C. when Artaxerxes III reconquered it. Even though another 'King's peace,' the peace of Antalkidas (the Spartan envoy to Artaxerxes II) in 387 B.C. had left the Ionian cities of Anatolia and Cyprus to the Achaemenids, the cultural and economic influence of Greece greatly increased throughout Anatolia, and the political control of the Achaemenids was greatly weakened compared to the previous century. The shifting of policy from friendship with Sparta to Athens under Konon meant neither a strengthening nor a weakening of Persian power but rather a full participation in the ever-shifting fortunes of Greek

[159] Dandamaev, *Rabstvo* [n. 156], esp. 28–44.

[160] For example, M. Meuleau, "Mesopotamien in der Perserzeit," in H. Bengtson, ed., *Griechen und Perser*, Fischer Weltgeschichte, 5 (Frankfurt/M, 1965), 330–55. Even the cuneiform sources of the house of Murashu cease after Artaxerxes II, and in general we have very little from Babylonia in the later Achaemenid period.

politics, as another 'King's peace' of 371 indicates. The real weakening of Achaemenid power, however, came from the independent actions of the satraps in Anatolia.[161]

About 368–367 B.C. the satrap of Cappadocia, Datames, openly proclaimed his independence from central authority, but the Classical sources do not give a clear picture of the causes and the course of the rebellion. The time-honored practice of the court, setting one satrap against another, after initial success in the end failed, and Ariobarzanes, satrap in Daskylion, joined Datames in revolt, and still another revolt broke out when Aroandas (Orontes), satrap of Armenia, was ordered to go to Mysia. Autophradates, satrap at Sardis, kept his loyalty to Artaxerxes II, but the success of the rebels led him too to change sides, and he was joined by local dynasts such as Mausolos of Caria. Diodorus (XV, 90) claims that the coalition included all of Anatolia, the Spartans, Egyptians, Phoenicians, and others. Aroandas became the leader of the rebels, but then he betrayed his colleagues to the king and the revolt collapsed. Even the Egyptian rebel ruler Takhos was overthrown by the Egyptians and made his way to the Achaemenid court where he was forgiven (XV, 92). In the fighting between satraps Greek mercenaries were the main forces, an indication of the decline of local military power.

By 362 B.C. peace had been restored and both Datames and Ariobarzanes were killed, although the son of Datames, Sysinas, received his father's satrapy to rule while Aroandas received much of the Aegean coast. Mausolos and others were forgiven. The Achaemenid Empire had not collapsed thanks to the inability of the rebels to work together. Artaxerxes II was murdered in 359 and succeeded by Ochus, one of his sons, who succeeded in killing most of his near relatives and taking the throne name Artaxerxes III.

The new king was a cruel but strong ruler, and he resolved to curb the power of the satraps, one of which, Artabazos, an Achaemenid prince, had been satrap at Daskylion in Phrygia. He and Aroandas in Mysia refused to disband their Greek mercenaries at the order of the king and revolted. The newly appointed satrap in Phrygia, Tithraustes, together with Autophradates of Sardis and Mausolos were ordered by the king to crush the rebels, but Athens supported the rebels who initially were successful against the royal forces. Then Artaxerxes threatened Athens with war, and Athens withdrew support of the rebels. Thebes took the place of Athens in support of Artabazos, but after a few successful encounters this coalition disintegrated and Artabazos fled to Philip of Macedonia about 353 B.C., while Aroandas remained a rebel. Nonetheless, most of Anatolia returned to obedience to the Achaemenids, enabling Artaxerxes to turn his attention to Egypt. It seems that he earlier had successfully suppressed a revolt by the Cadusians and possibly other Iranian peoples, since they are found later in his army (Diodorus XVII, 6, 1).

On the way to Egypt the royal army had to reconquer Phoenicia which had been free from Achaemenid rule, but the campaign in Egypt was more difficult than foreseen. The chronology is uncertain, but after much fighting the Persians had to

[161] The standard account of the Anatolian revolts by W. Judeich, *Kleinasiatische Studien* (Marburg, 1892), 190–297, is still the most detailed account, to be corrected by Heichelheim, *op. cit.* [n. 155], 35–40. See also M. Mayrhofer, "Kleinasien zwischen Agonie des Perserreiches und hellenistischem Frühling," *Anzeiger der OAW*, 112 (1975), 274–82, who discusses a trilingual inscription from Xanthos.

retreat from Egypt about 350 B.C. which led to a new revolt in Phoenicia. By 345 Phoenicia was reconquered and placed under the satrap governing Cilicia Mazaios or Mazdai, as he is called on his coins with Aramaic legends.[162] The reconquest of Egypt was led by the king himself, and his army had many Greek mercenaries from cities other than Athens and Sparta, and they fought against other Greek mercenaries on the Egyptian side. The Achaemenid mercenaries won in 343 B.C., and the Egyptian leaders fled to the south to Upper Egypt. Egypt had returned to Persian rule, but it was not entirely subdued, while the quick capitulation of the land to Alexander the Great indicates the attitude of the Egyptians towards Achaemenid rule.

In Greece, many had preached urging Greek unity against the Persians, the most famous of whom was the Athenian Isocrates (between 436–338 B.C.). In his panegyrics (esp. 161–62) he urged the Greeks to unite in a pan-Hellenic union, but many preferred Persian friendship and gold to cooperation with their neighbors, and it was left to the Macedonians to enforce the unity. The Achaemenid Empire was ripe for the plucking in many respects, political, economic, social and even religious, to which questions we may briefly turn.

It must be emphasized again that the Iranian satrapies of the empire cannot be compared with Babylonia and Egypt, for Achaemenid attempts to make a unified system of weights and measures, roads and postal system, currency, taxation, etc. were not successful everywhere, and each satrapy had an independence in these matters. A unified coinage, for example, did not exist, as we see from the proliferation of satrapal issues in the fourth century, all in the western part of the empire. The east, it seems, had no coinage, and we may suppose that the pastoral and agricultural societies continued to exist much as ever, with little connection with events on the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean coasts. Revolts were surely frequent even in the east, but there is no evidence of risings to regain liberty by an Iranian ethnic group or nation, such as the movements for independence of Egyptians, Phoenicians or Ionians in the west. From the booty secured by Alexander, it seems clear that the Achaemenid courts became ever growing treasury houses of precious metals and luxuries from all over the empire. The gold coins or *darics* of the royal house were used to hire mercenaries, or for bribery. Unfortunately, we have no sources to report the effects of the hoarding of gold and precious objects by the rulers on the economy of the empire, but it hardly can have been propitious. The loss of tax revenues from Anatolia, the Syrian coast and Egypt, as well as India, must have hurt the royal treasury and caused a heavier load on the provinces still loyal to the Achaemenids.[163] In Babylonia, the only province where only sparse information about prices of goods, slaves, etc. can be found, one can venture a surmise that the existing gap between the Achaemenid aristocracy and the subject population grew more and more in the fourth century as

[162] On the Phoenician resistance see J W. Betlyon, "A New Chronology for the Pre-Alexandrine Coinage of Sidon," *ANSMN*, 21 (1976), 28–35, with references.

[163] The date of the loss of the satrapies of the far east (India, Sattagydia, Gedrosia) cannot be determined, but by the time of Alexander all of the areas from the Hindukush region to the east had no Achaemenid satraps, and no evidence exists that they had been part of the empire for years before his invasion. Cf. F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die Aramaische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden* (Frankfurt/M, 1963), 127.

compared with the earlier years of the empire.[164] Just how far the 'feudal' lands of the great Achaemenid aristocracy grew in the various parts of the empire is impossible to determine, but scattered notices in Classical sources give the impression that such land holdings increased rather than decreased. With rebellions and losses in wars in the fourth century the economy of the empire was hardly prosperous. On the other hand, the growing number of Iranian names in high positions all over the empire, and in lower positions, too, imply a spread of control everywhere of Iranians over the local populations.[165] Yet this bureaucratic domination does not seem to have greatly influenced the life of the subject peoples, since after Alexander vestiges of Persian culture and influence in non-Iranian areas do not appear in sharp relief. What seems certain is that already before the coming of Alexander, Greek influence was much stronger than Iranian in the western part of the empire, while Greek coins apparently were accepted even in the easternmost provinces.[166]

In religions, the oft mentioned change in the religion of the Achaemenids from the time of Darius to Artaxerxes II, on the basis of the appearance of Mithra and Anahita in the royal inscriptions, may be more apparent than real. On the other hand, to suppose that there was no change in the religion of the Persians throughout the life of the empire is also exaggerated, for the religious outlooks of the Greeks, Hebrews, Babylonians and others changed, hence no development on the part of the Achaemenids is most unlikely. The *Zeitgeist* of the fourth century B.C., one would imagine, favored syncretism, or at least mutual influences between religions, and we may postulate a greater reciprocity of influences in the Near East at that time than earlier. The influence which Zoroastrianism had on Judaism cannot be proved in detail, but the parallels are so striking in the conception of angels, dualistic ideas and eschatology that an independent development is most unlikely.[167] Likewise the erection of statues to Anahita is surely an Iranian borrowing from the religions of the ancient Near East. Questioning of the authority of ancient deities was in the air everywhere in the fourth century and probably the divinely sanctioned power and authority of the great king were likewise in doubt, while the background for the flourishing of mystery and savior cults of the Hellenistic age was already prepared by the end of the Achaemenid period. Much has been written about a 'Zoroastrian' calendar which many scholars believe was introduced into Iran by Artaxerxes I in 441 B.C. based on an Egyptian model, but this date rests on conjecture. Aramaic documents from various parts of the empire indicate that the Babylonian calendar was used throughout the existence of the empire and the use of different names for the months does not prove the introduction of a new calendar.[168] The use of the calendar to prove a change in the religion of the Achaemenid under Artaxerxes I is not valid

[164] Cf. the summary in J. Oelsner, "Krisenerscheinungen im Achaimenidenreich im 5. und 4. Jahrhundert v.u.Z.," in E. C. Welskopf, *Hellenische Poleis*, 2 (Berlin, 1974), 1049–63.

[165] See the names in W. Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferung* (Leipzig, 1940), and for Asia Minor A. Goetze, *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients: Kleinasien* (München, 1957), 210–12.

[166] See Schlumberger, *op. cit.* [n. 112], 6–30.

[167] Cf. R. Frye, "Qumran and Iran," in J. Neusner, ed., *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults*, part 3 (Leiden, 1975), 167–73, with further references.

[168] E. J. Bickerman, "The Zoroastrian Calendar," *AO*, 35 (1967), 204–05, with further references.

and should be discarded. The development of cults and various practices, including syncretistic beliefs under the later Achaemenids, on the other hand, is plausible even though the evidence so far is lacking. Probably the Zoroastrianism which we know from the Sasanian and later periods was the religion of the majority of Iranians even at that time, though not necessarily the faith of the members of the Achaemenid royal family, nor the popular religion of many villagers in different parts of Iran. The supposition of abrupt or contradictory changes in Zoroastrianism of Achaemenid times, based on an enigmatic word or reference here and there, is hardly warranted, and it is easier to assume continuity, albeit with modifications and adoption of new rituals and practices, than fundamental changes. Obviously the spread of practices, such as the exposure of the dead to vultures, took much time before it became a religious ordinance, the breaking of which was a grave sin. To brand a burial from Achaemenid times as non-Zoroastrian involves an error of imposing 'orthodox' practices of later Zoroastrianism on earlier periods, and should not be assumed automatically. The converse, however, evidence for the exposure of bodies, would lead an archaeologist to declare that the deceased were Zoroastrians, since we have no evidence that non-Zoroastrians practiced this in the Iranian world.

Tied somewhat to religion is the question whether allegiance to the house of the Achaemenids weakened towards the end of the empire. We have seen the growth of serious revolts against central authority, the spread of Greek culture and ideas, and the excesses of both the court and the Persian aristocracy. All must have combined to reduce the influence or even legitimacy of the great kings in the eyes of many of their subjects, including Iranians, witness the many revolts of the Cadusians. Possibly of great significance was the usurpation of power by a eunuch Bagoas who had his master Artaxerxes III Ochus poisoned, and then placed one of his sons Arses on the throne in 338 B.C. But Arses tried to wrest control of affairs from Bagoas and lost his life to the poison of the eunuch after less than two years of rule. So in 336 B.C. the last Achaemenid prince in direct line had perished without leaving a son. Bagoas, unable to become king himself, looked around for an Achaemenid whom he might easily control, and he selected a grandson of Ostanes, brother of Artaxerxes II, known in Greek sources as Codomannus or Darius III. Shortly afterwards Bagoas was killed by Darius, but the harm to royal prestige already had been carried out by Bagoas; and even though the last Darius at first showed himself to be capable, when Alexander appeared on the scene, the fame and glory of the Achaemenids could not be restored. Darius did reconquer Egypt, however, which had broken away again from Achaemenid rule after the death of Artaxerxes III, but its submission to Alexander by the satrap Mazakes without resistance indicates the tenuous hold the Persians had over Egypt.

Meanwhile in Greece, Philip of Macedonia had defeated the Greek city states at Chaeronea, the same year that Artaxerxes III was murdered, and he took over the leadership of a united Greek crusade against Persia. The intrigues of Philip, Athens, Achaemenid satraps and the great king are part of Greek history. The murder of Philip in 336 B.C. before the re-conquest of Egypt by Achaemenid forces brought a lull in diplomatic activities, and undoubtedly Darius at first did not consider Alexander a serious threat, since he did not actively support Athens in her search for aid in an uprising against the Macedonians. Demosthenes tried to persuade the

Athenians that Alexander represented a greater threat to Greek liberties than Persia, but he failed, especially after Alexander crushed the Greek revolt and destroyed the city of Thebes. The Macedonians crossed the Hellespont and invaded Asia and the end of the empire was in sight.

Perhaps here one may speak briefly of the legacy of the Achaemenids in the lands which they occupied for such a long period. From the Elamite documents and Aramaic papyri from Egypt we gain some insights into a huge empire which did try to unite all the peoples in it with some common features, one of which was law. The concept of a universal 'king's law' over the local 'laws' of subject peoples was a legacy which the Romans followed and which, as far as we know, was an innovative feature of Achaemenid rule.[169] It is obvious, of course, that the Achaemenids borrowed heavily from the ancient Near East, especially Babylonia, in constructing their institutions and bureaucracy; for example, in the domain of law the parallels between the Babylonian *ardu* 'slave' or 'menial' and Old Persian *bandaka*, both juridical persons who could own property and occupy high posts, is striking. The 'empire' and the 'great king' impressed the Greeks even though they were enemies. This did not change the Greek esteem for themselves as opposed to the 'barbarians,' and the Persian continuation of earlier despotism could not have found favor in Greek eyes. The Jews, on the other hand, fared well under the Achaemenids, which speaks for some cultural or religious affinity of the two peoples.[170] The lack of sources is especially frustrating for the dark period of the last century of Achaemenid rule, and there is little hope of new discoveries of source materials. In art, too, the clues to the meaning of Achaemenid creations must be sought in symbols, many undoubtedly age-old Near Eastern symbols which had lost their meaning by Achaemenid times. In any case, the art was never personal; it was not so much a certain king who is portrayed on stone but 'kingship.' The anthropocentrism of Western art is not found here. Likewise there is an absence of religious art in Iran, where decoration is more important than function. So form and symbolism are characteristics of Achaemenid art, and by the time of the Sasanians, the heirs of the Achaemenids, the symbolism for the most part had been reduced to forms, the forerunner of Islamic art.

It is perhaps in the memory of the great oecumene – the one world of the Achaemenids – that the greatest legacy is found, for Alexander, who usurped the role of 'world hero' from Cyrus and his successors, nonetheless was following in their footsteps, and that conception was passed to posterity by Alexander, perhaps the real heir of the Achaemenids.

[169] Josephus in his *Contra Apion* (II, 270–71) says that Apollonius had a high regard for the laws of the Persians.

[170] See H. Kreissig, *Die sozialökonomische Situation in Juda zur Achämenidenzeit* (Berlin, 1973) and P. P. Backroyd, *Israel under Babylon and Persia* (Oxford, 1970).

CHAPTER VI

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND THE SELEUCIDS

Literature: The literary sources are all Greek or Latin, since this period of the history of Iran would be almost a total blank if we depended on other sources. Discussion of the lost histories of Alexander by Ptolemy, Aristobulus and Clitarchus is important but that is the task of a Classicist, while the surviving works of Arrian, Quintus Curtius, Plutarch, Diodorus and Justin-Trogus may be combed for occasional details about Iranian affairs. The coinage of Alexander is well summarized by A. R. Bellinger, *Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great* (New York, 1963). Other than this literature, for Iran we have the 'folk literature' of the Alexander Romance in the *Shâhnâme* and in many Arabic, Armenian, Syriac and Persian works from the Islamic period. These show the change in the view of Alexander by Iranians from a hated conqueror to an Iranian hero who was a scion of the Achaemenid family by a secret marriage between Philip of Macedonia and an Achaemenid princess. There is a vast literature on the Alexander romance, but for its Oriental versions consult the old but still useful F. Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage bei den Orientalen* (Leipzig, 1851), 72 pp., and J. A. Boyle, "The Alexander Legend in Central Asia," *Folklore*, 85 (1974), 217–28, for further references. The change in Alexander from a negative, enemy figure to an Iranian hero is discussed by A. Abel in "La figure d'Alexandre en Iran," *La Persia e il mondo Greco-Romano*, Acad. dei Lincei, Quaderno 76 (Rome, 1966), 119–36. Whether the Sasanians were those responsible for again changing the figure of Alexander from a positive to a negative personality is difficult to determine, but more likely it was a gradual change over centuries. The Romance is of significance here only to show the Iranian attitudes towards Alexander, and has little or no historical value.

The geographical literature in Greek and Latin, which gives more than mere geography, is especially important for this period of history, not only Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy (for the last of which see I. Ronca, *Ptolemaeus Geographia*, 6, 9–21, *Ostiran und Zentralasien* [Rome, 1971]), but also fragments of geographers found first in C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1855), then in *Frg. Hist.*, and A. Riese, *Geographi Latini Minores* (Heilbronn, 1878). The *Lexicon* of Hesychius in the edition of K. Latte in 3 vols. (Copenhagen, 1953–79) is useful for names, as is the *Ethnika* of Stephan of Byzantium, ed. by A. Meineke (Berlin, 1879). For the geography of the Iranian plateau or Central Asia there is nothing comparable to the study on northern Iraq by L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie Orientale et pays adjacents* (Paris, 1962), or even H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen* (Strasbourg, 1904). The *Tabula Peutingeriana*, a medieval map, ed. K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (Stuttgart, 1916) and the Ravenna cosmography, ed. J. Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana* (Leipzig, 1940), with his translation (Uppsala, 1951), both give geographical names from an earlier period of history, although identifications of place names are frequently most difficult. The work of J. Marquart (Markwart) is found in his bibliography by H. H. Schaeder in Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), *53–61, while the older study by W. Tomaschek, "Zur historischen Topographie von Persien," *Sb WAW*, 102 (1883) is still very useful for geographical identifications in Iran and Central Asia.

Greek inscriptions from the Iranian plateau are collected in the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, ed. by J. J. E. Hondius and A. G. Woodhead (Leiden, 1923–); in the *Revue des Études Grecques* and *Hellenica* both by L. Robert, adding to the old *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, by W. Dittenberger (Leipzig, 1903). The few Aramaic or heterographic inscriptions may be found in R. Degen und W. Müller, *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* (Wiesbaden, 1972–) with extensive bibliographies.

Art and archaeology titles may be found in L. Vanden Berghe, ed., *Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (Leiden, 1979), 256–70. The two extensive archaeological excavations of interest for this period are Ay Khanum in northern Afghanistan and Seleucia on the Tigris. For the former we have P. Bernard, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum*, MDAFA, 21, 2 vols. (Paris, 1973), and many articles on the progress of the excavations in yearly reports of *CRAI*. Seleucia was excavated before World War II by L. Waterman, and we have a series of reports in the University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, vol. 32 by N. Debevoise on *Parthian Pottery*, vol. 36, on *Stamped and Inscribed Objects* by R. H. McDowell, vol. 37, on *Coins* by McDowell, and vol. 45 *Clay Figurines*, by W. van Ingen (Ann Arbor, 1939). More recently we have Clark Hopkins, ed., *Topography and Architecture of Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1973). The excavations of Dura Europos on the Euphrates are mostly concerned with the Parthian period

and do not help us much for earlier times. General works are *L'Orient Hellénisé* by D. Schlumberger (Paris, 1970) for art, and E. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique*, 2 vols. (Nancy, 1967) which supersedes the older works of E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 2 vols. (London, 1902) and A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Séleucides*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1914). Will speaks of the technical problem of ruling the vast domain of the Seleucids with relatively few Greeks and Macedonians, and a 'human' problem of the co-existence of the newcomers with the established population, and what one might call two groups wielding local authority sometimes in cooperation, at other times in opposition. The book by S. K. Eddy, *The King is Dead* (Lincoln, Neb., 1961) investigates evidence for local opposition to Hellenic imperialism and concludes it was almost wholly a religious resistance, though this oversimplification is dubious. The classic work of E Bikerman, *Institutions des Séleucides* (Paris, 1938), is still the best on the subject, but internal affairs in the east are hardly mentioned in it. The two syllabi, one for the Sorbonne by A. Aymard, *Les grandes monarchies hellénistiques en Asie après la mort de Seleucos I*[er] (Paris, 1965), 212 pp., and the other for Yale by C. Bradford Welles, *The Hellenistic World, A History* (New Haven, 1961), 142 pp., are both interesting for students to read but are little more than summaries.

Since only archaeology provides any new material for this time period, the book of D. Schlumberger is especially important for new vistas in material culture. The excavation of Ay Khanum has revealed the strength of Greek institutions, language and culture, in the far-flung city foundations of Alexander and the Seleucids, and Schlumberger rightly underlines the strong persistence of Hellenism in the distant Orient long after the disappearance of Greek rule. The small seaport of Failaka, or ancient Ikaros, in the Persian Gulf off the coast of Kuwait, also provides evidence of the extensive Greek influence on architecture in Seleucid times. Cf. K. Jeppesen, "A Royal Message to Ikaros" in *Kuml*, 9 (Aarhus, 1960), 153–98.

The site of Khalchayan, on the right bank of the Surkhan Darya near present Denau in the Uzbek SSR, although extending into later periods, also gives some architectural information, supplementing Ay Khanum, on Seleucid rule in Central Asia. Cf. G. A. Pugachenkova, *Khalchayan* (Tashkent, 1966) and her *Skulptura Khalchayana* (Moscow, 1971). The erratic writings of Franz Altheim, while containing many vignettes of interest and value, must be used with extreme caution. See his bibliography, ed. by E. Merkel (Frankfurt/M, 1958), and with additions in his *Festschrift, Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben*, ed. by R. Stiehl, 1 (Berlin, 1969). Obviously, various articles on the results of excavations, on coinage, or other special subjects provide additions to our knowledge of the Seleucids in Iran and Central Asia, but little change need be made in the scheme of coinage made by E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints* (New York, 1938). *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards* (New York, 1973) by M. Thompson, O Mørkholm and C. Kraay, is not as valuable for Seleucid history as for other Hellenistic kingdoms, but one should note that the concentration of Greek settlements on major trade routes is clear from the hoard finds. On the cities founded by the Seleucids, the work by V. Tscherikower, "Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Großen bis auf die Römerzeit," *Philologus*, Supplementband XIX, Heft 1 (Leipzig, 1927) is still the classic work, but add the extensive discussion on cities in eastern Iran and Central Asia by G. A. Koshelenko, *Grecheskii Polis na ellinisticheskom Vostoke* (Moscow, 1971), 113–60, with texts of inscriptions found in the east. In the sources, much confusion exists about the identifications of the various Alexandrias, not all of which were founded by Alexander the Great, for some later rulers used his name just as in the case of coinage. For Alexander's policy towards the Persians, the articles by H. Berve, "Die Verschmelzungspolitik Alexanders des Großen," *Klio*, 31 (1938), 135–68, supplemented by E. Badian's "The Administration of the Empire," *Greece and Rome*, 12 (Oxford, 1965), 166–82, provide the best analysis.

ALEXANDER IN IRAN AND CENTRAL ASIA

The conquests of Alexander are the best known campaigns of ancient history and the enormous literature about him and his deeds makes any account of his actions redundant here.[1] We shall be concerned here only with the impact of Alexander on

[1] An excellent and detailed survey of both sources and secondary works on Alexander is provided by E. Badian in "Alexander the Great, 1948–67," *The Classical World*, 65 (1971), 37–83, plus his "Some Recent Interpretations of Alexander," *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*, 22 (Geneva, 1976), 279–303; J Seibert, Alexander d. Gr. (Darmstadt, 1972) [a survey of literature about Alexander]; see also H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage*, 1 (Munich, 1926), 253–76, a most convenient reference work on the Greco-Macedonians and Iranians active in the time of Alexander.

Iran and Central Asia, and at the onset we may ask two questions: how did Alexander treat the Iranians who comprised the satraps and upper ruling group of the Achaemenid Empire and how did the Iranians regard Alexander and his successors? The last may be viewed through the sparse and scattered bits of evidence we find in our sources, or in the eastern versions of the 'Alexander Romance.'[2] Obviously no analysis of the Classical sources, nor of Alexander's campaigns, of his character or dreams, can be made here and only the Iranian views need be considered for this volume.

When we remember that Iranian, and especially Persian, nobles dominated the government of the Achaemenid empire, we may ask what happened to them? In Asia Minor all of the Iranian satraps were replaced by Macedonians, or by native dynasts such as the princess Ada in Caria, and the same policy was followed in Syria and Egypt. When Alexander came to the east after the battle of Gaugamela, however, his policy changed, and he re-appointed Mazaios, the important satrap of Syria and Mesopotamia under Darius III, over Babylonia. A number of questions arise, however, which are not easy to answer: first whether Mazaios was really the Achaemenid satrap of the 'Fertile Crescent,' or most of it, at the time of Alexander's conquest, and a second question, why Alexander appointed him satrap of Babylonia.

Mazaios was the ruler of Syria and northern Mesopotamia at the time of Alexander's invasion, whereas his earlier post as satrap of Cilicia under Artaxerxes III had already established his authority to issue silver coins in his own name. We may conjecture that Mazaios took advantage of the weakness of the empire under the last Darius to consolidate and expand his own power and influence. In any case, Mazaios as the satrap of the *northern* part of the 'Fertile Crescent' had to bear the brunt of fighting against Alexander between the battles of Issus and Gaugamela, and at the latter battle he commanded the right wing and almost defeated Alexander.[3] Mazaios was certainly an important Persian noble, but it was probably his ability and bravery, as well as the believable report in Curtius (IV, 16) that Mazaios after the battle fled to Babylon with his troops and took charge of the city, which enhanced his position. When Alexander came, Mazaios surrendered to him and was named satrap of Babylonia (Arrian III, 16, 4; Curtius V, 1, 44). That he was allowed to issue similar coinage to the series he had struck while governor of Cilicia and later Syria has been proposed, with the reason for this unusual procedure being an agreement between Mazaios and Alexander involving the surrender of Babylon to the latter.[4] This suggestion seems a more likely reason for Mazaios' right to continue his striking of satrapal coins than Alexander's respect for a brave enemy or any other sentimental reason. The numismatic evidence for these coins having been struck in Babylonia after Gaugamela, however, is most uncertain and until numismatists uncover hoards

[2] Some Iranian sources are specific in their anti-Alexander statements, that he burned the Avesta, killed some of the priests and learned men of Iran, extinguished fires, and was a great destroyer. For the references see M. Boyce, *Zoroastrians* [ch. 5, n. 128], 78, (where the 'Frataraka' temple at Persepolis was built after Alexander, not before his invasion). Whether 'mass slaughters' of priests took place, however, is highly dubious and the Zoroastrian tradition may be overly tendentious in this regard.

[3] E. W. Marsden, *The Campaign of Gaugamela* (Liverpool, 1964) is a military analysis with little concern for politics or anything else.

[4] Cf. A. R. Bellinger, *Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great*, ANS, Numismatic Studies, 11 (N.Y., 1963), 61–64, where other literature is given.

and more firm evidence the coinage should not be used to substantiate a presumed policy of Alexander in granting such a right of striking coins to subordinates. In any case, Mazaios was the first noble Persian to be appointed by Alexander to an important post. His power was circumscribed, however, by the appointment of two Macedonians, one in charge of the army and the other to collect taxes (Arrian III, 16, 4; Curtius V, 1, 43; Diodorus XVII, 64, 5). Nonetheless, with this move Alexander had appointed a prominent official of the old government to a high post, and whether the conqueror acted out of a sense of desire for conciliation or the need to have an experienced local person, whose wife may have been a Babylonian to judge by the names of his two sons, in charge of local government cannot be determined. We also cannot decide the identity of the person who may have struck coins in the time of Alexander somewhere east of the Euphrates with Aramaic legends bearing his name *mzdk*, identified by some as the Achaemenid satrap of Egypt who surrendered to Alexander and then joined his court.[5] These coins, with the Attic owl on the reverse, are so enigmatic, however, that they cannot be used in any historical identifications. These coins may be indications, however, of Alexander's pragmatism in not instituting quick and momentous changes in the coinage of the lands he conquered. Since the rulers of the satrapies for generations had been Persians, Alexander perforce had to turn to Persians with experience in rule rather than to Babylonians or others. Furthermore, since Babylonia was regarded by the Achaemenids as a place of winter residence while their homeland, the Iranian plateau, was more suited for summer, Alexander may have considered the battle of Gaugamela the key to the whole east, of which Babylonia was the most populated and richest part of the 'Iranian part' of the empire, and therefore his policy towards the conquered may have been revised.

This point of view brings us to the oft-disputed theory that Alexander preached the idea of the 'unity of mankind,' in his conquests, a kind of *leitmotif* for his 'crusade.' In spite of the writings of W. W. Tarn and others, there is more evidence for a proposed Iranian-Macedonian partnership in rule than for any universal 'equality' or policy of 'conciliation' directed towards all conquered peoples.[6] It is hardly possible, of course, to enter the mind of Alexander, but he probably realized that some sort of cooperation with the Iranians was needed to secure and maintain his rule in the east. A survey of the satraps appointed by Alexander supports this contention. After Babylon, Alexander confirmed the satrap of Susa, Aboulitēs, in his post, since he had surrendered the treasures of the city to Alexander, but here too he left several of his own officers as commander of the garrison, collector of taxes, and others (Curtius V, 2, 16). The ruler of the land of the Uxii (read: Ḫuzi) was a relative of Darius called Madates (Diod. XVII, 67, 4; Curtius V, 3, 4) who resisted Alexander in the mountains and presumably was either killed or at least removed from his rule of the province. The satrap of Persis, Ariobarzanes, also offered strong resistance to the Macedonians, but after defeat he fled to the north and eventually with his father Artabazos and his brothers surrendered to Alexander, who, however, did not reward him with another position. In Persis, after the burning of Persepolis, Alexander

[5] *Ibid.*, 66, with further references.

[6] W. W. Tarn, *Alexander*, 1 (Cambridge, 1948), 146 foll. Few scholars today would maintain that Alexander set the stage for the later ideas of world brotherhood or unity supposedly preached by Zeno and the Stoics.

appointed a Persian Phrasaortēs as satrap apparently with the usual controls and checks of Macedonian or Greek officers at his side to collect taxes and insure order. Thus the pattern is repeated, of keeping the Iranian governor as a figurehead with the real power in the hands of the conquerors. At Persepolis, the Persian in command of the site, Tiridates, was also reinstated in his position with a Macedonian garrison (Curtius V, 6, 11). According to Arrian (III, 19, 2), Oxathrēs, son of Aboulitēs, was made satrap of Paraitakene, the land north of Persis, the chief city of which was Gabai or Isfahan. In Media Alexander appointed a certain Oxydates as satrap under the same conditions as other satraps, and in Parthia and Hyrcania (*hodie* Gurgan) he named Amminapes, a Parthian who had accompanied Alexander on his expedition from an exile in Macedonia. Shortly after the former satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania, Phrataphernēs, surrendered to Alexander, after the death of his king Darius III, Alexander reinstated him in his old post and removed Amminapes. Another satrap, Autophradates, was also confirmed in his rule of the Caspian Sea province of the Tapuri (medieval Tabaristan). Satibarzanēs, satrap of Aria (Herat) had assisted Bēssos, the satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana in the murder of Darius III, but had then surrendered to Alexander who confirmed him in his satrapy. But this satrap revolted and after much fighting was killed. This was the beginning of a resistance to Alexander by the satraps of the east who did not submit but opposed the conqueror, and since Darius was dead and Alexander had taken his place, the satraps who did not submit probably were considered by many as rebels to their rightful ruler.

Alexander's policy of placing an Iranian as satrap over a conquered province with Greco-Macedonian generals and troops beside him was continued, on the whole, also in the farther east, although we find a Macedonian Menōn made satrap of Arachosia after the Iranian satrap Barzaentēs, one of the murderers of Darius III, had fled to India. In the Hindukush region to the north, an Iranian called Proexēs by Arrian (III, 28, 4) was made the satrap and in Bactria another, Artabazos, in place of Bēssos, who had proclaimed himself Artaxerxes IV, successor of Darius, and had become the leader of the opposition to Alexander in the east. In the border areas of Sogdiana in the north and India to the east Alexander did not find satraps but rather principalities which may have owed some allegiance to the Achaemenids, but which were really independent. In these areas Alexander had to fight more than elsewhere, not because of an Iranian 'national revival' as has been claimed but because of virtual independence from Achaemenid rule, the local rulers unwilling to submit to a new centralized authority. Both on the Central Asian and the Indian borderlands of the Achaemenid Empire little more than a nominal allegiance had been given the Achaemenids. This is indicated by the earlier incorporation of Sogdiana, which was virtually independent, into the satrapy of Bactria, and by the difficult fighting which Alexander had to do in this part of the world. The subsequent revolts of the Sogdians and Bactrians after they had been subdued by Alexander put a severe strain on the Macedonian army (Arrian IV, 1, 5; Curtius VII, 1, 14). It was in Bactria and Sogdiana that Alexander had to establish strong garrisons to maintain his rule, but strangely he did not make a Macedonian governor, rather granting the combined satrapy to Artabazos in 330. At the latter's request, because of old age, Alexander in the winter of 328 did replace him with a Macedonian Amyntas, and large contingents of troops had to be left under Amyntas to maintain Macedonian rule, while Alexander marched to India (Arrian

IV, 22–3). It is highly probable that more recruits, or mercenaries as Curtius (VII, 10, 11) calls them, had to be brought from the west to replace losses and to provide needed garrison troops. Some of the replacements came unwillingly, if we are to believe the report that the garrison of Bactra revolted on hearing a rumor of the death of Alexander in India and unsuccessfully sought to return to their European homelands (Curtius IX, 7, 2). Thus, a new pattern emerges of relying on Iranian officials to run the provinces of the Achaemenid Empire which were secure under central authority, whereas the frontier areas in the east, he soon discovered, needed a strong new administration of Macedonian officers and troops to insure continued allegiance to Alexander. Only a strong presence of Greco-Macedonians could guard those frontiers against nomadic enemies, as well as hold down the local population who had held little or no loyalty to the old Achaemenid government, and consequently showed the same attitude towards the heirs of the Achaemenids. For only military force could create a new allegiance among the settled folk to the new rulers against the nomads of the steppes.

The growing 'Orientalization' of Alexander, well described by Arrian (VII, 6, 2), was really a 'Persianization, or an Achaemenidization,' at least in regard to matters such as clothes, customs and various practices, such as the oft-disputed proskynesis. The latter, it is now recognized, had nothing to do with the divinization of Alexander which was a Greco-Macedonian problem and not an Iranian one.[7] The prostration of menials, or the raising of the hand to the mouth on the part of nobility before the ruler was customary among the Achaemenids and elsewhere, and the Greco-Macedonians did not change this practice among the Iranians no matter how much disputed it may have been for the Westerners. Alexander's attempts at conciliation with the ruling Persians undoubtedly met a favorable response among many who retained their positions, but the majority of Iranians, we may suppose, regarded Alexander as a usurper. The policy of intermarriage between Greco-Macedonian officers and Iranian noblewomen culminating in a great banquet at Susa (Plutarch, *Alex.*, 70; Arrian VII, 4, 4) may have been part of the hope of Alexander that a mixture between Greco-Macedonians and Iranians would produce a progeny able to rule the vast empire. From the sources, it seems that Alexander went out of his way in favoring the Iranians so as to bring them to partnership in rule. The selection of many noble Iranians as his *συγγενεῖς* 'kinsmen' angered his Macedonian generals and companions, who resented the advancement of the Iranian nobles to equality with them (Arrian VII, 11, 6), while several Iranian contingents in the army received a status equal to the *ἑταῖροι* or 'companions' of the king (Arrian VII, 6, 4) at least in the eyes of some Macedonians.[8] Much has been written about the intentions of Alexander, and the eventual mixture mentioned above seems to have been his intention, but during his lifetime a dual status of two ruling peoples appears more likely, for obviously he needed the existing bureaucracy to run the empire, and the seeds of a kind of 'double rule' of the Seleucids, best exemplified in the double use of

[7] On proskynesis see J. P. V. D. Balsdon, "The 'Divinity' of Alexander," *Historia*, 1 (1950), 380–82, and Feodora von Sachsen-Meiningen, "Proskynesis in Iran," in Altheim, *Hunnen*, 2 [ch. 5, n. 68], 126–27, and 152–54.

[8] On the resentment and mutiny of the Macedonians against the advancement of Iranians in Alexander's service, see E. Badian, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind," *Historia*, 7 (1958), 428.

the Greek and Aramaic languages, were laid by Alexander. Iranian satraps were reinstated as heads of the provincial bureaucracies while the military power was in the hands of Alexander's officers. The conquered eventually had to be integrated into the army formations with Macedonian weapons, while the practices and customs of the conquered had to be respected by the foreign, Greco-Macedonian soldiery. Thus, we hear of the adoption of Iranian dress and practices by the conquerors, but it was the other way in military matters such as the adoption of Macedonian spears by units of Iranian soldiers in Alexander's army, as well as young Iranians organized into a special bodyguard on a Macedonian model (Arrian VII, 6, 1). Berve has discussed the mutual adoption of practices by Macedonians and Iranians in some detail to which little need be added.[9]

To conclude that Alexander was deliberately seeking to counter the power and influence of his Macedonian officers in favor of Iranians is hardly correct, for the conqueror was equally capable of removing those whom he came to mistrust. It is most likely that Alexander trusted only those who were fully beholden to him for their positions. The incorporation of local troops into the Macedonian army, of course, was a necessity, especially after the severe fighting in Central Asia and before the campaign in India, since losses, and the need to settle troops in garrison towns, called for more and more reinforcements. So the policies of Alexander were based on expediency and a desire for stability to be achieved by placing in military and administrative positions only those who were personally loyal to the conqueror, and who quite naturally adopted many trappings of the Achaemenid rule Alexander had displaced. Yet Alexander did not have to copy the past, for he must have considered himself greater than the Achaemenid kings, since he had not only defeated Darius but had conquered more territory than they had held.

At the end of Alexander's life many of the satraps he had confirmed in office had been changed.[10] In Babylonia Mazaios had died and for a time Stamenes had followed him to be succeeded about 324 B.C. by Arkhōn, a Macedonian. At that time also the Persian satrap of Susiane was executed because of failure to come to the aid of Alexander on his march back from India, and was replaced by Argaios, then by Koinos, a Macedonian. In Persis, Phrasaortēs had been succeeded by Orxines who was executed by Alexander on his return from India for his mismanagement of the province and again a noble Macedonian, Peukestas, was appointed. In Media, Oxydates had been made satrap by Alexander but was replaced c. 328 B.C. by Atropatēs, who made such an impression by his length of rule that the northern part of his realm took his name, today Azerbaijan.[11] Parthia-Hyrcania remained in the hands of Phrataphernēs throughout the life of Alexander and only after the death of the former

[9] H. Berve, "Die Verschmelzungspolitik Alexanders des Grossen," *Klio*, 31 (1938), 135–68. His statement on p. 147 "Neu dagegen ist, daß an der Stelle lokal-einheimischer Elemente Männer aus dem persischen Adel herangezogen werden," is not apparent, since the distinction between 'Persian' and 'Iranian' nobility had more or less collapsed by the end of the Achaemenid Empire. See also the studies by F. Hampl, W. W. Tarn and F. Schachermeyr in G. T. Griffith, ed., *Alexander the Great*, the main problems (Cambridge, 1966).

[10] For the following, the reference work by Berve, *Das Alexanderreich* [n. 1] is used and no page references are given since they are easy to find.

[11] Z. I. Yampolskii, "Ob Atropate-sovremennike Aleksandra Makedonskogo," *VDI*, 2 (1974), 176–77, suggests that Atropates had not been a satrap of Media under Darius III but an independent ruler, which may be correct.

(c 321 B.C.) did a non-Iranian Philippos take his post, and apparently the Caspian areas of the Amard and Tapur people were joined to Parthia-Hyrcania. About 328 B.C. Stasanor was satrap of Aria or the Herat area plus Seistan, while Sibyrtios, former governor of Kerman, was given the combined satrapy of Gedrosia and Arachosia, while Tlepolemus took over Kerman. The satrapy of the Parapomisos or Hindukush had been under Greco-Macedonian control as had been India. Thus we find a drastic change from the beginning of Alexander's conquests in the east, but we do not know why. Was Alexander following the advice of his Macedonian officers? This is unlikely since he continued until the end of his life to favor Iranians, including their clothing and customs. Did the change mean that he could no longer find Iranians whom he could trust in high positions, or did he realize that a division of authority in the provinces between Greco-Macedonian military and Iranian secular leaders would not work? The order, early in 324, to the satraps and commanders to disband all their mercenary forces indicates that Alexander was fearful of possible revolts against his authority. In any case, the result of Alexander's actions was to pave the way for the retention of power by the Macedonians after his death such that the Hellenistic age brooked no competition from Iranian dynasts trying to exert their influences on the main course of history. Likewise the release of many mercenaries only made the Hellenistic age one of competing generals hiring mercenaries to fight their battles. For the conquests of Alexander had shown the success of well-organized professional armies against any popular, conscript armies. The masses of different local levies could not stand before a small, tightly knit army, and Alexander had put the seal on that development.

Some scholars have supposed that the satrapy of Persis continued to pay no taxes, as under the early Achaemenids, but there is no evidence that this privilege was either in force at the end of the Achaemenid empire, or existent under Alexander. The satrap of Persis, Peukestas, was infamous among Macedonians for his adoption of Persian customs and learning the Persian language (Arrian VI, 30, 3 and VII, 22, 3).

THE AFTERMATH OF ALEXANDER'S DEATH

The great conqueror died in early June 323 at the age of thirty-two at Babylon, and the question of continuity was pertinent. The administration of the empire had continued the Achaemenid model with satrap, military commander, and tax collector as the three important divisions of provincial authority, and at the time of Alexander's death from the sources we infer that non-Iranians had replaced Iranians in these offices in most of the provinces. Whether this represented a new policy change is uncertain, but most people were reconciled to this state of affairs, and Iranians had been integrated into the army as well as into the bureaucracy. There was neither any pretender to the Achaemenid throne nor any great center of resistance to the order which Alexander had imposed. For the Classical scholar inner-Greek and Macedonian conflicts are of prime importance, but for Iranians both were their rulers, and in the context of Iranian history they are combined as the Greco-Macedonian conquerors. Some scholars have suggested that Alexander's close friend Hephaestion was a prime minister or vizier of the empire on the basis of Arrian's description of him as χιλίαρχος ἐπι τῇ ἵππῳ τῇ ἑταιρικῇ (VII, 14, 10), but the title 'commander of the

Companion cavalry' as well as what we know of Hephaestion's activities do not show him exercising wide administrative functions which one would expect in a vizier.[12] On the other hand, we do have the express statement of Diodorus (XVIII, 48, 4) that the title chiliarch (Old Iranian **hazārapati-*) meant second in authority in the Achaemenid Empire, but it seems more likely that the military position of the chiliarch or 'chief of the royal guard' became second in importance after the king at the end of the empire, rather than to suppose that an administrative position equivalent to the vizier of Islamic times always existed under the Achaemenids. It has been argued in great detail that Xerxes, when he said of his father in his Persepolis inscription (XPf, line 31) *pasā tanūm mām maθištam akunauš* 'after himself made me the greatest,' was in fact referring to the position known from later times as the 'second after the king.'[13] Since Xerxes was the crown prince, and the inscription does not imply an existing title, it would be stretching the information provided by the statement of the inscription into an established position equivalent to the later vizier. It is more likely that Diodorus is referring to the great importance of the chiliarch under the later Achaemenids rather than to an established administrative position. Such, it seems, was the case of Hephaestion, who was Alexander's alter ego, but not his vizier.[14] The personal seal of Alexander, on his deathbed was given to Perdikkas (Arrian XVII, 117, 4; Curtius X, 5, 4) which, however, did not indicate that the close relationship which Hephaestion had with Alexander was transferred to Perdikkas. It also did not mean that the latter succeeded Alexander, as we well know from following events. Under the eyes of Eumenēs of Kardia, the secretary of King Philip and then of Alexander, we may assume that the Achaemenid bureaucracy continued, with, however, two new features, the introduction of the Greek language and the military colonies and towns founded by Alexander.

The process of 'Hellenization' many times has been compared with the 'Westernization' of the Orient in modern times. How much one should push this analogy is open to question, but the position of the Greek language in the successor states of Alexander's empire does bear a resemblance to English in the latter part of the twentieth century. Just as today knowledge of English has been adopted by a new 'middle' class of Iranians, so at that time Greek served a similar function, and language, rather than religion, race or any other criterion, was the key to distinctions. Greek had started already in Achaemenid times as a kind of *lingua franca* in the western part of the empire, and Alexander's conquests spread the use of the language to India and Central Asia. To be sure, as a written language the use of Aramaic continued on the Iranian plateau, but clearly Greek was more widespread as the imperial language of Alexander and his successors.

[12] Cf. E. Badian, "The Administration of the Empire," *Greece and Rome*, 12 (Oxford, 1965), 176.

[13] E. Benveniste, *op. cit.* [ch. 5, n.74], 64–65. The assertion of J. Junge, "Hazarapatiš," *Klio*, 33 (1940), 29, that the chiliarch under the Achaemenids was the chief of the treasury and of records is not supported by Elamite documents from Persepolis.

[14] I follow Berve, *Das Alexanderreich* [n. 1], 112, 320, when he says that the 'chiliarch,' especially Hephaestion under Alexander, "scheint durchaus als ein Hofamt, nicht als Verwaltungsorgan gedacht gewesen zu sein." This did not mean that the influence or authority of the 'chiliarch' was diminished, rather the opposite since it was not a limited or fixed office.

The founding of garrisons and cities (*poleis*) has been much discussed.[15] Certainly military garrisons were established by Alexander in many parts of the Iranian plateau but whether he also founded any Greek cities (*polis*) is debated, for the evidence seems to be only in their names – all Alexandria. Many scholars have argued that any city in the east with the name Alexandria must have been a full-fledged *polis*, but several questions arise; did Alexander found each one or has his name subsequently been added? Did Alexander establish a *polis*, or was it in each case a military garrison which later became a *polis*? When Tarn, following Tscherikower, asserts that Alexandria in Aria, which he equates with Herat, without doubt was founded by Alexander because Strabo and Pliny both say so, this is hardly decisive proof of its founding by Alexander.[16] The historians of Alexander do not mention the founding of a city there, but they do tell us that Alexander had to suppress a revolt of the people of the area under Satibarzanēs. Perhaps this revolt induced Alexander to establish a garrison which later developed into a city. Why Tarn says that neither Seleucus nor "any Successor ever used the Alexander-name" escapes me, since in Appian's Roman History (*Syriakē*, 57) the author specifically says that Seleucus founded two cities in honor of Alexander.[17] According to Arrian (e.g., VI, 15, 2; 15, 4) Alexander did build or order to be built certain cities; why he does not mention Herat and Prophthasia in Seistan is unknown, but when Plutarch (*Moralia, De Alexandrii fortuna*, 328F) says there were five Greek cities which would not have existed save for Alexander's conquests, this does not mean that Alexander founded them, as Tarn supposes, for Seleucia on the Tigris, one of the cities mentioned, we know was not established by the conqueror.[18] It is not here proposed that Alexander founded no cities in the east, but rather that the Alexander historians must give us clues, rather than later authors who give information from various sources each of which must be checked, and the Alexander legend was already in vogue.

The city called Alexandria *ad Caucasum* is attested by all of the historians and may be accepted as an authentic foundation of Alexander, who settled both natives and his soldiers in it (Arrian III, 28, 4; Curtius VII, 3, 23). Tarn further declares that an Alexandria in Arachosia, mentioned by later authors (Isidore of Charax, Ptolemy, etc.) must be present Ghazna, but this is questionable in view of recent excavations at old Qandahar where an Achaemenid settlement and a Hellenistic town have been partially excavated.[19] From the lack of early coins found at Begram by French excavators, it would seem that this site, which was identified as Kapisa, was not the same as Alexander's foundation, but it must have been nearby, since the valley to the north of Kabul, today called Koh Daman, 'the skirt of the mountain,' though not

[15] V. Tscherikower, "Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Großen bis auf die Römerzeit," *Philologus*, Supplementband XIX, Heft 1 (Leipzig, 1927), esp. 96–106, and W. W. Tarn, "Alexander's Foundations," in *Alexander the Great*, 2 (Cambridge, 1948), 232–49, and the first chapter of his *Greeks* [ch. 1, n. 23].

[16] Tarn, *Alexander*, 2 [n. 6], 234; Tscherikower, *op. cit.* [n. 15], 102.

[17] Tarn, *op. cit.* [n. 6], 238. His further implications about the city although possible are by no means proven as Tarn implies.

[18] Tarn, *Greeks* [ch. 1, n. 23], 14, 347, 482.

[19] *Ibid.*, 470; D. Whitehouse, "Excavations at Kandahar, 1974," *Afghan Studies*, 1 (London, 1978), 9–11, 33–34; also A. McNicoll in *ibid.*, 41–44. In Ptolemy VI, 18, 4, the town of Gazaka or Gauzaka (Ganzaka) is likely to be the site of later Ghazna.

extensive is large enough to hold several towns.[20] Other cities were founded in the east, but attempts to identify them have been erudite but not convincing.[21] Another city is Alexandria in Bactria identified as modern Termez, while Alexandria on the Tanais (*Eskhatē* = on the Jaxartes) is attested in Arrian, but the certain identification of this city as Khodjent (Leninabad) is not supported by excavations which have not revealed strata as early as Alexander.[22] Nonetheless, the foundation of certain cities and garrisons by Alexander can be taken as highly probable, and the aim of most of them obviously was to insure control of strategic routes and commerce, and to hold together the empire.

The question arises whether each of the cities founded by Alexander in the east was really a Greek *polis* with all that this implied, and therefore that the conqueror was consciously striving to bring "Hellenism" to the east by establishing Greek cities throughout his conquests. This point of view has been contested on the grounds that Alexander did not seek to establish any exclusively Greek *polis*, but rather only towns or military colonies where Greeks, Macedonians and natives would be settled.[23] The realization of the garrison nature of their settlements may have come to Greek colonists only when Alexander had founded such settlements in the east and had started on his way from India back to Babylon, and this may have been a prime reason for the revolt of the Greek colonists in Bactria in 325 and in 323 B.C., recorded in Diodorus (XVII, 99, 5–6; XVIII, 4, 8; 7, 1–5) and Curtius (IX, 7). From the sources, it is difficult to determine whether there was one uprising before Alexander's death or a series extending into the post-Alexander era; in any case, some Greek colonists revolted and wanted to return home, but they were put down by Macedonian troops. Whether Koshelenko (pp. 71–74) is correct in attributing their discontent to a failure of Alexander to create Greek cities (*poleis*), where Greek citizens would completely dominate the government, thus causing them to revolt, cannot be determined, but it could have been a factor in the revolt. It would seem then that Alexander himself did not establish any *polis* in the east but later rulers did, and this will be discussed below. There is no evidence that Alexander intended to found independent towns which were not under the local satraps, and there is no reason to attribute this policy to him. The revolt of the Greek colonists, however, does show that many settlements in the east at least were made by Alexander to safeguard the empire. The analogy with military garrisons established by the Arabs in their conquests so many centuries later is striking, and one may assume parallel concerns about the safety of the empire and the caliphate.

Another matter of concern to Iranians was the fiscal policy of Alexander, and it is clear that at some time during his rule he decided to issue silver coins on the Attic

[20] See J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, MDAFA, 11 (Paris, 1954), 309, and R. Ghirshman, *Begram*, MDAFA, 12 (Cairo, 1946), 85. The site of Saray Khwaja, called by the inhabitants Iskandariya, may possibly reflect a settlement of the conqueror.

[21] Tarn, *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 23], 525.

[22] See B. Gafurov, *Tadzhiki* (Moscow, 1972), 95, note 13. The identification of Alexandria on the Oxus with Termez is still disputed.

[23] G. A. Koshelenko, "Vosstanie Grekov v Baktrii i Sogdiane," *VDI*, 1 (1972), 59–78. The author analyzes the Greek theories of city founding of Aristotle and Isocrates, and comes to the conclusion that Alexander had no intention of following these ideas in his settlements. An expansion of this article appears in his book *Grecheskii Polis na ellinisticheskom Vostoke* (Moscow, 1979), 181–221.

standard for the empire, while at the same time to allow local coinage to continue. He even struck gold *darics* and issued double *darics*, and he followed his father in maintaining a value of 10 to 1 instead of the Achaemenid 13½ to 1 ratio of silver to gold.[24] Alexander did not mint coins in Iran or Central Asia, because there had been no mints there under the Achaemenids, and Babylon and perhaps Susa are the easternmost mint places. It is dubious whether Alexander himself had coins struck with his own portrait with the legend 'Alexander king,' and even at Susa, which may have been an Achaemenid mint town, the first such coins seem to be post-Alexander in date.[25] The introduction of an imperial coinage to the east must have had great influence in areas where formerly barter and bullion had prevailed, but we can only infer this from coin hoards and the profusion of coinage in the east after Alexander.

There is no evidence that Alexander the Great had the time to initiate great changes in the east, and we may assume that his successors were those who laid the foundations of Hellenism in the East. Undoubtedly Alexander did initiate military settlements which later developed into cities, but his task was to hold the empire he had formed and at the least he seems to have conciliated most of the Iranian aristocracy who accepted him as their ruler. His Macedonian satraps, especially Peukestas of Persis, on the whole were accepted and obeyed by the local population, and for the most part Macedonian rule proceeded without significant revolts against it.[26] The sources tell us of political events and about the quarrels between the Macedonian generals, but not about the process of Hellenization in the east which must be reconstructed from rare, scattered notices in the sources and from archaeology. The wars of the Diadochi, as the successors of Alexander are called, had no great effect on the mass of the population of the Iranian plateau, but a survey of the succession insofar as it did influence Iran should be made.

The first assignment of satrapies was made by Perdikkas in 323 B.C. after the death of Alexander, and he left all the satraps of the east intact but appointed Peithon son of Krateuas, a noble Macedonian, satrap of Media while Atropatēs continued to rule in Azerbaijan. One of the first tasks of the new satrap was to command an army sent to suppress a revolt of Greeks settled in Bactria which he did according to Diodorus (XVIII, 7, 5). Whether this revolt was a continuation of the previous one or not we cannot determine, but according to the sources, the Greeks had wished to return home against the wishes of Perdikkas and were suppressed. Apparently a Macedonian called Philip became satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana at this time. Oxyartes, father-in-law of Alexander had been made satrap of the Hindukush region by Alexander, succeeding several short-lived satraps, and he continued in his post as did several vassal kings in India. Eumenēs was made satrap of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia in Asia Minor where he had to fight against native dynasts. Plutarch (*Life of Eumenēs*, 4) adds that Perdikkas sent Eumenēs against a certain Neoptolemos, satrap of Armenia whom he defeated, but no more information exists about Armenia at that time.

[24] Bellinger, *op. cit.* [n. 4], 30–31, mints 114–27; G. K. Jenkins, *Ancient Greek Coins* (N.Y., 1972), 211–16; G. Kleiner, "Alexanders Reichsmünzen," *Abh. der deutschen Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, Jhg. 1947 (Berlin, 1949), 9–23.

[25] G. Le Rider, *Suse sous les Séleucides et les Parthes*, *MMAI*, 38 (Paris, 1965), 45.

[26] There is a curious report that Stasanor, satrap of Herat and Seistan, attacked the customs of the local inhabitants who then revolted against him (Porphyrios, *De Abstinentia*, IV, 21).

Shortly after the assassination of Perdikkas in 321 B.C., at a conference at Triparadeisos in north Syria, Antipater assumed the role of regent or representative of Philip Arrhidaeus, half-brother of Alexander, and Alexander's posthumous son, both of whom had been recognized as joint rulers of the empire even though few of the generals paid any heed to one or the other. Few changes in eastern satrapies were made by Antipater except that Philip was transferred from Bactria, and he replaced the perhaps dead Phrataphernēs in Parthia and Hyrcania, while Stasanor of Soli on Cyprus, former satrap of Herat and Seistan, became satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana, while another Cypriote called Stasander became satrap of Herat and Seistan (Diod. XVIII, 39, 6). The capable general in charge of Antipater's army was Antigonos, the 'one-eyed.' The entire situation changed, however, with the death of Antipater in 319 when he bequeathed his office to Polyperchon, who was friendly to Eumenēs and who had been attacked by Antigonos in Asia Minor. This turn of events enabled Peithon, satrap of Media, to attack Parthia and replace Philip with his brother Eudamos (Diod. XIX, 13, 7).[27] Peithon was defeated in turn by a coalition of eastern satraps, and then Peithon went to Babylon which had been allotted to Seleucus at Triparadeisos. Seleucus, however, did not join Peithon, who was now faced with the coalition which followed Eumenēs (and Polyperchon in Europe) and wintered in Susiane in 317 B.C. Since the members of the coalition quarrelled about the leadership, Eumenēs advised that all of them should participate in military decisions, which proved to be his undoing.

Meanwhile Antigonos was gathering forces in Mesopotamia to attack the coalition, and he hoped to do this with the support of Peithon and Seleucus. He advanced to Susa, and Seleucus on behalf of Antigonos besieged the citadel. From the sources we learn that Iranians fought on both sides, one of Antigonos and the other of Eumenēs, which latter might be called the 'royalist' camp, since they ostensibly upheld the unity of the empire under the son of Alexander, for his half-brother Philip Arrhidaeus had been executed in 317 at the order of Olympias, mother of the dead conqueror. At first Eumenēs seemed to have the upper hand; at a battle on the Iranian plateau near Gabai (Isfahan) against Antigonos he prevailed, but Antigonos held a unified command while the coalition was disunited (Diod. XIX, 26–7), and in a second battle Antigonos captured the baggage of Eumenēs together with the wives and children of many of his troops. The satraps thereupon wished to retire to their satrapies and did so, while the Macedonian mercenaries seized Eumenēs and turned him over to Antigonos in return for their baggage and families (Diod. XIX, 42). Whether the account of Diodorus is accurate or not cannot be determined, but in any case Eumenēs was executed and Antigonos now became lord of Asia.[28]

In the account of the forces of Eumenēs, Diodorus (XIX, 27) has an interesting

[27] The text says he put to death Philotas, the general (στρατηγός) of Parthia and replaced him with his brother, but we have seen that Philip was the satrap. Whatever the confusion in names, Peithon secured Parthia to his support. The satraps who sent troops for the coalition against Peithon were Tlepolemos of Kerman, Sibyrtios of Arachosia, Stasander of Herat and Seistan, with extra troops from Bactria, while Eudamos brought troops and elephants from India. Oxyartes, satrap of the Hindukush region, sent a general Androbazos with troops, and Peukestas of Persis was recognized as the leader of the coalition.

[28] On the title 'king of Asia,' probably assumed by Antigonos after removing Peithon, satrap of Media, see H. W. Ritter, *Diadem und Königsherrschaft*, Vestigia (München, 1965), 102.

remark, that five hundred soldiers from the Hindukush area joined the coalition of Eumenēs against Antigonos and an "equal number of Thracian colonists from the upper colonies (satrapies)" *ἴσοι Θρᾷκες ἐκ τῶν ἄνω κατοικιῶν*. The indication that Thracians were also settled in the eastern 'upper' satrapies (medieval Khurasan), as well as Greeks and Macedonians, is a welcome item, helping to explain the large numbers of colonists who came from Europe and Asia Minor to the east. One wonders whether special inducements of payments in money or kind, as well as land, were not offered to settlers to come to the east to supplement the veterans and forced settlement of military cadres in garrisons. For the numbers of colonists sent to the east must have severely depleted the populations of both the towns and countrysides in the west. The Hellenistic expansion to the east at this time may be compared to the earlier Greek settlements in the Mediterranean and Black Sea areas.[29]

Antigonos, after the death of Eumenēs, began to consolidate his position in the east, and his erstwhile ally Peithon was suspected of rebellion and executed, whereupon his other ally Seleucus, fearing a similar fate, fled to Ptolemy in Egypt in 316 B.C. An Iranian, Orontobates, was appointed satrap of Media by Antigonos in place of Peithon. The satraps of the farther east were in too strong positions to be removed, so Antigonos retained Stasanor in Bactria, but Stasander in Herat and Seistan was replaced by Evitus, who died shortly thereafter and was followed by Evagoras. Sibyrtios retained Arachosia, and according to Diodorus (XIX, 48, 4) Antigonos sent to him many of the Macedonian veterans who had turned over Eumenēs to Antigonos, with orders to send them on difficult missions where they would be killed, since he did not trust them. Peukestas, the popular satrap of Persis was removed and Asklēpidoros put in his place, and another Peithon, former satrap of India, was now made satrap of Babylonia, while in Susiane a certain Aspeisas was installed.[30] Thus, Antigonos secured control of the east, but he remained suspicious of the fickle satraps who would only support him if it were to their respective advantages. Then Antigonos turned to the west, but a defeat of his son Demetrius by Ptolemy at Gaza, Palestine, in 312 persuaded Seleucus to try his luck again in the east, and Ptolemy gave him a small force of soldiers to assist him. Seleucus had been well liked by the Babylonians when he previously had been their satrap, so many welcomed him back, and in honor of his entry into Babylon in the late summer of 312, although according to Babylonian reckoning the first of the month Nisan or the 3rd of April 311 B.C., this date was the beginning of the Seleucid era.[31] Dating in this era in Babylonian clay tablets is attested, however, only from the year 304/3 B.C.

Seleucus devoted himself to consolidating his position in the east, but Nikanor, the

[29] The problem of the colonists will be discussed in more detail below. From the sources it is clear that Iranians fought on both sides. Cf. *infra*, n. 75.

[30] The coin with the name Aspeisos may well refer to this satrap, but it is unusual; cf. Bellinger, *op. cit.* [n. 4], 88–89. On the struggle between Antigonos and Seleucus, see G. Furlani, "La cronaca babilonese sui diadochi," *Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica nuova serie* 10, (1932), 462–66.

[31] J Oelsner, "Keilschriftliche Beiträge zur politischen Geschichte Babyloniens in den ersten Jahrzehnten der griechischen Herrschaft (331–305 v.u.Z.)," *AF*, 1 (1974), 135. The Seleucid era was commonly called the 'era of Alexander.' Cf. *Chron. Maroniticum*, *CSCO*, Script. Syr. ser. III, IV, pt. 1, 43.

general in charge of Antigonos' forces in Iran prepared to attack Seleucus, while Demetrius, son of Antigonos, invaded Babylonia and recovered some of the places Seleucus had taken, but he could not assure control of the satrapy for Antigonos, since he had to return to the west and to the affairs of mainland Greece. In 310 the widow of Alexander the Great, Roxane, and her son Alexander were murdered by Kassander, and any possible succession to the empire of the conqueror was ended. Demetrius, son of Antigonos, was only partially successful in Greece, but in 306 he destroyed the navy of Ptolemy near Cyprus and captured the island, and after that both Antigonos and his son assumed the title of 'king' and both wore diadems. In 304 B.C. Ptolemy, Seleucus, Kassander and other Diadochi also took the title 'king,' and any pretence of a united empire was now ended, and the heritage of Alexander was permanently divided.

Meanwhile Seleucus had in effect replaced Antigonos as ruler of the east, especially after defeating Nikanor in a battle in which other followers of Antigonos lost their lives (Diod., XIX, 92, 5). Appian (*Roman History, Syriakē*, 55) says Seleucus killed Nikanor in battle, but he does not say when or where. Seleucus must have either conciliated the satraps in the east or defeated them, but the only item of information we have is that Seleucus made peace with the new Indian power headed by Chandragupta (*Σανδροκόττος*) and obtained from him five hundred elephants in exchange for recognition of Mauryan supremacy at least over the Indus basin if not more (Strabo XV, 724). Before this time, according to Will, Seleucus had defeated the forces of Antigonos in a great battle, probably in 309/8 B.C., which resulted in a treaty by which Antigonos renounced rule over Iran.[32] This, however, may be the battle against Nikanor in Babylonia, but the existence of a treaty between Antigonos and Seleucus is an assumption of Will based on the absence of records of further conflict between the two. In any case, we are left to conjecture just how Seleucus won the east and what were his relations with Antigonos.

The end of Antigonos came in the summer of 301 B.C. at the battle of Ipsos in north Syria, when a coalition of forces under Kassander from Greece, Lysimachos and Seleucus, with his newly acquired Indian elephants, crushed Antigonos, who died on the field of battle, while Demetrius, his son, fled with other forces.[33] The three victors divided the domains of Antigonos between them, and Seleucus received all of the east and Syria. Southern Syria or Palestine had been occupied by Ptolemy, who had not taken part in the battle of Ipsos, but Seleucus for the time acquiesced in the occupation, although he did not renounce his claims to the south. Lysimachos took most of Asia Minor. The intrigues and problems of the west do not concern us, but inasmuch as it took the attention of Seleucus away from the east, in this manner Iran was influenced by events in the west. What do we know about Iran and Central Asia at the beginning of Seleucid rule?

[32] Will, *supra*, *Histoire politique*, 58. This view is contested by C. Wehrli, *Antigone et Demetrios* (Geneva, 1969), 130, who denies that there was a battle or treaty, but merely that Antigonos relinquished rule in the east to concentrate on the west.

[33] O. Müller, *Antigonos Monophthalmos und "das Jahr der Könige,"* Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 11 (Bonn, 1973), 140 pp., discusses questions of legitimacy and kingship in the career of Antigonos.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE SELEUCID KINGDOM

If we accept a statement of Diodorus (XX, 53, 4) that Seleucus took the title of 'king' shortly after he had taken over the 'upper provinces,' the date of this conquest would be c. 307–306 B.C. or later. As mentioned, we hear nothing of Seleucus in the east save his ceding of territory to the founder of the Maurya dynasty Chandragupta, but the extent of that ceded land is uncertain. A chance remark of Justin (XV) that Seleucus subdued the Bactrians may indicate some fighting before obtaining the allegiance of that province. This is all that has survived, but we may suppose that most of the inhabitants of the east, natives and Greco-Macedonians, supported Seleucus, since no reports of revolts or loss of territory survive from the reigns of either Seleucus or his son Antiochus I. The wife of Seleucus and mother of Antiochus I was an Iranian, daughter of the Bactrian leader Spitamenes, who had fought Alexander, so we suppose a certain sympathy for the Iranians in the first two Seleucid rulers which engendered a loyalty to them for a long time. At the same time neither Seleucus nor Antiochus relied primarily on the native population of their vast domains to support their rule. Just as the other Diadochi, so the Seleucids also relied on Greco-Macedonian colonists as their basic support, and they carried on the work of city founding started by Alexander and actively pursued by Antigonos.[34] It seems apparent that both Seleucus and Antiochus exerted themselves greatly not just to plant garrisons but to make Hellenistic centers on the routes to the east so they might be held by settlers loyal to their new monarchy.

Antioch on the Orontes was founded by Seleucus in 300 B.C., a year after the defeat of Antigonos, and it became first the overall then the western capital. A few years later the eastern capital Seleucia on the Tigris was founded and it was settled primarily with people from Babylon.[35] Apparently this made the Babylonians unhappy, but the decline of their city was assured, when Antiochus I in the thirty-seventh year of the Seleucid era (275 B.C.) made Seleucia the 'royal city,' which then made of Babylon only a place of pilgrimage.[36] The ancient city of Raga or Rhages was re-founded by Seleucus, or much more likely it had a large influx of Hellenic settlers, and thereafter it was called Europos, according to Strabo (XI, 524; also Ptolemy VI, 2, 17). The later capital of the Parthians Hekatompylos (Komis/Qumis), according to Appian (*Syr.*, 57) was also founded by Seleucus, but no other evidence for this or other cities in Parthia – Sōteiria, Kalliopē and Kharis – all supposedly founded by Seleucus exists, although Stephan of Byzantium says the first was founded by Antiochus I. These cities, named with Greek epithets are impossible to localize precisely without the native names. In Bactria and Central Asia the first two Seleucids undoubtedly established colonies but we cannot determine where. Tscherikower's conclusion that whereas Alexander and Antigonos primarily had military reasons for their

[34] For the settlements of Antigonos see C. Wehrli, *op. cit.* [n. 32], 133, but in the east we find few cities founded by him unless their names were changed by later rulers.

[35] On Seleucia, sources, etc., see Tscherikower, *op. cit.* [n. 15], 90. The prodigious activity of city founding is noted by Appian, *Roman Hist.*, *Syr.*, 57.

[36] For references to clay tablets see S. A. Pallis, "The History of Babylon 538–93 B.C.," in *Studia Orientalia Ioani Pedersen*, ed. by F. Hvidberg (Copenhagen, 1953), 282.

foundations, but the Seleucids were more interested in trade and commerce, is very attractive and convincing.[37] Antioch on the Orontes and Seleucia on the Tigris were the two most important foundations of Seleucus, controlling the 'Fertile Crescent,' but other cities were completed along a line of communications to the east.

The process of settlement in the east must be inferred from information on city foundations in Syria and the west, since there is no information in the sources about eastern cities. The excavation of a Hellenistic city on the banks of the Oxus River in Afghanistan called today Ay Khanum, however, has provided most welcome information to compare with cities in the west. Ay Khanum at first was tentatively identified with the city of Eucratideia, named after the Greco-Bactrian ruler Eucratides (Strabo XI, 576; Ptolemy VI, 11, 8) which would date its founding in the third century, but it seems that it had an earlier foundation perhaps from the time of Seleucus I.[38] In any case, there was a Hellenistic city on the upper Oxus River where the Kokcha joins it, and the remarkable Greek inscriptions, the theatre, gymnasium, agora and city plan which have been recovered by the archaeologists, all emphasize the thoroughly Greek character of the settlement. One inscription, among others, implies that a certain Clearchus, who wrote books as well as epigrams, one of which is on the base of a stele from the site, travelled from Delphi in Greece to this outpost in the east.[39] Hermes and Herakles are mentioned in another inscription, further evidence of the profoundly Greek character of the city. Apparently later, perhaps c. 150 B.C. in the Greco-Bactrian period, a (royal) court was added in the city, unusual for Hellenistic cities. The discovery of small fragments of philosophical papyri in Greek also attest to the strong Greek intellectual presence in a city far from Greece, but above all it indicates that the settlers were not just military colonists, but cross sections of all of the population were represented in the Hellenistic colonization of the east.[40]

Seleucus followed Alexander in many respects, one of which was the policy of sending expeditions to far away provinces to learn about the limits of his domains. Patroklēs was a Greek high official in the court of Seleucus who explored the coasts of the Caspian Sea, perhaps seeking water routes to the east since he also sailed in Indian waters (Strabo II, 69, 74; and Pliny VI, 58). A general of Seleucus, called Demodamas of Miletus, may have led an expedition across the Jaxartes River at the end of Seleucus' reign (Pliny VI, 49) and Megasthenes, followed by Daimakhos (or Dēmimakhos) maintained an embassy at the Mauryan court of India on behalf of Seleucus, and it would seem that in spite of the ceding of territory to the Indians by Seleucus friendly

[37] Tscherikower, *op cit* [n. 15], 169.

[38] L. Robert *apud* P Bernard, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum*, MDAFA, 21, 1 (1973), 217–22, calls Kineas, probably from Thessaly, the founder of the city, since a Greek inscription has been found there, presumably over the tomb of Kineas, in the agora of Ay Khanum, and Robert suggests the town was an Alexandria founded by the conqueror, although previously (p 210) he had attributed the founding to Seleucus I

[39] P Bernard, "Campagne de fouilles 1976–1977 à Aï Khanoum," *CRAI* (avril–juin, 1978), 458, adds that Clearchus of Soloi, who visited Ay Khanum about 300 B.C and was a follower of Aristotle had two elegiac couplets of precepts at Delphi erected in the temenos of Kineas in the city.

[40] *Ibid*, 459–60 On funerary jars the names Lysamos and Isidora (worshipper of Isis?) were found, and the dedication of the gymnasium was made by two brothers Triballos and Strato, possible of Thracian origin.

relations were maintained between the two empires.[41] The amount of land ceded is unknown, but since Megasthenes had served in the satrapal court of Sibyrtios in Arachosia before being sent on the mission we may suppose that Arachosia probably was not included in the territory ceded by Seleucus to Chandragupta, although this province may have been conquered by Aśoka, grandson of Chandragupta, since his inscriptions are found there.[42] These inscriptions, in Aramaic and in Greek, are fragments of copies of several of the edicts of Aśoka, who was converted to Buddhism, and they give us an interesting picture of the population of those areas, once part of Alexander's empire and then under the Mauryas.[43] There were three groups in Arachosia, if we follow the inscriptions, Greco-Macedonians, Iranians who used Aramaic as their written language, and Indians. The Iranians may well be those people called Kambojas associated with the Greeks in the thirteenth rock edict of Aśoka. Their location and the meaning of the word Kamboja are much debated, but it is at least agreed that they were Iranians living to the northwest of the subcontinent.[44] In the eyes of Indians, the Greeks (Yonas or Yavanas from Ionia) and the Iranians were associated, and this is a good characterization of the eastern Seleucid domain, a dual control.

In addition to gathering information about his domains, Seleucus realized that it would be impossible to govern the east from Antioch on the Orontes, so he followed Antigonos in appointing a co-ruler of the east, in this case his son Antiochus, c. 294 or 293 B.C.[45] Seleucia on the Tigris became the eastern capital, the seat of Antiochus. According to Bengtson, the leading authority on the organization of the Seleucid state, there were three categories of subjects of this state, the local dynasts, the cities and the *ethnē*, or 'peoples,' a division inherited from the Achaemenids.[46] The *ethnos* should

[41] On Megasthenes the works of J W McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (London, 1877), and *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature* (Westminster, 1901) are still useful as reference works, but there are many books on the relations such as O. Stein, *Megasthenes und Kautilya* (Vienna, 1922); cf. Will, *supra, Histoire politique*, 237–38 for sources and discussion.

[42] Although Appian (*Rom Hist*, *Syr*, 55) says Seleucus ruled to the Indus River, there is no indication how long he ruled in the east It is not unlikely that Chandragupta's son Bindusāra expanded the Mauryan empire as did Aśoka in his early years, so the suggestion above has much to commend it. On a possible marriage between Seleucus I and an Indian princess, see J. Seibert, *Historische Beitrage zu den dynastischen Verbindungen in hellenistischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 3.

[43] For a description of the various inscriptions, Pul-e Darunta in an Indian Prakrit language (Aramaic alphabet) and in the Aramaic language, two Aramaic inscriptions from the Laghman valley, a bilingual Greek and Aramaic inscription near Qandahar, an Indian Prakrit (Aramaic alphabet) and Aramaic language bilingual from Qandahar, and a Greek inscription from Qandahar, see F. R. Allchin and N. Hammond, *The Archaeology of Afghanistan* (London, 1978), 192–98, with bibliography.

[44] V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini* (Lucknow, 1953), 48, identifies them as Galchas of the Pamirs, which is unlikely. E. A. Grantovskii, "Plemennoe ob'edinenie Parça-Parçava," in *Istoriya i Kultura Drevnei Indii*, ed. by W. Ruben and V. Struve (Moscow, 1963), 72–77, concludes that the Kambojas lived in Arachosia and in the Ghazna area The Parsu of Pāṇini he identifies as ancestors of the Pashtuns or Afghans.

[45] Under Antigonos first Peithon (c. 323–316 B.C.) and then Nikanor (315–312) had served as stratēgos (or general-governor?) of the upper provinces The title is equivalent to satrap, of course, with more emphasis on the military side, but whether any real control was exercised by him over the satraps of the farthest east is dubious.

[46] H Bengtson, *Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit*, 2 (München, 1944), 3, and his *Griechische Geschichte* [ch 5, n. 18], 438, supplanting E. Bikerman, *Les Institutions des Séleucides* (Paris, 1938) and M. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, 1 (Oxford, 1941), 423–542

be the Old Persian *dahyu-* 'land' mentioned frequently in the Old Persian inscriptions. The Achaemenid city, OP *vardana*, did not have anything like the importance of the *polis* of Hellenistic times, and it is hazardous to assert that cities on the Iranian plateau before Alexander had the same status as Mesopotamian cities, while the latter also must not be confused with the megalopolis Babylon, or with other cities of a millennium earlier. The last category, the dynasts, were at first local rulers who had been absorbed into the empire without fundamentally losing their positions. Later, in the Achaemenid Empire and under the Seleucids, friends of the ruler, generals of the army and others received land with various privileges from the ruler, and some became the equal of local dynasts in wealth and authority. Land acquired by temples, through gift or purchase grew in size and independence under the Seleucids, but the degree of control which local governors, or the central court, exercised over temples undoubtedly varied considerably in different parts of the Seleucid domain. Likewise the control over cities by the central government varied considerably, even though *de jure* a *polis* might be regarded as independent and free. In practice the ruler had the most to say about the government of a city, although clashes over authority with the provincial government also occurred in many cities. It seems that the word *ethnē*, used in Egypt and elsewhere, is very rare in a Seleucid context where instead οἱ τόποι, which would somewhat correspond to the Old Persian word for 'land,' appears, but the expression does not necessarily mean the equivalent of 'satrapy,' although it sometimes does.[47]

The territorial division of the Seleucid state at first followed the satrapal divisions of the Achaemenids and Alexander, but in time the satrapies were divided and more of them were created. In the east, however, Persis, Susiane and Media remained much as they were, while further east a progressive loss of territory occurred, first Arachosia, then Bactria and Parthia. Azerbaijan and Armenia, although at times nominally subject to the Seleucids, were really independent in practice. In regard to nomenclature, all scholars agree that the Greek sources are imprecise and contradictory, and the titles '*satrap*' and '*stratēgos*' have caused dispute, but Bengtson's suggestion that the latter title is used only in the western part of the empire as a synonym for the former, and that after Antiochus III the term *stratēgos* is more often used in place of '*satrap*' is convincing.[48] The provincial sub-divisions also cause trouble, for the terms *hyparchy*, *toparchy*, *eparchy* and *meris* or μεριδαρχία appear in the sources. Tarn suggested that the Seleucid satrapy was divided into *eparchies*, which in turn were divided into *hyparchies*, while Altheim proposed a fourfold division: satrapy, *meris*, *hyparchy* and *toparchy*, the last also called *stathmoi*, but Bengtson's proposal that there was only a threefold division of satrapy, *hyparchy* and *toparchy*, with a rare *meris* in between a satrapy and a *hyparchy* and headed by *meridarch* only in the far east and in Palestine, here borrowed from the Ptolemies, fits the evidence better than the other theories.[49] It is clear that the subdivisions were not uniform throughout the Seleucid domains, but we can say that the satraps in the east continued

[47] Bengtson, *Strategie* [n. 46], 1, 10–11.

[48] *Ibid.*, 48–51.

[49] *Ibid.*, 30–38; W. W. Tarn, "Seleucid-Parthian Studies," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 16 (London, 1930), 24–33; F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Geschichte Mittelasiens im Altertum* (Berlin, 1970), 325 The term *chiliarchy* also appears in an inscription from Sardis, but not in the east (Tarn, *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 23], 28).

in the Achaemenid tradition of being miniature kings with courts copying the central court. Certainly in Bactria and Parthia the satrap wielded military as well as political power. In the west, on the other hand, the central army and constant warfare with the Ptolemies, and with the Antigonids of Macedonia and others, gave the military element a preponderant role in the running of affairs. Revolts in the eastern satrapies seem to have followed a similar pattern as in the Achaemenid Empire, but under the Seleucids they eventually succeeded in detaching large parts of the empire from the central authority.[50]

Just as the Achaemenid king and Alexander had their 'friends' at court, so did the Seleucids, and undoubtedly the change of rulers brought great changes in satrapal appointments and new individuals to the fore. Since the Seleucids were continually engaged in struggles in the west the generals (*stratēgoi*) at court became very important. In the east loyalty to the Seleucid government was based mainly on the κάτοικοι or military colonists who were also the founders of the cities. The relation of these colonists to the satrapal organization is unrecorded, but possibly they had the same relation to the satrap as did the cities in Syria and Asia Minor to the Seleucid king, quasi-independent, yet usually following his orders. The various combinations of central and provincial troops and commanders in the west throughout the Seleucid period do not concern us, rather only the domains of the governor-general of the east, a kind of co-regency, which is not to be confused, however, with the institution of double kingship such as two Spartan kings or two consuls in Rome. The east, after Seleucus had appointed his son as co-regent, was the land east of the Euphrates and included Mesopotamia, but it is not known where Antiochus spent much of his time as co-regent, presumably on the plateau. Margiane, or the Merv oasis, was surrounded by a wall of 1500 *stadia* (over 300 km.), and a city named Antiocheia was founded by Antiochus at some time (Strabo XI, 516; Pliny VI, 47). It may have been a rebuilding of a city founded by Alexander but destroyed by nomads, according to Pliny, but this was surely only one of the foundations of Seleucus or Antiochus in the east. As noted, it would seem that the prime motivation in the founding of cities in the east was to secure the line of communications and trade from the lowlands of Mesopotamia to Bactria and farther east.

One study of this period emphasizes the Iranian reaction against Hellenism, which is contrary to the majority of writings which emphasize the spread of Hellenic culture in the east.[51] Eddy suggests that on the plateau Persis was the satrapy which opposed Hellenism the most, while Media and Bactria less so. He neglects the simple but striking fact that most of the Hellenistic city foundations of the Seleucids were in Media and on the route to Bactria, and out of the way areas were not exposed to Hellenistic culture to the same degree. The theory of a strong religious opposition to the Seleucids, based on the close connection between the Achaemenid royal house and Zoroastrianism, with a twin motivation, restoration of Iranian rule and religious supremacy, is attractive but not necessarily universally valid. For not only the

[50] The process of breaking away in many cases may have been gradual, first a removal of central officials in the province, followed by a reduction of military levies and tribute to the central court, then a vassal status and finally independence. There is little or no evidence, however, to support any theory for the unconditional breakaway of satraps. On the Achaemenid provincial divisions, see J. Junge, "Satrapie und natio," *Klio*, 34 (1942), 49.

[51] Eddy, *supra*, *King is Dead*, 75–100.

tolerance of the Hellenistic rulers towards local religions and cults, but the conscious identification of Greek with Oriental deities, the oft-described Hellenistic syncretism, cannot be ignored as a factor of conciliation. In the religious domain it appears that the westerners were more the learners and adapters, and there is little evidence of clashes to be found in the sources between Hellenic and Oriental religions. But again conditions surely varied in different parts of the Seleucid realm, which we should examine, beginning with Susiane.

Susa remained as important a city under the Seleucids as it had been under the Achaemenids, and the first Seleucus renamed it Seleucia on the Eulaios (River) and it became a full-fledged Greek *polis* with the features of a Hellenistic city with magistrates, gymnasium, etc.[52] The large number of copper coins, first introduced by Seleucus I, found in French excavations over the years, assure us that Susa was an important mint for the Seleucids, and even before them, while Greek inscriptions from Parthian times indicate the strong persistence of Hellenism into the Christian era. Susiane was undergoing a Semiticization as well as a Hellenization under the Seleucids, and the native Elamites maintained their language and culture primarily in the mountains to the east, in what came to be called Elymais. The plains of Susiane were an extension of Mesopotamia, and the coins found at Susa from Characene or Mesene, at the mouth of the Tigris–Euphrates, attest the close commercial relations between the two areas.[53] Since the Seleucids were interested in trade and commerce and founded cities on the Persian Gulf, such as Ikaros on the island of Failaka near modern Kuwait, and Charax, founded by Alexander, we may assume that Susa formed part of that complex of Hellenic settlements which remained loyal to the Seleucids long after the Parthians replaced them on the plateau, and Hellenic influences remained strong afterwards. There is no need to repeat the ample survey of the Greek inscriptions and names from Susa, which indicate a Hellenic domination of the local government throughout Seleucid rule, at least until the year 164 B.C. date of the death of Antiochus IV. Even afterwards, until the Elymaians captured the city about A.D. 45, the Greek language and Greek laws and institutions flourished at Susa.[54] From the Greek inscriptions and the coins we also see the Greek gods worshipped in the city, with Artemis and Apollo predominant, perhaps in the official cult of the Seleucid dynasty, although other deities appear on the coins infrequently such as Athena, the Dioscuri, Hermes, and perhaps Zeus and Herakles (Le Rider, p. 289). Nanaia of Susa, to be identified with Iranian Anahita, is mentioned in several inscriptions but the identification with Artemis seems to be a development of Parthian times (Le Rider, p. 295). The process of absorption of the Hellenic elements

[52] On the history of the city under the Seleucids see Le Rider, *op. cit.* [n. 25], 274–93. Le Rider ably defends the naming of the city as 'Seleucia' by Seleucus I against Tarn who favors Antiochus III as the ruler who made it a *polis*. The further suggestion (p. 281) that colonists from Ephesus were settled at Susa, because the local goddess Nanaia was later identified with Artemis of Ephesus, is attractive. One should note that Macedonian names also occur there.

[53] On the location of Charax see J. Hansman, "Charax and the Karkheh," *IA*, 7 (1967), 36–58. For a history of Characene cf. S. A. Nodelman, "A Preliminary History of Characene," *Berytus*, 13 (1959–60), 83–121. The name Elymais comes from Elam.

[54] Le Rider *op. cit.*, 287. The expansion of rice culture and vine culture in Susiane (the latter difficult on the hot plains) is attributed to the Macedonians by Strabo (XV, 732).

in Susa was long, and here, more than elsewhere on the plateau, except perhaps Bactria, the influences of Hellenism survived.

On the plateau in the mountains of Elymais, we have no sources from the period of Seleucid rule to indicate either the degree of Hellenization, undoubtedly much less than in Susiane, or the extent of Seleucid control. Later Elymais became an independent state, but under the early Seleucids we can only surmise that local cult-shrines existed in the mountain valleys, as they did later, but central Seleucid control was almost non-existent.

Persis, the favored homeland satrapy of the Achaemenids, however, presents problems for we do have equivocal information which is differently interpreted. As far as one can determine, Persis, with Persepolis, was under Macedonian rule to at least the early part of Seleucus' reign, mainly because of a few of his early coins found at Persepolis and also his coins found at Pasargadae.[55] How long loyalty to the Seleucids lasted is difficult to determine, for the series of local coins struck in Persis indicates an early rejection of Seleucid rule, which is not unexpected since Persis was the one province of the Achaemenid Empire which formerly did not pay taxes and where local opposition to the conquerors would develop since memories and imperial Achaemenid traditions were strong. An inscription in Aramaic letters of not later than the third century B.C. on the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-e Rustam has caused much controversy, because it is preserved in an extremely miserable condition, and many fanciful readings of words based on the line drawings made by E. Herzfeld have obscured rather than aided an understanding of the inscription.[56] If the inscription does have (or rather had) the name *slwk* or 'Seleucus' in the second word of the fourth line as Henning proposed, then the inscription should be dated probably in his reign rather than at the end of the Achaemenid period.[57] The reason for such an unusual or unique inscription in a form of Old Persian but in the Aramaic script escapes us, but it might be explained as an attempt of local lords to preserve some memory of the Achaemenid kings. If Seleucus himself had ordered such an inscription, one would have expected a Greek version or an inscription only in Greek, as those from parts of altars or bases of statues from a temple in the plain at Persepolis dating from the Seleucid period.[58] If *slwk* is not the name of Seleucus I, then the inscription might date

[55] Cf. E. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 2 [ch. 5, n. 141], 110–14; G. C. Miles, *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region*, NNM, 143 (1959), 1, 19; D. Stronach, *op. cit.* [ch. 5, n. 1], 198. Diodorus (XIX, 48, 5) mentions a 'near revolt' of the Persians when Antigonos replaced Peukestas as satrap of Persis, and Thespios their leader was executed by Antigonos. Later Diodorus (XIX, 92, 5) says that the troops loyal to Antigonos went over to Seleucus, the last we hear of Persis in the sources.

[56] Published by E. Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften* (Berlin, 1939), 12, Tafel IV; the interpretations by F. Altheim, *Weltgeschichte Asiens im griechischen Zeitalter*, 1 (Halle, 1947), 37–39, repeated in his *Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden* (Frankfurt/M, 1963), 10–12, and elsewhere, are dubious. Since Herzfeld made a paper squeeze of the inscription, in the process destroying some vestiges of letters on the friable surface of the stone, it is not possible to control his sketches. Nonetheless, an examination of the surface and photographs reveals the inadvisability of relying implicitly on his drawings.

[57] W. B. Henning, "Mitteliranisch," in *HO*, Iranistik (Leiden, 1958), 24. Traces on the stone are not now observable, so one must accept the reading of Henning, the most remarkable epigraphist in Iranian studies. The reading *sarūka* '*princeps*' for *slwk* by G. Ito, "Gathica," *Orient*, 12 (Tokyo, 1976), 58, is intriguing, although the word would mean rather 'fortress' or 'tower'; cf. Frye, "The 'Aramaic' inscription on the Tomb of Darius," *IA*, 17 (1982), 85–90.

[58] E. Herzfeld, *An Archaeological History of Iran* (London, 1935), 44 He says the inscriptions were not from a Greek temple but a temple to the local

from late Achaemenid times, which would make more historical sense than a Seleucid date.

The coins of the *frataraka* 'governor' of Persis are also enigmatic at least in their dating and significance. Generalizations from the presence or absence of coins at excavation sites are always tentative, but they may indicate a certain historical situation, so an examination of coins found in excavations at Persepolis, Pasargadae, Qasr-e Abū Naṣr, and Susa can give us some information. No coins of Persis have been found at Susa or at Pasargadae, which does indicate that the realm of circulation of the coins was small. The two small hoards from Pasargadae have coins of Seleucus I but no later Seleucids, while the coins from Persepolis have only one Seleucid example but many *frataraka* coins.[59] This would further imply that Pasargadae rather than Persepolis was the Seleucid center in Persis and that Persepolis may have been a local center, the two existing in some sort of *modus vivendi* until the local dynasts established a treaty or vassal relationship with the Seleucids. From the coins found in excavations in Fars province, and from the bazaars of Shiraz, it seems that the only Seleucid coins current in this province were those of Seleucus I, and one small hoard from the plain near Persepolis indicates that the coins of the local dynasts in Persis followed immediately after those of Seleucus I.[60] The local coins were inscribed with Aramaic legends, unlike other coins in this period which were all in Greek, and the Persis coins show a development over a long period of time in several phases. The earliest coins have the legend in Aramaic *prtrk' zy 'lhy* 'governor of the gods,' or on 'behalf of the gods.' The title '*frataraka*' is enigmatic, but it is attested in Aramaic papyri found in Egypt from the Achaemenid period, and the office in Egypt was just under the satrap and included military as well as civil jurisdictions. The etymology of the word is uncertain, but it may mean 'the first' (after the satrap) and thus be appropriate for a similar office in Persis.[61] We do not know whether the first coins

gods, although reasons are not given. The short inscriptions are simply the following: *ΗΛΙΟΥ; ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ; ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΥ; ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ;* and *ΑΠΟΛ[ΛΟ]*, all on small slabs of stone. There is no indication of assimilation with local deities or syncretism in these inscriptions.

[59] Cf. G. K. Jenkins *apud* Stronach, *op. cit.* [ch. 5, n. 1], 185–98; G. Miles, *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region*, NNM, 143 (1959), 1–23, with further references on page one. At Qasr-e Abū Nasr (Old Shiraz) one bronze coin of Seleucus I was found and a copy of a hemidrachm of Alexander the Great, as well as eleven coins of Persis, cf. G. Miles *apud* R. N. Frye, *Sasanian Remains from Qasr-i Abu Nasr* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 26. The existence of a mint in Persepolis or Pasargadae is by no means clear, since those coins attributed to a mint in Persis may in fact be issues of Susa. Cf. A. Houghton, "Notes on the Early Seleucid Victory Coinage of 'Persepolis'," *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau*, 59 (Bern, 1980), 4.

[60] E. T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints* (N.Y., 1938), 159–60. As far as I know the only Seleucid coins found in the bazaars are Alexander type coins and rarely Seleucus I. The two strange gold coins supposedly from the Oxus treasure, now in the British Museum, may be forgeries; at least no. 4 pl. XXVIII of Hill, *op. cit.* [ch. 5, n. 104] does not inspire confidence in its authenticity. Coin no. 6, obv. has a head like those on the early coins of Persis while the rev. has the quadriga of coins of Andragoras. No other specimens of these coins have been found, so they cannot be used as well-known coin issues.

[61] For a discussion of the title and bibliography see P. Naster, "Note d'épigraphie monétaire de Perside," *IA*, 8 (1968), 74–80. It is important to note that one and the same man is called *segan* (in Aramaic 'governor') and *frataraka* in the Elephantine documents; cf. B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (U. of California Press, 1968), 48, and Grelot, *Documents aram. d'Egypte* (Paris, 1972), 75.

were struck by independent princes or simply vassals of the Seleucids, perhaps similar to the family of Atropatēs in Azerbaijan, but if we follow the evidence of the coins alone we could say that after Seleucus I, in Persis we find only local dynasts who issued coins with Aramaic legends, and on the reverses of the coins was a structure with either the horns which existed on the parapet of the palace of Achaemenid Persepolis above the plains, or a crenellated stone, also found on the top of buildings at Persepolis above which was the 'Ahura Mazdā' symbol (or the king's 'glory'), and beside the structure an Achaemenid (war) standard. All of these symbols indicated a continuation of the royal and religious traditions of the great kings in their homeland. The numismatic evidence seems clear, but unfortunately it does not tally with literary sources.

Polybius is the main source, and he tells of Alexander a Seleucid governor of Persis at the accession of Antiochus III in 223 B.C. (V, 40, 7). After the suppression of a revolt by Molon, satrap of Media and brother of Alexander, the latter committed suicide, and later Antiochus III, on his way back from India c. 205 B.C., stopped in Kerman, but nothing is said of Persis (XI, 39, 13). Most scholars have considered this sufficient evidence to propose the continuation of Seleucid rule in Persis at least until the end of the reign of Antiochus III. Before the eastern expedition, in the battle of Raphia of Antiochus III against Ptolemy V of Egypt (c. 217 B.C.) Persian bowmen served in the Seleucid army (V, 79, 6). Two notices in Polyaenus, *Strategika* (7, 39 and 40), refer to Persis but with no dates. In the first a certain Seleucid general Seiles under one of the kings called Seleucus massacred 3000 rebellious Persians, and later a certain *Ὄβορζος* led the Persians to a massacre of 3000 colonists (*κάτοικοι*), and this latter event has been identified with a Vohubarz, second *frataraka* of the series of Persis coins. Another event, mentioned by Pliny (VI, 152) is the victory of Numenius, the governor of Mesene under Antiochus, over the Persians in a sea battle in the straits of Hormuz off the coast of Kerman, but we do not know which Antiochus is meant, in this case possibly IV. All of this has led some scholars to propose that Persis only became independent after Antiochus III, with the two events mentioned by Polyaenus and Pliny's remark coming later.[62] How do we reconcile the numismatic data with the statements by Classical authors? There are two solutions; either Seleucid control rose and fell from the time of Seleucus I, which might fit with the different series of coins of Persis, or there may have been a parallel rule, either in different geographical parts of Persis, the Seleucids in the north and Persians in the south, or a concurrence of Seleucid and Persian rule where a Seleucid satrap ruled together with a local dynast. The title of the Persian dynast could imply a division of authority between a Seleucid civil governor and a religious, Oriental local ruler who, nonetheless, had the right to strike coins for the province. The absence of Seleucid coins in Persis, while in other parts of Iran they are found, mitigates against accepting a full Seleucid control with the dating of the rule of the local dynasts only after Antiochus III.[63] It is possible that

[62] H. H. Schmitt, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Antiochos' des Großen und seiner Zeit*, *Historia*, Einzelschriften, Heft 6 (Wiesbaden, 1964), 46–50, and esp. Stiehl in Altheim, *Hunnen*, 1, [ch. 5, n. 68], 379, who puts the rule of the *frataraka* dynasty in Persis less than 50 years, between c. 187 and 140 B.C. This is hardly acceptable, for the coins must cover a longer period of time.

[63] On Seleucid copper coins found in Media see M. A. Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran* (London, 1940), 304–04, and Newell, *op. cit.* [n. 60], under 'Ecbatana.'

the Seleucid kings, at least from Antiochus I through III, had an agreement with the local dynasts of Persis, allowing them to strike their own coinage, and to give only nominal allegiance to the Seleucids, who nonetheless did maintain a presence in the person of a satrap appointed by the king. Since the province was very difficult of access because of mountains on all sides, and not lying on important trade routes, this picture may be accurate. Unfortunately, we do not know the locations of Seleucid city foundations in Persis, but Tarn has argued that the most important, Antiochia, was on the coast near present Bushire.[64] The remark by Strabo (XV, 736) that the Persians in his time had kings subject to other kings, formerly to those of the Macedonians but now to the Parthian (kings), perhaps provides the answer, namely that the dynasts of Persis who issued their own coins were really vassals of the Seleucids.

The names of the early rulers of Persis were not Achaemenid names; those came much later in the series which we will examine when the Persis dynasts were under Parthian hegemony. The early coins show on the obverse a head facing to the right with a distinctive headdress covering ears and hair, unlike any previous royal headgear but similar to heads on some satrapal issues of the Achaemenid period, which may be an indication of the status in which the dynasts regarded themselves.[65] The legends on the coins are extremely difficult to decipher and many letters cannot be distinguished from each other, for on several specimens of the earliest coins from the series, one scholar read *bywrt*, while another read *bgkrt* (the latter more likely as an Iranian name) with his successor *bgdt* 'god given.'[66] However the dispute over the date of these coins may be resolved, it seems clear that the coins of the first series, using the title *frataraka*, imply the subordination of a dynast to a higher sovereign, and whether this first happened after Seleucus I or Antiochus III is at present unknown. The second series of these coins show a change in headgear and a degeneration of the reverses, but more important is the change in title to *MLK'* 'king,' and old Achaemenid names such as Darius (*d'ryw*) and Artaxerxes (*'rtxštr*) appear on the coins, while the final series takes on the characteristics of Parthian coins. It is clear that after the reign of Seleucus I, Persis was not securely under Seleucid rule, but a full independence of the province seems possible only after Antiochus III. If the coins of Persis were struck only after that time we must suppose more than a century of no coinage in the province after Seleucus I, and a corollary would be that only the Greco-Macedonian settlers used the coins of Seleucus I while the local population did not, and only later did they accept their own local coinage, but this is unlikely. It is safe to assume that in the province of Persis old imperial memories, rather than traditions,

[64] Tarn, *Alexander*, 1 [n. 6], 257; *Greeks* [ch. 1, n. 23], 418. This is a plausible suggestion since, as we shall see later, Antiochus III probably launched his expedition against Arabia from this city – a seaport.

[65] de Morgan, *Manuel*, 1 [ch. 5, n. 103], 50, fig. 29. See also P. Naster, "Fire-altar or Fire-tower on the Coins of Persis," *Orientalia Lovaniensis*, 1 (1970), 125–29.

[66] The first reading was by Hill, *op. cit.* [ch. 5, n. 104], clxv and 196; the second by Allotte de la Fuye, Mordtmann and others; cf. de Morgan, *Numismatique de la Perse antique* (Paris, 1927), 355–79. On some coins we seem to find *prs prtrk* 'Persis *frataraka*.'

were preserved but romanticized and distorted, whereas elsewhere in Iran the past did not weigh heavily, if at all, on the local population.[67]

Kerman or Carmania was an eastward extension of Persis, although it was separated from Persis by deserts and mountains and did not have the isolation which Persis did. Communications with Media were easier than with Persis, and when we hear that Antiochus III in the fall of 206 B.C. reached Kerman coming from his eastern campaign (Polybius XI, 39, 13), we are not told how he returned to Seleucia, nor do we hear of a Seleucid satrap in Persis at this time, then one can only speculate on the relation of Antiochus III to the local population. Pliny (VI, 115) says an Antiochus built a town to the west of Pasargadae, which Antiochus we cannot say, but probably II, while Antioch in Persis was built by Antiochus III about 205 B.C. and, as noted, has been located near present Bushire.[68] If this location is correct, it tells us nothing about Seleucid control in the interior of Persis, for the sea coasts were surely under Seleucid rule for a long time. It must be remembered that Antiochus III lost his life while attempting to plunder a temple in Elymais in the summer of 187 B.C. and by that time Seleucid hegemony in Persis and Elymais must have been most tenuous if existing at all.[69]

To turn to the north of Iran we find more traces of the Seleucids, both in monuments and in coinage, than in Persis. The two stone columns and stone bases possibly of a temple at Khurhe (near Mahallāt) date from Seleucid times, as does the late relief of the reclining Herakles from Behistun.[70] In 193 B.C. Antiochus III instituted a cult for his wife Laodice as recorded in a Greek inscription from Nihavend, and another inscription on the relief of Herakles dates from 148 B.C. Other remains of the Seleucid occupation of northern Iran are few, but so are the non-Hellenistic remains such as the rock tombs of Kizkapan in Iraqi Kurdistan, which show as much Hellenistic influence as the *frataraka* figures on the door jamb from Persepolis. Farther to the north, in Azerbaijan and in the Caspian provinces both Hellenistic cultural influences and political control were much less than in Media.

All indications point to Hamadan as the summer residence, and Seleucia as the winter capital, of the Seleucid co-ruler, the governor-general of the 'upper satrapies,' who was the crown prince Antiochus under Seleucus I beginning from the year 294 or 293 B.C. We do not know whether succeeding crown princes automatically occupied this high post in virtue of their being successors to the throne, but we may assume several of them did.[71] Antiochus III, we have seen, assigned Molon to this

[67] The only certain archaeological remains from this period in Persis are the hardly visible figures on a door jamb of a temple near Persepolis; cf. E. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 1 [ch. 5, n. 141], figs., 16–17; R. Ghirshman, *Iran, Parthians, and Sassanians* (London, 1962), 26, fig. 34.

[68] For the text see C. B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence of the Hellenistic Period*, (New Haven, 1934) 31/2. Tarn, *Greeks* [ch. 1, n. 23], 418, for identification of this town with Bushire; see also H. H. Schmitt, *op. cit.* [n. 62], 14.

[69] The report in II Maccabees, 9, 1–2, that Antiochus IV had entered Persepolis and tried to rob the temples there and take possession of the town but had been driven out may be compared with I Maccabees 5, where the town is called Elymais! Whatever the reality behind these reports, they show the loss of Seleucid rule there

[70] All bibliographic references to archaeological sites and monuments may be found in L. Vanden Berghe, *Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Irân ancien* (Leiden, 1979), and references will be made to this work. Seleucid copper coins have been found near Harsin and elsewhere in Media; see Stein, *op. cit.* [n. 63], 304–07.

[71] Bengtson, *Strategie*, 2 [n. 46], 83–85, gives a survey with references.

position, and later another rebel against the Seleucids, called Timarkhos, was also probably the governor-general of the 'upper satrapies.' As time progressed, however, the area of the 'upper satrapies' diminished, and we cannot determine the extent of Seleucid rule in each of the provinces in the east.

Azerbaijan, or Atropatene, named after the satrap Atropatēs, was no more part of the Seleucid realm than Persis, and the same lack of information about a Seleucid satrap, relationship to Media or vassal status, makes any precise determination of rule impossible, but the area was hardly under direct central control of the Seleucids (Strabo XIII, 523). The summer capital of Azerbaijan was Gazaka or Ganzaka 'the treasury' probably located near modern Miandōāb, while the winter capital of Phraaspa or Fraata was near modern Maragheh.[72] When Antiochus III invaded the area and then made peace, the local dynast who continued to rule was called Artabazanes, a member of the same family as Atropatēs. The isolated Caspian Sea coastal area, as frequently throughout its history, was independent of control from the plateau.

THE FALL OF THE SELEUCIDS AND THEIR HERITAGE

From the coins minted in the eastern part of the Seleucid empire, one tentatively may trace the decline of Seleucid control on the Iranian plateau. If the observations about the coins by Newell are accepted, Antiochus first struck coins in the chief city of Bactria after he had been made ruler of the eastern satrapies, and the coins should date after 289 B.C.[73] The change in weight standard from Attic to 'Indian' in a second series of such coins does not mean that the coins were struck in India but rather in an area of eastern standard weight in which India was included. The series of Seleucid coins struck in Bactria ends with Antiochus II and naturally blend into issues of the first independent ruler, Diodotus, first with the name of Antiochus and then his own name, indicating the stages of transition to independence probably after the death of Antiochus II in 247 B.C. (Newell, p. 249). To conclude questions of coinage, one group of enigmatic coins does not fit into any series we know; the name in Greek on the obverse of the coins showing a bust of someone in a helmet copied from that of Seleucus I, without a title, is in the genitive, *Σωφυτου*, with weight based on an Indian rather than Attic standard.[74] In spite of the frequent identification of the name on the coin with an Indian ruler Sopeithēs, a contemporary of Alexander the Great, this is hardly possible from a numismatic point of view. The mint should be in Bactria, or possibly at Kapisa in the Hindukush, but the dynast or satrap on the coin from the style of the coin should have lived about the time of Seleucus I or later. His coins may be compared with those of Andragoras, satrap of Parthia who became independent in the time of Seleucus II.

Uncertain mints in the east, unfortunately, cannot help us with a chronology of Seleucid rule in various provinces such as Aria (Herat), Seistan or others, mainly

[72] See V. Minorsky, "Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene," *BSOAS*, 11 (1943), 263.

[73] Newell, *op. cit.* [n. 60], 230.

[74] All the literature on Sophytes is collected by R. B. Whitehead, "The Eastern Satrap Sophytes," *Numismatic Chronicle* (1943), 60–72. See also C. Kirkpatrick, "Some New Coins of Sophytes," *Numismatic Circular* (London, Oct. 1973), 373, where 19 coins are listed.

because the mint sites cannot be located. From all the coins, however, it is clear that Seleucid rule came to an end in eastern Iran more or less with the death of Antiochus II, if not before, and only the expedition of Antiochus III to the east briefly restored Seleucid rule. It is also evident that the mints in Hamadan and Bactra were the two important, continuous mint sites in the east, an indication of Seleucid interest in controlling the trade route from the plains of Mesopotamia to Central Asia.[75] The existence of coins with the names Sophytes, Andragoras, and in Aramaic *whšw(r)* 'Vaxšu' or 'Vaxšuvar,' without titles indicates a gradual process of the loosening of ties with the Seleucid court.[76] The existence of this rare Aramaic legend on the coins raises the question of the position of Aramaic in the Seleucid realm.

Greek was the official and dominant written language of the Seleucid empire, but Aramaic continued in use especially in the outlying provinces or principalities such as Armenia, Sogdiana, Khwarazm, or Persis, while Aśoka, the Mauryan ruler (c. 273–232 B.C.), as we have seen, considered Greek and Aramaic the two languages of the inhabitants of the Qandahar region, although in Laghman, east of Kabul, only Aramaic was deemed sufficient to record his Buddhist edicts. Did the Seleucids have a dual chancellery, using both Greek and Aramaic as 'official' languages? There is no evidence, other than bilingual inscriptions, for the use of Aramaic by the Seleucid government except to communicate with the literate local population or with independent or semi-independent satraps or dynasts. We may conjecture that Greeks and Macedonians living in a *polis* or in a settlement in the east at first followed the usual pattern of ruling colonizers; they did not learn the local language as much as the local population had to learn Greek. Since most of the Greek colonies in the east were set up near native towns or villages, and Seleucid cities seemingly were not so clearly divided between colonists and natives as in Egypt, this made the process of Hellenization, and the opposite as well, progress more quickly than in the Ptolemaic kingdom.[77] Obviously this is not the place to discuss Seleucid institutions, for even information about military colonists (*katoikoi*), land grants (*kleroi*), or ethnic groups in a town (*politeumata*) comes from the western part of the Seleucid realm, and it is hazardous to transfer a situation in Anatolia to one in Merv, for example.[78] Certainly in Bactria military colonies were numerous, composed of retired soldiers and their families, as well as civilian colonists brought from the west and given land by the government. The military colonial origin of the majority of city foundations in the east is clear, but we have no information about how different groups of people lived in them and how they reacted together. How many Greeks and how many Orientals lived in one or another colony escapes us, as do the reasons why some became *poleis*

[75] That Seleucus founded cities along trade routes is stated by Libanius, *Orat.* 11, 100. Cf. G. M. Cohen, *The Seleucid Colonies, Historia*, Einzelschriften, 30 (Wiesbaden, 1978), 83–84. Strategic considerations were also important in the founding of colonies.

[76] On the coins with Aramaic legends see A. R. Bellinger, "Coins from the Treasure of the Oxus," *ANSMN*, 10 (1962), 67. The existence of two Aramaic letters on a 'victory coin' of Seleucus I, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, indicates a mint master rather than the name of a city. Cf. Houghton *op. cit.* [n. 59].

[77] Cohen, *op. cit.* [n. 75], 52–54, 72–83. He characterizes Seleucid cities (p. 41) as "Greek in character but distinctly cosmopolitan in population."

[78] One must neither use ancient Greek political theory for the Hellenistic age, nor confuse the western part of the Seleucid realm with the east.

while others did not. One may attribute loyalty to the Seleucids not only to the feeling on the part of the Greco-Macedonian colonists that it was to their interest, indeed their need to survive, to support the house of Seleucus, but also to the policies of conciliation and even syncretism in religion, and in customs, which brought support from the local population. Undoubtedly Greek legal practices, institutions of city life and much more, had a lasting influence on the local peoples under Seleucid rule, but to trace or disentangle the connections is hardly possible.

The Seleucids had successfully assumed the imperial mantle from Alexander and the Achaemenids, and the Iranians rather than supporting this, merely accepted it while turning their attention to local affairs. There was no imperial pretender around whom all Iranians would rally to oust the conquerors. Furthermore, since the Greco-Macedonians were tolerant and did not disrupt native religions but rather fostered them in the past tradition, they did not encounter any popular movements to overthrow the Seleucids but only local or tribal revolts which did not pretend to imperial claims of power. The danger to Seleucid rule did not come from these threats from natives, but rather from its own satraps or dynasts when they felt that the Seleucid central government was weak, and it was the time for them to assert claims of independence. The central authority was upheld essentially by a mercenary professional army, which when well paid was more than a match for local contingents. Inasmuch as the rule of the Seleucids was highly personal the court and the 'friends' of the king were very important. Just how much of the court in Antioch was mirrored in the court of the governor-general of the east is difficult to determine, but one may assume that under Seleucus I, when his son Antiochus was ruler of the east (c. 294–281 B.C.) the court of the east was a copy of that in the west, but afterwards we have no information even to hazard a guess. One may only conjecture that after or even during the reign of Antiochus I the east lost any parity it may have had, for the energies of the later Seleucid kings were directed to affairs related to the Ptolemies and to Asia Minor, while the east fended for itself. Under the governor-general of the 'upper satrapies,' how was Iran ruled?

We cannot determine whether the political theory whereby the Seleucid realm was divided into vassal kings (βασιλεῖς), vassal dynasts (δυνάσται), cities and peoples (ἔθνη) had any reality in Iran, but all categories existed there.[79] Under the kings we could place frontier lords, who were really independent and only paying lip service to Seleucid overlordship, or even that being fictional, such as Chandragupta under Seleucus I, the kings of Khwarazm in Central Asia and possibly the rulers of Armenia. Under the second category one might put the *frataraka* of Persis and later Andragoras and even Diodotus of Bactria, but this is simply conjecture, the need to find someone to fit into the second group. Cities in the east are a problem since we only have archaeological evidence for them, but it would not be amiss to suggest that they had less autonomy than those of Asia Minor, or Seleucia on the Tigris. Although some of these cities during the later Seleucid period were almost independent and in the status

[79] On the theory see E. Meyer, *Blüte und Niedergang des Hellenismus* (Berlin, 1925), 43, and Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, 3 [n. 46], 1440, n. 277. This theory may only have been a general way of describing different elements of power and authority, and may have had little or no application to reality. In the east we simply do not know.

of allies of the king, it is doubtful if any of the cities on the Iranian plateau were independent of the satraps in the areas where they were located.[80] There is no reason to believe that Ay Khanum on the Oxus, for example, had the same relation to the local satrap as some of the allied cities of Asia Minor had to later Seleucid rulers. This does not mean that the cities in the east had no internal autonomy; they probably collected their own taxes to remit to a central government, and they had their own Greek forms of government. Just how the king's or satrap's representatives meshed or clashed with local authorities is unknown.

The relationship of land tenure and land ownership to cities and other institutions of the central government also must be surmised. In addition to old Achaemenid 'royal' domains which were given to Greek colonists, retired soldiers, or left in the hand of an original Iranian landlord, some lands were granted by the king directly to a city or a colony. Temple property in the early years seems to have been little touched by the king, although later in the Seleucid period sequestering of temple property by the government or king was not uncommon. There is also no evidence of attempted 'Hellenization' by force in Iran, as under later Seleucid kings in Palestine, and if sources from Babylonia provide a model for non-existent sources in Iran, then we may infer a Seleucid tolerance, if not patronage, of temples and religions in the east.[81] The existence of rich and powerful temple complexes in Iran, as existed in Babylonia, is unattested, although shrines and sanctuaries existed, and the architectural remains of what may have been temples in Khurhe and Kangavar show Greek styles and influences. Were such structures built by and meant only for the Greco-Macedonians, or did Iranians participate in the worship of Herakles, Dionysius and other Greek deities? What seems to have happened was the adoption of certain Hellenic traits, stories, or even practices in the religion of the Greeks, by Iranians into the Zoroastrian religion without, however, direct 'conversion' or even the adoption of foreign names. Thus Rustam, probably originally a Saka hero later adopted by all Iranians, took on some of the traits of Herakles without becoming the Greek hero in name or religious content. It is, of course, misleading to speak of one 'Greek' religion or one 'Iranian' religion, since there undoubtedly were many local cults and variant forms of religious rituals and practices among both peoples. Since both peoples were heirs of a common Indo-European religious, as well as linguistic, background such identifications as Helios or Apollo with Mithra and Herakles with Verethragna at Commagene in Asia Minor must have existed elsewhere. Just how much Zoroastrianism clashed with the Greek religion, but especially with the Hellenistic ruler cults, we cannot say. Whether Iranians distinguished between Greeks and Macedonians, or Hellenized Asiatics is also unknown, but unlikely. In fact, our lack of information from Iran in this period is especially frustrating, because we must rely on Babylonia or Bactria to give possible parallels.

In Babylonia Seleucia was a Greek *polis* while Uruk was a native city, and

[80] Certain cities, such as Seleucia on the Tigris, overstruck imperial coins indicating some kind of independence, and if the cities did this we may infer that satraps in the east did the same, in the case of Sophytes, Andragoras and others Cf. Bikerman *op cit* [n. 46], 226

[81] See Rostovtzeff, *op. cit*, 3 [n 46], 1427. There is no evidence that the Seleucids killed native priests and destroyed temples, and if it happened the motivation was political rather than religious, as far as we know.

excavations have been made at both.[82] It is clear that at both cities Seleucid coins were current; Greek inscriptions on seals and bullae are found; Greek officials were present in both, and other features of Hellenism were present in both. But Uruk had a temple to the God Anu, identified with Zeus, and all of the cuneiform documentation shows a traditional native life in full vigor, while Seleucia was founded as a Greek city without local elements. Ay Khanum was apparently like Seleucia, but in time all of the towns became mixed in character if not in institutions. Some natives were proud to become 'Hellenized,' others were not. Some aristocratic Iranians became 'Hellenized,' as did their descendants who became 'Westernized' in recent times. In the end native culture and values absorbed the 'Hellenization,' but it took a long time and the tenacity of Greek culture was remarkable, especially the Greek language and institutions, for the Greek cities continued to exist late into Parthian times still holding on to civic organizations, gymnasia, theatres and such features of Hellenistic civilization which did not interfere with the religious and domestic life of the mass of the population. For native customs and traditions prevailed in time over the laws and institutions grafted onto the ancient lands by the Seleucid kings. The peasantry, the vast majority of the population, continued to exist, little changed by the Hellenism of the cities. We do not know of conflicts between the countryside and the cities, not to mention the role of nomads, but one may assume that under the Seleucids there was less of this conflict between different groups of the population than in other periods of Iran's history, although such conflicts may well have contributed to the fall of the Seleucids.

Little has been found about monetary policies of the Seleucids, but again, by comparison with other areas such as Babylonia and Syria, one may project into Iran a picture of a great expansion of trade and commerce on the Iranian plateau with the Seleucid policy of founding cities and continuing coinage started by Alexander on the Attic standard. Most trade in the east was in luxury goods, such as spices, gems, and textiles, for the east was largely self-sufficient in foodstuffs, unlike Greece, but no doubt the extension of the use of coinage into areas which previously had known only barter and the expansion of contacts with foreign lands greatly influenced Iran and Central Asia as it did the rest of the Hellenistic world. The introduction of the Seleucid calendar to all parts of the empire, rules and regulations on banking, and many practices of which we have virtually no information, all indicate that the early Seleucid period was one of organization and development, expansion of trade, and in general of great prosperity.[83] But it did not last, mainly because of the continual warfare between the Seleucids and the Ptolemies and between the Seleucids and

[82] For the various reports on Uruk (modern Warka) see the references in B. Hrouda, *Vorderasien* I, Handbuch der Archaologie (Munich, 1971), 292–93 On Seleucia see W van Ingen, *Figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1939) with an extensive bibliography. On the cults at Uruk see M Rutten, *Contrats de l'époque Séleucide* (Paris, 1935), 28, 37 and 52, for an assimilated cult of the king.

[83] See the excellent summary in Rostovtzeff *op cit*, 2 [n. 46], ch. 8. It is impossible to do more than touch the many activities in the Seleucid period which brought Greece and India in contact, not to mention countries in between. Travelling artists, musicians and players as well as merchants moved great distances in the Seleucid period. Cf. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, Ninth Season, preliminary report, ed. by M. I. Rostovtzeff, 1 (New Haven, 1944), 264.

various Hellenistic states of Greece and Asia Minor. It began already in the time of Antiochus I.

Antiochus I, after the death of his father, probably never returned to Iran, for he had to fight many battles especially in Asia Minor, revolts in Syria and wars with the Ptolemies, although in the decade before his death (271–261 B.C.), he may have gone to the east after Babylon where he was in 268 B.C., during the crisis when Antiochus had his eldest son Seleucus killed, and a younger son Antiochus II became crown prince. The latter, after the death of his father, had to fight much and often against the Egyptians and others, while it seems that affairs in the east were neglected even more by Antiochus II than by his predecessors. The satrapies of the east were left to fend for themselves, and one may conjecture that sentiments for independence from central Seleucid authority were not slow to appear and by 246 B.C., the death of Antiochus II, *de facto* independence was moving to complete separation. Under Seleucus II, who had to fight for his throne in the west against his half brother supported by the redoubtable Ptolemy III, the eastern part of the Seleucid realm began to disintegrate.

It is significant that in the mint of Bactra the coins of Antiochus II are followed by coins with his name but with the head of Diodotus, presumably satrap of Bactria, and finally the same type coins with the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ*.[84] This implies that the break with the Seleucids took place after the death of Antiochus II in the reign of Seleucus II. Just who was governor-general of the eastern provinces at this time, or whether the office had lapsed, we do not know. About the same time we may suppose, a certain Andragoras, usually identified as satrap of Parthia, issued coins without a title, indicating a continuing nominal allegiance to the Seleucids. Since a Greek inscription with the same name, not a satrap but a lesser officer, has been found in Hyrcania (Gurgan), but from an earlier period before 266 B.C., it is possible that we have the same person, who later became satrap of Hyrcania or of Parthia. It is also possible that the coins with the name Sophytes, without title mentioned above, also are from this period, with Sophytes as a lesser satrap somewhere in the east. This would mean that the eastern satrapies as a group reacted against Seleucid domination and central weakness about the same time, the beginning of the rule of Seleucus II. While this is only a hypothesis, it covers our known data better than any other surmise and may stand until further evidence invalidates it.

Seleucus II was in no position to move eastward to recover lost Seleucid lands until he was driven from Asia Minor by a great defeat at Ankara, probably c. 239 B.C., but then he had to reorganize his forces in Syria and Mesopotamia. So his campaign to the east must have been sometime, as a guess, between 230 and 227 B.C.[85] The inability to assign coins of Seleucus II to a definite mint in eastern Iran (Newell vacillates between Hekatompylos and Herat), combined with the paucity of sources (Strabo XI, 514, and Justin XLI, 4, 8–10; 5, 1) prevents us from reconstructing events in the east. Strabo says the Parthians fled before Seleucus into the desert and Justin claims the Parthians

[84] On the Bactrian coins see Newell, *op cit.* [n 60], 247–49; on the coins of Andragoras see R. Ghirshman, "The tétradrachme d'Andragoras," in *Near Eastern Numismatics*, Studies in Honor of George C. Miles, ed. by D. K Kouymjian (Beirut, 1974), 1–8

[85] On the dating and a good discusion of this period, see Will, *supra*, *Histoire politique*, 1, 278–81, with an ample bibliography.

defeated him. In any case, Seleucus II was not able to restore rule over the east, and no more Seleucid coins were minted in the east, although Antiochus III did strike coins at Hamadan, the last vestige of a continuing Seleucid presence in Iran.

After a short rule, Seleucus III was succeeded by his brother Antiochus III, and the fortunes of the Seleucids seemed to revive as do our sources. Antiochus at the death of Seleucus III was in the east, although Polybius (V, 40, 5) does not say he was governor-general of the upper provinces as many scholars have assumed. The historian continues that after becoming king he entrusted the rule of the upper parts to Molon, satrap of Media and his brother Alexander in Persis. This implies that only Media (minus Azerbaijan) and Persis (probably minus most of the southern part of the province including Istakhr-Persepolis) remained under Seleucid control at the accession of Antiochus III. We are not concerned with actions at the Seleucid court or in the west which may have influenced Molon to revolt, the news of which came to Antiochus in the summer of 222 B.C., but only with events in Iran. Molon issued coins at Hamadan and then at Seleucia on the Tigris probably in the fall of 222, after Molon had defeated two generals sent against him by Antiochus, who was busy in Syria fighting Ptolemy IV. The exact time when Molon took the title of king and struck coins cannot be determined, but the number of coins which have survived suggests that Molon took the title shortly after his revolt, which only lasted two years. Did he consider himself almost a co-king, as governor-general of the 'upper satrapies,' or was his pretension even greater from a mere satrap to be Seleucid king? We must examine the title of 'governor-general of the upper satrapies' to determine what it was, since some scholars claim that there were two governors-general, one in the east and one in the west from the beginning of Seleucid times.[86]

There is no evidence for such a post, which we may call a viceroy of the east, in Achaemenid or Alexander's time, and the first intimation of such an office is under Antigonos, but it is uncertain whether a purely military central command is intended or a viceroy. Antiochus was certainly that exalted in the latter part of his father's reign, and this is the first attested office of viceroy, and the 'capital of the east,' Seleucia on the Tigris, became the seat of Antiochus (Appian, *Syr.* 62). After this time there is no evidence for such a viceroy until the time of Antiochus III when the evidence is unclear, but from a passage in Livy (XXXV, 13, 5) that the eldest son of Antiochus III about 193 B.C. was sent by his father *ad custodiam ultimarum partium regni*, many scholars have asserted that the son was made viceroy of the east, but this is again only inference. Finally, one of two inscriptions from Nihavend speaks of a certain Menedemos as (ὁ) ἐπὶ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν at the end of the reign of Antiochus III or more likely under Seleucus IV, his successor.[87] The same title is found later, so one may ask whether this particular title, as opposed to the viceroy (compare Antiochus in the reign of Seleucus I), was not a creation of the administrative reforms of Antiochus III. As Bengtson has suggested, control of each province in the east was put

[86] Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte* [n, 46], 439. According to Bengtson, *Strategie* [n. 46], 86, and Will, *op. cit.*, 2, 10–11, Antiochus held the post of governor-general of the east until he delegated the post to Molon on becoming king, but there is no direct evidence, only inference.

[87] L. Robert in *Hellenica*, 8 (Paris, 1949), 23, and 9 (1950), 73. Another inscription on a rock relief of a reclining Herakles reads ὑπὲρ τῆς Κλεομένου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνῶ σατραπειῶν σωτηρίας, which gives pause to any inflated conception of such a title at the late date of 148 B.C.

under a general (στρατηγός) who took over the functions of a civil governor (satrap).[88] A further inference from this is the systematic division of the former satrapies into smaller units, although this process may have been begun earlier, and became progressive through time. In the east, however, the last great expedition of the Seleucids, under Antiochus III, although it for a time restored some allegiance to the Seleucids, did not reverse the process of disintegration.

After the end of Molon's revolt in 220 and the submission of a local Median dynast called Artabazanes by Polybius (V, 55, 2), Antiochus III had to return to Syria and the west to settle affairs, but about 212 B.C. he began his famous expedition to the east. First he went against Armenia, which included present-day northern Iranian Azerbaijan, and he was successful in restoring the allegiance of Xerxes the local prince of western Armenia (center in Sophene) (Polybius VIII, 23) as well as others, but later Antiochus sent two generals, Artaxias (Artašēs in Armenian) and Zariadris (Zareh in Armenian) to rule eastern and western Armenia, both of whom became independent after the battle of Magnesia in 189 B.C. Securing tribute from this expedition, Antiochus now prepared to emulate Alexander in the east. By 209 he was campaigning in Parthia, after first stripping a temple in Hamadan of its precious metals to help pay for his expedition (Polyb. X, 27, 13). How much one can add to the short account of Polybius is uncertain, but it seems that peace was made in which the Parthians recognized in some way the suzerainty of Antiochus III, and the road eastward was free. Antiochus continued against King Euthydemus of Bactria, who first opposed him with a large force on the Arius River, which is probably the present Hari Rūd, an indication of the westward expansion of the Bactrian kingdom. After defeating the Bactrian cavalry Antiochus marched to Bactra and besieged Euthydemus in his capital, but after a long siege peace was made, the conditions of which, however, are unknown.[89] Then Antiochus crossed the Hindukush mountains, made peace with a local Indian potentate and having obtained tribute and elephants, returned to the west by Arachosia, Drangiane (Seistan) and Kerman where he spent the winter, and Polybius gives no more information about his expedition to the east. From the lack of information several scholars have inferred that the three provinces mentioned above were ruled by satraps loyal to the Seleucids, and Antiochus returned via Persis which was either loyal or forced to reacknowledge Seleucid supremacy.[90] There is no evidence at all that Arachosia and Drangiane were

[88] Bengtson, *Strategie* [n. 46], 2, 144–98, and his *Griechische Geschichte* [n. 46], 439. Note that the concept 'upper countries' (or satrapies, or lands) is Iranian in origin, possibly used first under the Achaemenids as Khurasan and farther east, while under the Seleucids the concept meant the Iranian plateau From the Iranian viewpoint it is difficult to conceive of 'the upper lands' as including the plains of Mesopotamia, although the Seleucids may have later thought this. I suspect, however, that the expression simply meant the chief governor in charge of the satrapies on the plateau, which by the time of Antiochus III meant simply Media and the northern lowlands of Persis. As the new satrapies became subdivisions of the former satrapy of Media, one can understand how as late as 148 B.C. the inscription from Behistun could still speak of 'the upper satrapies,' and mean only a small area to the west of Hamadan.

[89] Polybius XI, 39, says Euthydemus persuaded Antiochus that both would suffer if nomads took advantage of their quarrel to invade the land, so peace was made and a daughter of Antiochus was given to Demetrius the son of Euthydemus. Will, Bengtson and Schmitt have little to add or to interpret from Polybius, while Justin is of little help.

[90] Schmitt, *Antiochus III*, 82; Will, *supra*, *Histoire politique*, 1, 53. It is, of course, quite possible that the *frataraka* ruler of Persis was treated

ruled by Seleucid satraps, but northwestern Kerman, as an extension of Media, might well have had a Seleucid governor. It does not follow that Antiochus returned to the west through the heart of Persis, for the easiest route would have been, as it is now, to Yazd, Isfahan and to Hamadan, not directly to the west over desert and mountains to Persepolis. Although there is no evidence for Antiochus' taking the route from Kerman to Hamadan, it is an alternative to the usual assertion that all of Persis was a satrapy of the Seleucid Empire at this time and that the coins of the *frataraka* are all later than this time. As mentioned above, I suggest that Persis must be divided between the northern lowlands (Yazd-Abadeh of today) and the highlands of Persepolis and the south, which could explain the supposed rule of *frataraka* and Seleucid satrap in one province. The fact that at the end of the 'Anabasis' of Antiochus III he is found in a town Antiochia in Persis, probably on the Persian Gulf, according to an inscription dated 205 B.C. addressed to magnates of the city of Magnesia on the Meander River in Asia Minor, only supports the contention that Antiochus was in this site in preparation for an expedition against Arabia.[91] In any case, the position of Persis cannot have been radically different from other outlying provinces of the Seleucids where Antiochus wisely realized he could no longer rule directly with the resources he had. He might win battles, but continuous rule would be difficult if at all possible.

The great expedition to the east undoubtedly did re-establish Seleucid prestige and even tribute and allegiance, as Polybius says, but times had changed since the first Seleucus. After the defeat of Antiochus III by the Romans at Magnesia in the beginning of 189 B.C., it is difficult to believe that any of the agreements to pay tribute to Antiochus III remained in force in the east save in Media which was always the center of Seleucid power and authority for the east. For the Iranians, as for Euthydemus and others, the expedition of Antiochus to the east probably was regarded as an attempt to obtain booty and to forge alliances which might be of use to the Seleucids in the future, but the last was a vain hope. Antiochus III plundered a temple at the beginning of his expedition, and to pay reparations to the Romans he lost his life in attempting to plunder a temple at Elymais on July 3 or 4 of the year 187 B.C.[92] Under his successor Seleucus IV we hear nothing of the east, and with his assassination in September 175 B.C. a younger son of Antiochus III assumed the throne after having spent more than a decade as a hostage at Rome.[93] One problem in the sources with Antiochus IV is either a confusion of events with those of his father, or an actual intention on the part of Antiochus IV to follow the footsteps of his father. Just as Antiochus III, his son in 166 or 165 invaded Armenia and forced Artaxias, who earlier had declared his independence from the Seleucids, to submit and pay tribute. Afterwards he went to the Persian Gulf and was active there restoring cities and campaigning. He then entered Elymais to plunder a temple, as had his father, but

in the same way as Euthydemus and other kings of the east, and Antiochus did traverse the Persepolis–Persian Gulf route on his way from Kerman, but this again does not assure us that a Seleucid satrap ruled the Persepolis region, which I consider most unlikely.

[91] For the inscription see Welles, *op. cit.* [n. 68], 24, 32–34, and for a commentary Will, *op. cit.*, 2, 55. The expedition against Gerrha which took place at this time seems to have started from Antiochia in Persis.

[92] On the death of Antiochus III and the parallels with that of Antiochus IV, with sources, see Will, *supra*, *Histoire politique*, 2, 200–02.

[93] Comparable to the study on Antiochus III by Schmitt is the book by O. Mørkholm on *Antiochus IV of Syria* (Copenhagen, 1966), esp. 166–80, for his eastern campaign.

perhaps this time in vengeance for his father, but according to the sources he was repulsed and left for Media but died of illness on the way at the end of 164 B.C.

The elaborate hypothesis of Tarn that Antiochus IV intended to restore the empire of Alexander the Great with a two-pronged attack on the Parthians by himself from the west and by his supposed cousin Eucratides from Bactria is amply criticized by Mørkholm, to which I have nothing to add, except to underline the complete lack of evidence for any grand strategy, not to mention Seleucid family relationships.[94] The notice of Pliny (VI, 152) about a governor of Mesene called Numenius under King Antiochus who won a sea battle off the straits of Hormuz and then a land battle, has been placed in the time of Antiochus III or IV, but whichever, it is only an isolated incident in the many battles fought by the Seleucids. We next hear of the east with a revolt of a certain Timarkhos, who was governor of the 'upper provinces,' at this time little more than western Media, against Demetrius the Seleucid ruler from 162–150 B.C. The coins of Timarkhos are all from Hamadan according to Le Rider, and in the prologue to Pompeius Trogus (*lib.* 34) he is called 'king of Media.'[95] Even though he sought alliances with King Artaxias of Armenia and others, he was defeated and killed by Demetrius in 160 after extending his rule in Mesopotamia. The much reduced 'upper provinces' continued under Seleucid rule throughout the reign of Demetrius to 150 B.C. and then under Alexander Balas who had been brought to power by Rome and her allies. The coins of Alexander Balas struck at Hamadan did not last more than two or three years (150–148 or 7 B.C.), when his coins are followed by those of Mithradates I. So the governor-general of the 'upper provinces' Kleomenes, who in the Herakles Behistun inscription is called 'saviour,' probably defeated a Parthian force in one battle but lost the province shortly thereafter. At the beginning of July 141 B.C. the Parthians are in Babylonia, according to cuneiform documents. For a short period Demetrius II regains not only the plains, but invades Media where he is defeated and captured by Mithradates I at the end of 140. All Seleucid possessions in the east were lost, but in 130 B.C. Antiochus VII, brother of Demetrius, launched an expedition which not only recovered the lowlands with Seleucia and Susa, but he may have also established some sort of control in Media. Demetrius was released by the Parthians to stir up trouble for his brother Antiochus, but the latter was utterly defeated and killed by the Parthians in 129, and this is the complete end of Seleucid rule in the east which, however, lasted more than a century and a half.

THE HERITAGE OF HELLENISM

The heritage of Hellenism in Iran and Central Asia is difficult to judge, but some general remarks can be made. Just as under the Arabs centuries later, the conquerors relied on control of the cities on the main trade routes to the east to maintain their control, and where there were no cities, they both founded military garrisons. There were not enough Greco-Macedonians, or Arabs later, to occupy all cities, but only the strategic settlements, beginning with Ecbatana–Epiphaneia–Hamadan and surrounding Media in the west, and continuing to the east with Rhaga–Europos–Rayy, were

[94] Tarn, *op cit*, [ch 1, n. 23], 187–91, and Mørkholm, *op cit* [n. 93], 172–80.

[95] Le Rider, *op cit.* [n. 25], 332, and O. Seel, ed., *Pompeius Trogus, Fragmenta* (Leipzig, 1956), 162.

held as the key to control of the route to the original 'upper satrapies.' Margiane–Antiocheia–Merv was always an important center connecting Khurasan with Central Asia and Bactria. Bactria became the center of Hellenism for eastern Iran and Central Asia as Media was for western Iran, and in Bactria the Seleucids built the largest number of settlements in the east. Along this west–east axis other centers were established as Herat and Hekatompylos, but other important settlements were made away from this axis in Qandahar, at Alexandria at the foot of the Hindukush north of Kabul, and in Sogdiana, but the Media–Bactria line was of paramount importance, as the Seleucids did not maintain their rule in Qandahar and probably only sporadically in the Hindukush area and Sogdiana and other parts of Central Asia. Nonetheless, in the cities and settlements the Greek language, institutions and culture reigned supreme. From the excavations of Ay Khanum on the Oxus River, we can see a piece of Greece transplanted to Bactria, with no mixture of local influences, and the only fusion which took place under the early Seleucids was that of Macedonians and Greeks, or other colonists from Asia Minor or the west, such as Thracians, all of whom adopted Greek culture. This at first was the ruling class and the natives did not participate after the death of Alexander except as they too became Hellenic in culture, but even this process took time.

The Hellenistic world of the Seleucids was one of mercenary armies and loyalty to the person of the ruler, who relied on his colonists for support as the latter looked to the king for protection. The rule of the Seleucids depended on the loyalty of this ruling class, and where it was strong, as in Media and Bactria, allegiance to the house of Seleucus developed almost into a religious feeling of colonists towards the ruler as their saviour in time of attack. So we find cities giving titles to the Seleucid rulers, which has been often described as the Hellenistic ruler cult, and which legitimized the absolute power of the ruler, although this dynastic cult in the cities should be distinguished from the apotheosis of the dead king by his successor who dedicated temples and services to the deified ruler.[96] Natives in cities and settlements surely participated in the ruler cult, but hardly the masses in villages or on the land, or nomads. Likewise, under the Seleucids Greek culture remained almost the monopoly of the colonists and their descendants, and art and architecture were produced by city artisans for the ruling class. At the same time the cities were the centers of culture and were bound to the rulers, and both provided examples or models for others to follow. The 'Hellenization' of the east can be seen best under the Parthians, the heirs of the Seleucids, both culturally as well as politically. It was really after the fall of the Seleucids that the effects of Hellenism penetrated everywhere, but, of course, then in an ever more diluted or syncretic form.

Since in political organization the Seleucids, on the whole, followed the Achaemenids in the east, there was little original Greek contribution in this domain, as far as we can see, except for elements of *polis* organization, which was new to the Orient.[97] Unfortunately we have absolutely no information about the numbers of

[96] Every book on Hellenism discusses it; cf. Bikerman, *op. cit.* [n. 46], 236; F. Taeger, *Charisma*, 1 (Munich, 1957), 309; Bengtson, *Griechische Geschichte* [n. 46], 437.

[97] The Greek *polis* has received much attention; for the Seleucids see esp. Koshelenko, *op cit.* [n. 23], 292 pp., where further references may be found.

western colonists in the cities of Iran and the east, and we cannot even guess the numbers of natives who took Greek names, learned the Greek language and became associated with the conquerors. The statistical analysis of Greek and non-Greek personal names in inscriptions from Mesopotamia, the only area in the east where any information is available, can be misleading, for a father who had a Greek name by no means always named his son also in the Greek manner. Unlike the acceptance of Islam, many centuries later, which did involve the transfer from one religious community to another, and names can tell us about conversions, the acceptance of a Greek name implied no conversion of any kind, and the evidence only shows that Hellenism was generally accepted by the urban population side by side with native cultures, and only then did mixtures occur which eventually produced a kind of syncretism before Hellenic elements became absorbed. Obviously there was a strong element of prestige and privilege involved in the acceptance of Hellenism by a native, not the least of which was the chance to participate in the ruling circles of a city or even at the court of the Seleucid king. All the time we must remember that our evidence comes from Mesopotamia, with only a rare inscription from the Iranian plateau.

In religion one must be even more careful in drawing parallels from the western part of the Seleucid Empire for Iran and the east, since we have no information about the Zoroastrian religion under the Seleucids. The Greeks brought with them not only visible institutions such as the gymnasium and theater in their cities, but also in this period undoubtedly social and religious clubs, societies, and other organizations. In the beginning we can imagine that there was little if any contact between the Greek priests and their Iranian counterparts, but in time the Greek propensity for identifying local deities and local stories with their own, probably influenced Iran as it did other areas and religions in the Near East. Eddy has suggested that the break-up of the Achaemenid Empire in Iran meant the rise of local cults and practices in Zoroastrianism, with varying degrees of religious opposition to the conquerors.[98] Both the religious and cultural unity, such as it was under the Achaemenids, was broken under the Seleucids and the Parthians, not to be restored, and then incompletely, until the Sasanians. It seems as though the Seleucid control of the route from Media to Bactria divided the Iranian area between north and south, such that outlying centers developed their own traditions, their own variants of the Aramaic script for their native languages, and some differences in Zoroastrianism even though we cannot recover them. Under the Seleucids, the Sogdians, Khwarazmians and Bactrians in the east developed independently, as did the Armenians, Georgians and Albanians in the Caucasus, as well as the isolated Caspian peoples. Presumably, in Persis the traditions of the Achaemenids, in religion as well as in society, were best maintained. Eddy (p. 330) maintains that local resistance to the rule of foreigners was based on the desire to throw them out, to end social and economic exploitation and to

[98] Eddy, *supra*, *King is Dead*, 81, 328. His use of the Bahman Yasht and the Oracle of Hystaspes as sources for a widespread religiously organized opposition to the Seleucids, in Persis, is unconvincing. This is not to deny the reality of an anti-Alexander–Seleucid–Parthian bias in these and other priestly writings but apocalypses and sibyls are notoriously difficult to pin down to actual events, other than long-standing resentments or the like. Cults and temples proliferated in Iran under the Seleucids, and one must not use later texts as accurate indices for the Seleucid period.

regain power to protect native law and religion. The last, however, was hardly a compelling motive in Iran except for the natural desire to be dominant, but any strong impetus to recreate a central state to replace the Seleucids was absent. Perhaps just as Alexander had brought an end to the heyday of the independent Greek *polis*, his death also really brought an end to the idea of a unified, centralized government in the east, the union of religion and state, although the reality of this belief under the Achaemenids is also open to question. In any case, we find no more a unified Zoroastrian opposition to Seleucid rule than a unified striving to re-establish an Iranian Empire.[99] This was not to come for many centuries in a new world of organized state religions.

The activities of Greek savants such as Berossos in Mesopotamia cannot be discussed here, but in Iran we have no comparable names. It is not our purpose to examine Iranian influences on the Greeks, but they too were impressive. Just the influx of new foodstuffs such as the peach 'the Persian apple,' citron 'Medic apple' and alfalfa 'Medic grass,' to name a few, indicates the interchange between peoples in this period.[100] The great expansion of trade with the east under the Seleucids must have impressed the natives and influenced them. But this, as in the case of the Fine Arts, is most probably a post-Seleucid development, since the century and more of Seleucid rule on the Iranian plateau is a time of separation, Greek art and Achaemenid art in western Iran and Greek art with local, folk art in Bactria and elsewhere in the east. The effects of Hellenism which led to a Greco-Iranian syncretic art are strong *after* the Seleucids had left the east, but they left behind cities and local dynasts, some of whom perhaps were even more pro-Hellenic in their sentiments than were the Seleucids. In the arts, this Greco-Iranian synthesis about the beginning of the first Christian millennium developed into Parthian art in the west and Greco-Buddhist or Gandharan art in the east, but that is a later story.

[99] The idea that under the Achaemenids church and state were highly organized and centralized is, of course, absurd, and the Sasanian belief that the period from Alexander to Ardashir was a period of the rejection of that ideal is also false. Zoroastrianism had a long period of steady development to the Sasanian period and Greek religious ideas and rituals, on the whole, were not very different from the Iranian, so the idea of an organized Iranian religious opposition to the Greeks is highly unlikely. The opposition of Alexander to the exposure of corpses in Bactria (Strabo XI, 517) cannot point to a general opposition to Zoroastrianism but merely to a custom repugnant to the Greeks, but even this story is suspect.

[100] See Forbes, *op. cit.*, 2 [ch. 3, n. 8], 87; 4, 46–55, and elsewhere. Some Iranian philosophers or scientists existed, but we have no information about them.

CHAPTER VII

GRECO-BACTRIANS, SAKAS AND PARTHIANS

Literature: Over thirty years ago writings on the Greco-Bactrians were based only on numismatics, as well as a few art objects, mostly silver vessels, but it was the remarkable series of coins which first attracted the attention of scholars. The history of research in previous publications was summarized by K. V. Trever in her *Pamyatniki Greko-Baktriiskogo Iskusstva* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1940). On a much wider scale, and approaching the Greco-Bactrians from the side of India, were the two volumes of A. Foucher, *La Vielle Route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila*, MDAFA, 1 (Paris, 1940–47), 2 vols. This pioneer work is a survey of the geography and history of ancient Afghanistan and northwest India until the Islamic expansion into India under the Ghaznavids at the beginning of the second millennium of our era. Here he described in detail his position on the origin of 'Gandharan art,' which he called Greco-Indian art, as the residue of Hellenistic influence on Buddhist northwest India which produced the flowering of Buddhist art known as 'Gandharan' in the first century of our era. This assertion was opposed by other scholars who believed that Gandharan art had no local predecessors but was '*planted in a vacuum*' and influenced by provincial Roman art, according to the summary of M. Wheeler, "Gandhara Art: a note on the present position," in the *8th Congrès international d'archéologie classique* of Paris 1963, published as *La rayonnement des civilisations grecque et romaine sur les cultures périphériques* (Paris, 1965), 560. The links between the Greco-Bactrians and Gandharan art even after the excavations at Ay Khanum still present problems, and controversy over the western or Roman influences on Gandharan art has not been stilled. Most likely there continued an echo of Greco-Bactrian art which contributed to a new art in the service of Buddhism sponsored by the Kushan rulers, who had contacts with the Roman Empire, which influence contributed much to the formation of Gandharan art. This will be elucidated in the chapter on the Kushans.

Parallel to the controversies of the art historians went research in numismatics, for the chronology and history of the Greco-Bactrians was based almost entirely on coins, dated by style and the symbols and monograms on them. Many new coin types have been found in recent years and the order of rulers has been rectified several times. Since World War II the work of numismatists and art historians has been supplemented by archaeological excavations in present Soviet Central Asia, Afghanistan and the subcontinent of India which have given new vistas especially on the material culture of the area where the Greco-Bactrians ruled. The most important of these excavations has been the Hellenistic city of Ay Khanum, identified as Alexandria on the Oxus by the excavator Paul Bernard in R. Andrim et P. Bernard, "Trésor de monnaies Indiennes et Indo-Grecques d'Aï Khanoum," *RN*, 5 série 15 (1973), 238–89, and 16 (1974), 7–41, or as Eucratideia. I. T. Kruglikova, however, in "Novye antichnye pamyatniki Yuzhnoi Baktrii," in I. R. Pichikyan, ed., *Antichnost i antichnye traditsii v kulture i iskusstve narodov Sovetskogo Vostoka* (Moscow, 1978), 270, identifies Dilberdzhin Tepe northwest of Balkh as Eucratideia. A new site on the Oxus, Takht-e Sangin, promises new Greek remains; cf. B. A. Litvinskiy and I. R. Pichikıyan, "The Temple of the Oxus," *JRAS* (1981), 133–67. The results of excavations at Ay Khanum since 1964 have been published almost yearly in *CRAI*, and sometimes twice a year as in 1975, pp. 167–96 and 287–322, as well as *JA* and elsewhere. The results of the excavations 1965–68 are found in P. Bernard, *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum*, MDAFA, 21 (Paris, 1973); cf. C. Y. Petiot-Biehler et P. Bernard, "Trésor de monnaies grecques et gréco-bactriennes trouvé à Aï Khanoum," *RN* 6 serie, 17 (1975), 23–70. Other sites have had Greco-Bactrian strata such as Dalverzin Tepe on the Surkhan Darya in southern Uzbekistan, where the finds of wall paintings and sculptures, however, are from a later period and the Greco-Bactrian remains are limited to a few stone column bases and pottery. Cf. G. Pugachenkova, *Les Trésors de Dalverzine Tépé* (Leningrad, 1978), and in Russian, her *Dalverzintepe, kushanskii gorod na yuge Uzbekistana* (Tashkent, 1978), 240 pp. A survey of recent Soviet archaeological work in Central Asia is given by B. A. Litvinskii, "Problemy Istorii i Istorii Kultury Drevnei Srednei Azii 1967–77," *VDI*, 4 (1977), 73–92. A veritable diarrhœa of articles and books on the art and archaeology of the Kushan period, as well as materials on earlier periods, has appeared in the Soviet Union, but it is impossible to even find many of the publications. In Taxila, Pakistan, the town called Sirkap apparently was a foundation of the Greeks from Bactria. See J. Marshall, *Taxila*, 1 (Cambridge, 1951), 112. A survey of the many publications over a time period of just over two years on the Indo-Greeks and the Kushans is given by G.

Fussman, "Chronique des études kouchanes (1975–77)," *JA* (1978), 419-36. The section of 'Asie Centrale' in the *Abstracta Iranica*, supplements to *SI*, gives summaries of the publications in this area; see also the section on Achaemenids and Greeks in *The Archaeology of Afghanistan*, ed. by F. R. Allchin and N. Hammond (London, 1978), 187–233. The bibliographies in that publication as well as in *Numismatic Literature* of the ANS are very useful.

The three basic general works on the Greeks are W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1951). A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* (Oxford, 1957), with Hellenistic and Indian viewpoints resp. of the authors coloring their surveys, and F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Geschichte Mittelasiens im Altertum* (Berlin, 1970), with many stimulating idiosyncracies; cf. the long review by R. Schmitt in *WZKM*, 67 (1975), 31–91. All of the general works must be read with caution, for the surmises in them cannot be considered as facts, while the varied approaches of the authors must be remembered. Tarn was a Classicist who reads perhaps too much into reconstructed variant readings in Greek and Latin texts, while Narain relied overly on numismatics, and Altheim followed Tarn but wove personal notions into his narrative. For a political history of the Greco-Bactrians, numismatics is certainly more important than elsewhere, and many publications on coins must be consulted. A good survey is found in A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus of Indo-Greek Coins* (Calcutta, 1965), to be supplemented with the compilation of M. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage* (London, 1976), which, however, contains some questionable specimens as well as conclusions. Catalogues of coins are also important, especially those with large collections such as the British Museum by Percy Gardner (London, 1886), the Lahore Museum by P. B. Whitehead (Oxford, 1914), the Indian Museum in Calcutta by Smith (Oxford, 1906) and others, but hoards are of most importance, since their provenance is known. For the Greco-Bactrian period the Oxus treasure hoard is the largest and earliest, and a bibliography of it is given in M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm and C. M. Kraay, *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards*, ANS (N.Y., 1973), 263–64. The Ay Khanum hoard has been mentioned above, and to the hoards listed by Thompson, *et al.*, the following should be noted: Mir Zakah northeast of Gardiz; cf. R. Curiel et D. Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, MDAFA, 14 (1953), 65–91, Qandahar by D. MacDowall in *Afghan Studies*, 1 (London, 1978), 51, Butkara in Swat, Pakistan by R. Göbl, in *A Catalogue of Coins from Butkara*, 1 (Rome, 1976), as well as minor finds in many Soviet and Indian excavations.

The period of nomadic invasions, primarily of the Sakas (c. 130 B.C.–A.D. 50) has produced perhaps a smaller literature on coinage and archaeology than the Greeks. For numismatics, see the compilation by Mitchener noted above as well as the catalogues of collections already mentioned, plus A. K. Srivastava, *Catalogue of Saka-Pahlava Coins of North India* (Lucknow State Museum, 1972). See also G. K. Jenkins and A. K. Narain, *The Coin-types of the Saka-Pahlava Kings of India* (Numis. Soc. of India, Varanasi, 1957) and many articles in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*. The doctoral thesis of K. Walton Dobbins on the coinage and epigraphy of the Sakas and Pahlavas at the Australian National University at Canberra in 1972 will be published in Islamabad, Pakistan, and it will bring up to date work on this period. On the migration of the Sakas to Seistan, all material has been assembled by P. Daffina, *L'Immigrazione dei Sakā nella Drangiana* (Rome, 1967), while an analysis of nomadic movements from their burials is found in A. M. Mandelshtam, *Kochevniki na puti v Indiyu* (Moscow, 1966), although his main excavated site of Tulkhar in the Bishkent valley of Tajikistan dates from the Kushan period. The wealth and far-flung connections of the nomad chiefs may be seen in the 20,000 gold pieces from graves of early Kushan leaders. See V. I. Sarianidi, "The Treasures of Golden Hill," *AJA*, 84 (1980), 125–31. There have been no large exclusively Saka sites excavated, although strata from the nomadic period have been found in excavations in Soviet Central Asia and on the subcontinent.

THE GREEKS IN CENTRAL ASIA AND AFGHANISTAN

The revolt of Diodotus, governor of Bactria under the Seleucid Antiochus II, cannot be dated, although much has been written about the circumstances of the break away of the eastern part of the Seleucid Empire. We have seen that the coinage of Antiochus II at Bactra changes to his portrait with the legend 'King Diodotus' and finally to the issues of Diodotus with his own portrait and legend, which implies that the process leading to independence was not a sudden break. The fraternal war between Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax, after the death of Antiochus II in 246 B.C., probably provided the occasion for a definite and complete break, since the era of the breakaway of the

Parthians, who were contemporaries of Diodotus, began from 247 B.C. less than a year before the death of Antiochus II. Wolski has written many articles on the rise of the Parthians which he has insisted took place in 238 B.C., for him a year after the revolt of Diodotus.[1] His arguments from the text of Justin (XLI, 4) that the revolts of both Parthians and Bactrians took place during the struggle between Seleucus II and Antiochus Hierax have convinced all Classicists, but the absence of coins of Seleucus II in the east, and the date of the beginning of the Parthian era remain to be explained. A prolonged period of separation from Seleucid rule with a gradual break-away seems the best answer to this problem in spite of the arguments of Wolski.

When we remember that both Alexander and Seleucus took Bactrian or Central Asian wives, the possibility of an early and continuing feeling of accommodation between the natives and the conquerors is not an unlikely surmise. Whether the policy of the Greco-Bactrians was one of sharing of rule and the assimilation of conquerors and natives, as opposed to a Seleucid policy of pure colonialism with Greek supremacy in every domain, as suggested by Tarn and others, is impossible to substantiate. Nonetheless Greek influence was not only stronger but more lasting in Bactria than elsewhere in the east, but the Greco-Bactrian kingdom must be considered one of the great Hellenistic kingdoms, together with the Seleucids and Ptolemies.[2]

Diodotus, according to Justin, died a short time after becoming king and was succeeded by his son of the same name, who made peace with the Parthian king to the west. According to Narain (*supra, The Indo-Greeks*, 16) the portraits of the elder and the younger Diodotus appear on different coins and both of them issued "coins with the name of Antiochus," followed by "money with their own name, type, and portrait complete." Why should Diodotus II, however, strike coins with the name of Antiochus on them after his father had declared his independence and had proclaimed himself king? It is hardly conceivable, as Narain proposes, that both father and son played with the coinage, sometimes putting the name of Diodotus on a portrait coin of Antiochus II and sometimes having a portrait of either Diodotus on coins, with the name of Antiochus. More likely, as suggested above, was a changed relationship with the Seleucids, which is difficult to reconstruct solely on coin types. It has been suggested that father and son participated in joint rule in the period when Bactria was still subject to Antiochus II, and both issued coins in the name of the Seleucid ruler, and later both changed to their own portraits and common name. Other instances of

[1] J. Wolski, "Les Iraniens et le royaume gréco-bactrien," *Klio*, 38 (1960), 117, "Der Zusammenbruch der Seleukidenherrschaft im Iran im 3. Jh. v. Chr.," in *Der Hellenismus in Mittelasien*, ed. by F. Altheim (Darmstadt, 1969), 188–254, and with a detailed analysis of the text of Justin (Trogus) in "Untersuchungen zur frühen parthischen Geschichte," *Klio*, 58 (1976), 439–57. Justin has *eodem tempore* (of the fraternal war) *etiam Diodotus, mille urbium Bactrianarum praefectus, defecit regemque se appellari iussit.*

[2] Bactria was surely the center of Greek colonization in the east, for Sogdiana and Khwarazm show far less Hellenistic influence in their material remains, not to mention the use of Aramaic later rather than Greek as the alphabet of writing. Cf. articles by Staviskii (esp. p. 211), Lelekov (esp. p. 228) and Vorobeva (234–35) in Pichikyan, *supra, Antichnost.* To deny the Bactrian Greeks the epithet of a 'Hellenistic monarchy' on the grounds that they acted differently from Ptolemies and Seleucids, as Narain, *supra, Indo-Greeks*, 11, argues, ignores the evidence of Ay Khanum and a certain parallel with the Bosphoran kingdom of south Russia. The Greco-Bactrians were absorbed in India, but they were the heirs of Alexander as were other Hellenistic kingdoms.

joint rule and joint coinage exist but here we have no proof. Unfortunately, all argumentation about the rise of the Greco-Bactrians and the Parthians as well is subjective. For example, J. Wolski in many articles has argued that it is unthinkable that Antiochus II would have allowed a break-away of the east from Seleucid control, and it must have been in the time of the fraternal war of Seleucus II that both Bactria and Parthia declared their independence.[3] His dating of the events as 239 B.C. for the revolt and assumption of kingship by Diodotus, with the Parthians a year or more later, may by correct as the final break, but *de facto* the independence of Bactria must have been a reality more than a decade earlier. Wolski's further suggestion that the Greco-Bactrian revolt was one of Greeks and Iranians against Macedonians finds no support in the sources and is difficult to follow, at least from the position of the native Iranian population who hardly distinguished between the two foreign groups. Other scholars have argued that only one Diodotus existed, but the statement of Justin as well as the coins with old and young portraits suggest that two rulers with the same name are needed to fill the gap in time between the middle of the century and the time of Euthydemus and Antiochus III, rather than one king represented in youth and old age. On the other hand, Justin's dating of the break-away of the east under Seleucus II, in the first Punic war when Lucius Manlius Vulso and Marcus Attilius Regulus were consuls of Rome, cannot be considered reliable as Narain (p. 14) pointed out, since the consuls were in office in 256 B.C., while Seleucus only began to rule in 246. All attempts to change the names of the consuls or to explain the discrepancy in other ways only shows that approximate dates were recorded, and the sources are not concerned with precisely dated events.

The Greco-Bactrians probably ruled Sogdiana, and probably also the oasis of Merv according to Strabo (XI, 517), but the existence of some coins of Diodotus (presumably the father) with the appellative *sotēr* 'savior' hardly can be interpreted as a reference to his conquests, although the defeat of a nomadic invasion from the north cannot be excluded. Justin's statement that the first Parthian ruler feared Diodotus I but made peace with his son implies an aggressive policy of the first Greco-Bactrian king, but beyond this surmise one cannot go. The theory of Tarn (*op. cit. supra*, [ch. 1, n. 23], 74) that Diodotus II was married to a Seleucid princess has no basis in the sources. Sometime, perhaps about 230 B.C., a certain Euthydemus from Magnesia (which Magnesia is unknown) apparently overthrew Diodotus II, for Polybius (XI, 34) says he destroyed the descendants of those who had revolted (against the Seleucids). Narain is probably correct in rejecting Tarn's hypothesis that the Seleucid princess, widow of Diodotus I but not the mother of Diodotus II, married one of her daughters to Euthydemus and incited him to overthrow Diodotus II on behalf of the Seleucids. In any case, no evidence exists for this elaborate reconstruction, and the next bit of information comes from Polybius (X, 49) about the invasion of the Seleucid king Antiochus III. The latter defeated Euthydemus on the Hari Rūd, which at least indicates that the Greco-Bactrian kingdom extended to Herat. Afterwards

[3] Wolski, "Untersuchungen," [n. 1], 444, where further bibliography is given. Wolski bases his chronology on a statement of Strabo (XI, 515) that the revolt of Diodotus took place before that of the Parthians, against Arrian's *Parthika*, who puts both revolts under the rule of Antiochus II. To change Strabo's (XI, 515) Euthydemus to Diodotus and then use Strabo as a source for the date of the Greco-Bactrian revolt, as Wolski and others do, is not convincing.

Antiochus pursued Euthydemus to his capital, called Zariaspa, and besieged him there for two years. The explanation of the name of the city as 'having golden horses,' which was taken from an appellation of Bactra relating to the goddess Anahita, proposed by Altheim, may be correct, but surely the main city of Bactria is meant, and we do not have two different towns.[4] According to Polybius, Euthydemus made peace with Antiochus and retained his title of king, invoking the fear that nomads would destroy them if they did not make peace. The two rulers concluded an alliance and Antiochus promised one of his daughters in marriage to Demetrius, son of Euthydemus. Having obtained some elephants, he crossed the Hindukush mountains and made or renewed an alliance with Sophagasenus, an Indian ruler, after which he returned to the west in 206–205 B.C. Afterwards no Seleucid ruler even came near to the Bactrian Greeks, for they were separated by the Parthians.

The find spots of coins may aid in establishing geographical limits of rule, but primarily hoard finds of copper coins, which do not travel, are reliable in this matter. In Soviet Central Asia coins, or copies of coins, of later Greco-Bactrians, such as Heliocles, have been found, but coins of Diodotus and Euthydemus are conspicuous by their absence. This can mean either that such coins had a small circulation or they were not in current use north of the Oxus River. Copper coins with the name Diodotus on them have been found in Afghanistan but they are not plentiful, so in any event we may conjecture that the coins had a small circulation. Whether Sogdiana, including the Ferghana valley, was under the rule of Diodotus cannot be determined, but at some time Greco-Bactrian rule in some way included this northern province.[5] Beyond Sogdiana there is little evidence for Greek rule and the finds of imitations of coins of Heliocles in eastern Ferghana tell us little about earlier Greco-Bactrian rule there.[6] The mere finds of coins, of course, must not be considered evidence of rule, solely from the find spots or the presence of certain types; for example, the uncovering of a coin of Diodotus and four of Eucratides from an excavation in the Caucasus region cannot attest to Greco-Bactrian rule there.[7] Consequently the use of numismatics in reconstructing history must be regarded with great circumspection. Since coins cannot aid us in reconstructing the northern borders of the Greco-Bactrian state under the early kings, we must turn to India and the conquests of Demetrius, son of Euthydemus.

Strabo (XI, 516) quotes Apollodorus of Artemita, who says the Greeks of Bactria became so powerful because of the fertility of their land that they conquered Arianē

[4] Altheim and Stiehl, *Geschichte Mittelasiens* [ch. 6, n. 49], 403. The statement of Pliny (VI, 48) that the name of the river was Zariasta (*sic* for Zariaspa) may be true, while Ptolemy's (VI, 11, 6) designation of a people called Zariaspi living there tells us little other than that they were Iranians.

[5] For places in Afghanistan where coins of Diodotus are preserved see Lahiri, *supra*, *Corpus* under 'Diodotus.' Coins of Heliocles and Eucratides have been found north of the Oxus in several sites. For a bibliography of the sites with such coins see B. Ya. Staviskii, *Kushanskaya Baktriya* (Moscow, 1977), 239–41. The coins of Eucratides from the Tulkhar kurgan in the Bishkent valley of Tajikistan were copper, but probably later copies of Eucratides' coppers.

[6] Cf. V. M. Masson, "Drevnebaktriiskie monety, chekanennye po tipu tetradrakhm Geliokla," *EV*, 11 (1957), 63–75. Imitations of coins of Heliocles probably were struck by the nomads who ended Greco-Bactrian rule, and Masson suggests this find indicates an opening of the 'silk route' to China not by the Greeks but by nomads.

[7] S. A. Dadasheva, "Greko-Baktriiskie monety, naidennye na territorii Kavkazskoi Albanii," in *Baktriskie Drevnosti*, ed. by V. M. Masson (Leningrad, 1976), 106–09.

and India, and some tribes were subdued by Menander while others by Demetrius son of Euthydemus. Until the reign of Demetrius most scholars agree on the general outlines of the rule of the Greek kings of Bactria, but with Demetrius, and more with his successors, numismatists dispute the sequence of events. Tarn sought to extend the conquests of Euthydemus into Chinese Turkestan (pp. 84–87) and those of his son deep into India (pp. 142–45), but all the evidence adduced for these far-flung conquests, such as coins and seals found in the two areas, possible Greek words in the documents in Prakrit from Sinkiang, and the import of nickel from China, are all quite weak evidence for Greek rule so far east. It is true that Apollodorus of Artemita in Strabo (XI, 516) says that they extended their rule as far as the Sēres and Phruni, but the identity of the latter has been disputed. In any case this statement implies that their rule extended only to Chinese Turkestan, which could have really meant the Ferghana valley or the Alai valley, or even the Pamirs.[8] Whichever direction the Greco-Bactrians expanded, their hold over outlying territories to the north and east of their center in Bactria must have been tenuous. Since only the coins of later Greco-Bactrian kings are found in territories north of the Oxus, an expansion later than Euthydemus might be suggested. India, however, presents other problems, for Narain, while conceding that Demetrius conquered Arachosia and possibly part of Seistan-Drangiane, does not include the mountainous part of present Afghanistan. This has been convincingly refuted by another numismatist, A. Simonetta, who showed that the arguments of Narain for the occupation of the Paropamisos only later by a Demetrius II are unacceptable.[9] We may assume that Demetrius I did occupy the Paropamisos and Arachosia, the latter primarily because of a notice in the *Parthian Mansions* of Isidore of Charax (paragraph 19) that such a city existed there, probably named after Demetrius I. But Narain (p. 43) is probably right in rejecting extensive conquests of Demetrius I in India against Tarn and Altheim. Demetrius probably did not rule later than c. 185 B.C., but the many successors present problems.

The activities of counterfeiters or forgers, both ancient and modern, have greatly complicated the studies of numismatists, who depend on coin styles, monograms and variations in titles to reconstruct the history of the later Greco-Bactrians, but even

[8] Cf. Tarn, *op. cit* [ch. 1, n. 23], 84, who refutes the identification of the Phruni or Phuni as Huns, while Narain, 170–71, identifies the Sēres, to be read Sures, as Chinese Su-le or Kashgar and the Phruni as people inhabiting the valley of Tashkurghan. These identifications were refuted by J. Harmatta in "Sino-Indica," *AAH*, 12 (1964), 10–11, but his further assumption that the Greco-Bactrians ruled in Sinkiang is only a guess. His reconstructed readings of inscriptions are not convincing. Altheim's discussion (*op. cit.* [n. 1], ch. 20) of the two peoples is an exercise in philological ingenuity but unconvincing historically. J. Harmatta, "Sino-Indica," *AAH*, 12 (1964), 12–13, believes the Greco-Bactrians under Demetrius did control Sinkiang and the 'silk route' to the east, but his reasons here too are unconvincing.

[9] Cf. A. M. Simonetta, "A new essay on the Indo-Greeks, the Sakas and the Pahlavas," *EW*, 9 (1958), 157. Narain, *supra*, *Indo-Greeks*, 30–31, bases his claim on the absence of coins of Demetrius I from the Kabul region and in India, but coins of Demetrius I are rare in general and we simply have no coin finds from excavations near Kabul, and the hoard from Mir Zakah near Gardiz is too far to the east. Demetrius I may not have reigned long and we must be careful in assuming that wherever he went he at once introduced a new coinage. The curious elephant scalp headdress on his coins does imply southern conquests and, since the commemorative coins of Agathocles dedicated to Demetrius call him *Anikētos*, this implies a series of victories somewhere.

without forgeries there are problems.[10] The successors of Demetrius I may have been related to him, or there may have been a second Demetrius if one judged by coins. The numismatic evidence is not unequivocal, but in general those coins struck on the Attic standard of weight only using Greek legends come from Bactria, while the coins on the Indian (or lighter) standard with bilingual legends in Greek and Kharoshthi were struck south of the Hindukush.[11] Coins of both types exist for a Demetrius with different styles, and the question is whether we have a Demetrius I and another II. The matter is complicated by the statement of Justin (XLI, 6) that Eucratides, a successor of Demetrius I "was besieged by Demetrius, king of the Indians with an overwhelming force, but Eucratides escaped after a five-month siege and subsequently conquered India." The question naturally is which Demetrius, if there be two? Did Eucratides revolt against Demetrius I and his two commanders Menander and Apollodotus, as Tarn thinks, or against Demetrius II as Narain concluded? There is not agreement on the sequence of rulers following Demetrius I, and one must rely on comparisons of monograms, facial features and other items on the coins to make conjectures. One reasonable guess is the following: since Demetrius I was a young man when Antiochus III invaded Bactria in 206 B.C., and Eucratides was the one who overthrew the family of the Euthydemids about the time that Mithradates I of Parthia came to power about 170 B.C., according to Justin (XLI, 6), and if it were Demetrius I whom Eucratides overthrew, the coins would necessarily portray a man at least in his fifties, and the coins of the first Demetrius do show a man of such an age. Eucratides, however, if we are to believe the evidence of the widespread finds of his coins, plus the statement of Justin (XLI, 6) that Mithradates I of Parthia conquered Media about the time of Eucratides' death, lived until about 148 B.C., when the Median conquest took place, and thus he had a reign of over twenty years.[12] In any case, whether we have two rulers with the name Demetrius or only one, in the period c. 170–150 B.C. we may postulate that a split in the Greco-Bactrian domains occurred. It seems that at least two families now dominated the scene, that of Eucratides in the north and the successors of Euthydemus and Demetrius to the south of the Hindukush. One of the latter family may have been Antimachus Theos, who possibly ruled north of the Hindukush when Demetrius I or II was busy to the south. He was the first king to call

[10] For a discussion of such forgeries see Lahiri, *supra*, *Corpus*, 62–68. See also G. K. Jenkins, "A Group of Bactrian Forgeries," *RN* 6 série, 7 (1965), 51–57.

[11] A D H Bivar in a series of articles devoted to the monograms on the coins, on the other hand, has shown that coins solely with Greek legends and based on Attic weight could have been struck south of the Hindukush to pay troops, or for prestige value. Cf. his "Indo-Bactrian Problems," *NC* V, seventh series (1965), esp. 104–05, and his "The Sequence of Menander's drachmae," *JRAS* (1970), 128–29. His conclusion that the monograms either represented mints or mint masters, more or less in the same spatial locale, is confirmed by his studies of the monograms. South of the Hindukush one main mint was at Alexandria *ad Caucasem*, another at Pushkalavati (the present plain of Peshawar) and another at Taxila, while other mints were rare or temporary, which proposal makes sense.

[12] The date of the Parthian conquest of Media should be after 148 B.C. according to the dated Greek inscription on the bas-relief of Herakles at Behistun, mentioning a satrap of the 'upper provinces' called Cleomenes. Everyone had assumed that this satrap could only have been a Seleucid officer, but it is conceivable that he may have continued to hold this title under Parthian rule until Mithradates appointed Bacasis in his place, acc. to Justin (XLI, 6). Another possibility, of course, is a short recrudescence of Seleucid rule in Media, after an initial conquest by Mithradates I, but more data is needed to decide.

himself Theos 'god,' and the first to issue commemorative coins with a bust of Diodotus *Σωτηρος* on the obverse and the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΥ* on the reverse, or with a bust of Euthydemus with the same legends. Numismatists have conjectured that Antimachus was a younger brother of Demetrius I or II, but at least a member of the same family. There also may have been a Euthydemus II as well as a Demetrius II because of varied coin types, but the proliferation of names on coins now makes the reconstruction of a sequence of rulers of one or the other family very difficult.

Eucratides, whose origin is unknown, may have been a governor of one of the northern or western provinces of the Greco-Bactrian state, such as Sogdiana or Herat before his revolt. After attaining power he struck a commemorative coin probably showing his parents, a certain Heliocles and Laodice alone wearing a diadem, indicating that she may have been a princess of the Diodotus or Euthydemid line. Eucratides was successful in expanding his power to the south of the Hindukush, but he lost two provinces in the west, Touriva and Aspiōnes, to the Parthians, according to Strabo (XI, 517). Tarn (*op. cit. supra*, [ch. 1, n. 23], 88) accepted a proposed correction of Strabo's text to read Tapuria and Traxiane, about present day Borujird and Meshhed respectively. Tarn's correction is hardly acceptable, however, but there is no way to identify these two 'satrapies' except to note that the size of the satrapy had declined, perhaps even more than Tarn thought, and the two most likely would be in the Merv-Herat areas rather than farther west close to the Parthian homeland.[13] Tarn claimed that Eucratides was a cousin of the Seleucid Antiochus IV, creating a fascinating story of the attempt of Antiochus IV to revive the empire of Alexander the Great, and he began his dream by sending his general Eucratides, governor of the 'upper provinces,' who overthrew Demetrius (*op.cit. supra*, [ch. 1, n. 23], 195). All of this reconstruction starts from a Greek inscription from Babylon naming Antiochus IV the 'savior of Asia,' and Tarn then weaves a tale of Eucratides marching from Babylon eastward through Seistan to Bactria, on the way defeating sub-kings of Demetrius, Agathocles in Seistan and Antimachus in Herat. Unfortunately Tarn's vivid imagination is not based on sources either literary or numismatic. Likewise the 'so-called' dates on coins of Plato and Heliocles have been identified as monograms, and Altheim's surmises (*supra*, *Mittelasien*, 57–63), based on these dates, cannot be accepted. We do have the name of the city Eucratideia in Bactria from Ptolemy and Strabo, evidence of rule here, and further Strabo (XIV, 686) says that Eucratides ruled a thousand towns in India, a standard number but nonetheless indicative of his conquests there. Justin (XLI, 6) says the Bactrians became fatigued fighting the Sogdians, the people of Seistan, Herat and India, which may in this case mean the conquests of Eucratides against such rulers as Antimachus, Pantaleon and Agathocles, one or all of whom may have ruled before or concurrently with Eucratides. Since coins of Euthydemus, Antimachus and Eucratides have been found in greater

[13] Tarn corrected the text of Strabo even more in his "Seleucid Parthian Studies," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 16 (London, 1931), 22–24, and identifies the two words as reference to one satrapy, eastern Tapuria or Astauene. He considers the original text of Apollodorus, copied by Strabo, to have read 'the Tapuria of Aspiones (and Traxiane).' This is ingenious, especially the identification of Aspiones as a personal name, but the rest is unconvincing. Likewise Altheim's (*op. cit.* [n. 1], 577) identification of the first name as Turan is unacceptable.

quantity than other Bactrian rulers north of the Oxus River, one may tentatively assign Antimachus as a ruler in that area.[14] Later the Sogdians imitated coins of Euthydemus while other 'barbarian' coins copied issues of Eucratides or Heliocles.[15] The first losses of territory of the Greco-Bactrians north of the Hindukush were probably to the Parthians, as we have seen, but either under Eucratides or his successor Heliocles, Sogdiana and other northern areas were probably lost to nomadic invaders sometime about 140 B.C. According to some numismatists the northern provinces of the Bactrian kingdom became independent earlier, beginning after the death of Euthydemus, since the barbarous copies of his coins with debased Greek legends are supposed to have been minted shortly after the death of Euthydemus.[16] Since coins of both Euthydemus and Heliocles have been found in Central Asia as well as copies of both (see note 15) it would seem that the copies were made later, even after the fall of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom, rather than during the reigns of the two kings. There is no evidence for an independent state in Sogdiana other than a possible kingdom under a sub-king or vassal of the main Greek ruler of Bactria, for the coins which are copies of the two rulers mentioned above are generally assigned to the century after the fall of the Greco-Bactrians.[17] In any case, we have no basis on which to determine the time of the falling away of the northern areas of the Bactrian kingdom, but the date of the famous statement of Strabo (XI, 511) listing the nomads who took Bactria from the Greeks, which we shall discuss below, is generally considered to apply to the time span 135–130 B.C., so northern areas must have been lost earlier.

After the Bactrian Greeks moved south of the Hindukush they soon extended their sway over the northwestern plains of the sub-continent. It is now assumed that the great variety of coins were struck at a few mints, at Alexandria, near present day Charikar, at Pushkalavati, probably present Charsada, and at Taxila, with later mint sites at Gardiz and elsewhere.[18] As mentioned, Demetrius I began the conquest of Indian territories, but the extent of his conquests is still much disputed. The proliferation of bilingual coins with Greek legends on one side and a Prakrit legend in the Kharoshthi script on the other indicates a kind of duality of the rule of the Greeks to the south of the Hindukush, and Narain may be followed in designating the rulers after Heliocles, the last Bactrian ruler, as Indo-Greeks. Before turning to the most famous of the Indo-Greek rulers, it should be noted that between Demetrius I and Menander we must account for a number of kings, or possibly sub-kings, who for the most part seemed to have ruled on both sides of the Hindukush. Of the Euthydemids,

[14] Cf. B. Kastalskii, "Neizdannaya Greko-Baktriiskaya tetradrakhma-medal Antimakha I, bitaya v chest Evtidema I," *VDI*, 3–4 (1940), 347. A silver and a copper coin of Eucratides have been found in excavations in Khwarazm but no other coins with Greek legends; cf. B. I. Vainberg, *Monety Drevnego Khorezma* (Moscow, 1976), 176.

[15] Cf. A. N. Zograf, *Monety "Geraya"* (Tashkent, 1937), 24, and Thompson, *et al.*, *supra*, *Inventory*, 265. On copies of Eucratides coins see A. N. Mandelshtam, "K predkushanskomu chekanu Baktrii," *EV*, 17 (1966), 85–90, and on copies of Heliocles see V. M. Masson, "Drevne baktriiskie monety, chekanennye po tipu tetradrakhm Geliokla," *EV*, 11 (1956), 63-75. The latter were found in Ferghana. See also M. Mitchiner, *The Early Coinage of Central Asia* (London, 1973), 26-35.

[16] Mitchener, *op. cit.* [n. 15], 26, with references to articles of E. Drouin.

[17] See Staviskii, *op. cit.* [n. 5], 159–60 and 239–42.

[18] Cf. G. K. Jenkins, *Ancient Greek Coins* (London, 1972), 261, and for Gardiz see Bivar, "Sequence" [n. 11], 129.

from the coins one might distinguish, as mentioned, a second Euthydemus as well as a second Demetrius but they are disputed. Antimachus and Pantaleon also have been mentioned, followed by Agathocles. Agathocles' coins are especially noteworthy in having Prakrit legends in the Brahmi alphabet, as did Pantaleon. But more striking are the 'commemorative' coins of Agathocles, a better term for these coins than Tarn's 'pedigree' coins. Agathocles struck coins in honor of Euthydemus, of Demetrius and Pantaleon, as well as Alexander, Antiochus and Diodotus.[19] Then we have an Apollodotus who has caused controversy because of the variety of the monograms on his coins implying a very long reign. In such cases numismatists postulate a second ruler with the same name, and such is the case with Apollodotus.[20] Overstrikes on coins usually are good evidence for one ruler immediately succeeding the one whose coins are overstruck with the name of the former, but it is also possible that the interval in time is much greater than a few years. The various surmises on family relationships are difficult to resolve if based only on coins, as they are; for example, the queen Agathocleia, portrayed on coins with Strato, has been considered the daughter of Demetrius I by Tarn (p. 225), or a daughter of Demetrius II by Narain (pp. 75, 181), or as a daughter of Agathocles by Simonetta (*infra*, n. 9, p. 160). Many agree that she was the wife of Menander and mother of Strato, although Simonetta argues that she was the wife of Apollodotus I and mother of Strato. Bivar, however, places Strato much later and suggests that Agathocleia was his consort rather than his mother, and his arguments are a bit more convincing than previous surmises.[21]

Menander, no matter who was his queen or his son, was that Greek king who made such an impression on the Indians by his conquests in the sub-continent that he was remembered in Indian sources, especially the Buddhist work in Pali the *Milindapañha*, the questions of King Milinda, presumably Menander. It has been shown that the earliest name for the Greeks was a Prakrit form Yona borrowed from Old Persian Yauna and then Sankriticized to Yavana, with a later Prakrit form Yonaka, all usages prior to the Greco-Bactrian invasions of India.[22] So the names of the invaders of the sub-continent in various Sanskrit works are neither earlier nor later than the Prakrit forms. The examples of the imperfect tense referring to a recent action in the Sanskrit commentary of Patañjali on the grammar of Pānini indicate that the Yavanas at some time were besieging Sāketa and Madhyamikā both deep in India. In Buddhist tradition Menander became a Buddhist hero and the prototype of a wise king. Whether an original Greek book called the 'Questions of Menander' of a Greek comedian was conflated with legends about the Greco-Bactrian king in the Buddhist work, as Tarn proposes, presents problems, but this is not germane to our task, which is restricted to the Iranian cultural area. References to Greeks and to Menander in

[19] H. P. Francfort, "Deux nouveaux tétradrachmes commémoratifs d'Agathocle," *RN*, 17 (1975), 19–22, and P. L. Gupta, "Three Commemorative Tetradrachms of Agathocles," *JNSI*, 38 (1977), 92.

[20] Simonetta, *op. cit.* [n. 9], 159. Likewise the murder of Eucratides by his son, according to Justin (XLI, 6), has been attributed to a certain Plato, or to Eucratides II, or to an unknown son of Demetrius, all guesses.

[21] Bivar, "Indo-Bactrian Problems" [n. 11], 94, 102. Altheim follows Tarn. On the sequence of rulers see also K. W. Dobbins, "The Sequence of Bactrian Coins," *Numismatic Digest*, 2 (London, 1978), 1–13.

[22] C. Töttösy, "The Name of the Greeks in Ancient India," *AAH*, 3 (1956), 301–18.

Indian sources have been discussed by Narain and others, and his view on the limited conquests of the Greek kings in the Ganges basin, rather restricted to raids, and no rule of the Indus delta is convincing. The realms of the Greeks were certainly in the northwest of the sub-continent, and we assume the existence of a number of kingdoms, the changing boundaries of which cannot be determined. The contemporary flourishing of several kingdoms seems a more likely hypothesis than that of a large, unified kingdom with sub-kings as has been proposed by some numismatists.

Menander is also the only Greek king mentioned in an inscription in India, and this is a Kharoshthi Prakrit inscription on a steatite casket found in Bijaur, north of Peshawar, a Buddhist dedication in the reign of the *maharāja* Menander.[23] Unfortunately this tells us nothing other than the name of a later donor of the casket, and the reason for the name Menander remains obscure. The dating of Menander has raised much controversy, but the consensus now is that he ruled c. 155–140 B.C. in very general dates.[24] Bivar (*infra*, n. 24, p. 126) claims that 155 B.C. is not only the date of the accession of Menander but also the beginning of a new era of dating in ancient India, which may be a good guess. Also, as he suggests (p. 133), "there is a hint in one of the scarce literary sources (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 821 D) that the kingdom was divided after his death, and the same deduction can be made from his coins." The geographical location of the realms of his successors Zoilus, Lysias, Antialcidas and Theophilus, as well as others, cannot be determined any more than their dates, and one can say little other than the probable continuation of the Euthydemid rulers and either an extinction of the Eucratidid house or at least a drastic shrinking of any realms they ruled in the Hindukush mountains. As Bivar suggests (*infra*, n. 24, p. 173), only through a study of the legends, including their places on the coins, can the chronology of the kings be attempted, together with a review of the mongrams which give evidence of the place of striking, even if they are considered the signs of mint masters rather than the mints themselves. Further hoard finds such as the remarkable one from the Qunduz area in Afghanistan can revise the surmises built over the years on those coins previously available for study.[25] The new finds in that treasure, probably buried a short time after the fall of the northern Greek kingdom(s), indicate that a number of late rulers who hitherto had only struck bilingual coins also had struck coins only in Greek and in the Attic weight, such as Lysias, Theophilus, Archebius, Philoxenus, Amyntas and the very last king Hermaeus, while new examples of Antialcidas were also found (*infra*, n. 25, p. 61). Further, the important hoard of Qunduz seems to prove that the Greek coins of the Attic standard were intended to circulate north of the Hindukush, whereas the bilingual coins on the Indian standard were current to the south, although some late 'Greek only' legends may be simply prestige issues. A further conclusion from this hoard is that a Greek kingdom seems to

[23] N. G. Majumdar, "The Bajaur Casket of the Reign of Menander," *Epigraphica Indica*, 24 (1937), 1–8, and comments by S. Konow in *EI*, 27 (1940), 52–58, as well as in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Jan. 1940, also his article in *JRAS* (1939), 265.

[24] Bivar, "Sequence" [n. 11], 126, 132; cf. Altheim, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 591, and Narain, *supra*, *Indo-Greeks*, 181, who extends his dates to 130 B.C. Simonetta, *op. cit.* [n. 9] 162, believes Menander ruled circa 130 B.C. and not early as the others affirm.

[25] R. Curiel et G. Fussman, *Le trésor monétaire de Qunduz*, *MDAFA*, 20 (1965), with bibliography of other studies. The list of rulers who struck coins with only Greek legends, only bilingual, or both types (pp. 81–82) is especially instructive.

have continued to exist in the northern foothills of the Hindukush even after the demise of the Greek domains in India or on the Bactrian plains, after the nomadic invasions. The hoard is a major source for a discussion of the end of Greek rule in Central Asia and Afghanistan.

We already have noted the copies of coins of Euthydemus, Eucratides and Heliocles in Central Asia, probably dating from after the nomadic invasions of that area or from the fall of the Greco-Bactrians. It is at once clear from coins and artistic remains that Greak influence in general was very small in Khwarazm, more in the Zarafshan valley, but less in the adjoining Ferghana valley, and most in the lands south of the Hissar mountain range, in northern Bactria south to the Oxus, and in southern Bactria from the Oxus to the Hindukush. This conclusion is also based on the use of the Greek alphabet in Bactria, whereas to the north Aramaic continued in use until native Khwarazmian and Sogdian began to be written in the post-Greek periods. It can also be seen in the later art in the different areas that Greek influences were strongest in Bactria, and less visible to the north, which is understandable, since they were far removed from the central Greek influences in Bactria.

In the mountains of Afghanistan the Greeks seemingly continued to live after the nomads occupied the plains, but the city of Ay Khanum was not destroyed by nomads, as far as archaeology can tell us; rather the inhabitants seem to have left the site sometime towards the end of the second century B.C.[26] The easiest interpretation of the end of Greek rule north of the Hindukush is that the rulers left for the mountains in the face of nomadic invasions, and the local settled people remained in the various towns paying allegiance to new nomadic masters, but allowing the Greek theater at Ay Khanum, for example, to be used as a depository for the bones of the dead according to local custom. Altheim has proposed that the Greco-Bactrian kingdom north of the Hindukush did not fall to nomads, but rather to Mithradates I of Parthia about 139 B.C., but then the Greeks regained their independence after the death of Mithradates in 138/7 B.C. to finally succumb to the nomads.[27] Tarn (pp. 222–23) previously had suggested that Mithradates I had occupied most of Bactria after defeating Eucratides, and, following a late Christian Latin author Paulus Orosius, suggests that Mithradates' conquests extended into India, but which part of 'India' is not mentioned in Orosius. It is conceivable that Mithradates, after taking the area of Herat from the Greco-Bactrians did campaign to the south in Seistan and to the east in Arachosia, for there is no coin evidence of continued Greco-Bactrian rule in Seistan, whereas in Arachosia the absence of early Parthian coins, either from excavations or in the bazaar of Qandahar is noteworthy.[28] Since copper coins of later Indo-Bactrian rulers are relatively plentiful in this area, one

[26] Cf. P. Bernard in his report of the 1976–77 excavations in *CRAI*, (Paris, avril–juin 1978) 450, and in the unpublished proceedings of the Kushan congress in Kabul in Nov. 1978, and in J. C. Gardin et P. Gentelle, "Irrigation et peuplement dans la plaine d'Aï Khanoum," *BEFEO*, 63 (1976), 97.

[27] Altheim, Stiehl, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 49], 597–98, not accepted by Narain and others.

[28] On the question of Mithradates' conquests to the east see E. Herzfeld, 'Sakastān,' *AMI*, 4 (1932), 40–41, and Daffina, *supra*, *Immigrazione*, 41–43, who concludes that Mithradates I did not go farther than Arachosia. The use by Altheim of Diodorus (XXXIII, 20) who mentions an Arsacid king (Mithradates?) who became lord of Porus' realm without fighting, is rightly rejected by Daffina and by Tarn, *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 23], 524.

may presume a raid by Mithradates rather than any lasting conquest.[29] In any case, the Parthians as well as the Greeks were to feel the force of the nomadic invasions which changed the face of the east even though the legacy of their predecessors was to continue in many ways.

We know nothing of the administration of the Greco-Bactrian domains and may assume that Seleucid models were followed with provinces and subdivisions of provinces. An innovation seems to have been the 'meridarch' mentioned in several Indian Prakrit inscriptions, although the title was used in Phoenicia and Palestine under the Seleucids seemingly as a financial post.[30] There may have been a system of sub-kings as some numismatists have proposed, but the overlaps of kings' names on coins could be attributed to territorial divisions or separate domains, or even to joint rules. We simply do not know, but since sub-kings are not found elsewhere in the Hellenistic world there is no compelling reason to assume them here. Commemorative coins and overstrikes, it should be noted, are not usually taken to be evidence for sub-kings. In India, local divisions probably were followed, but again we have no sources for local administration.

It is not possible here to discuss the many fascinating details of the legacy of the Greeks in Central Asia, especially in the realm of material culture, for their contributions to art and archaeology are continually revealed in excavations. Scholars agree that under the Greco-Bactrians urbanization greatly developed in Central Asia with the copying of well-organized square or rectangular grid plans for towns and in spite of hyperbole, when both Trogus (in Justin) and Apollodorus (in Strabo) call Bactria the 'land of a thousand cities,' we may presume there was a flowering of urban settlements. High walls and towers surrounded the towns and trade and commerce developed perhaps more, relatively, than agriculture, although increased irrigation also extended the cultivated land, not only in Bactria proper but probably elsewhere too.[31] In a series of articles and books Pugachenkova has studied the Hellenic influences on Bactrian architecture, especially the popularity of the Corinthian stone column, or modifications of it in Central Asia.[32] Other than Ay Khanum, only a small site called Saksan-Okhur in Tajikistan on the banks of the Panj River is dated to the late Greco-Bactrian period, primarily because of the quadratic plan and the central place of a court, as at Ay Khanum, a distinctive feature of Bactria but unlike Greek cities in the west.[33] So already local influences assert themselves in the time of Greek rule, to develop further in later periods.

[29] D. W MacDowall and M. Ibrahim, "Pre-Islamic Coins in the Kandahar Museum," *Afghan Studies*, 1 (1978), 67–68.

[30] For references to the inscriptions see Narain, *supra*, *Indo-Greeks*, 95, and for the west Mørkholm, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 93], 108–09.

[31] Cf. Gardin/Gentelle, *op. cit.* [n. 26], 97. They stress, however, that the population of Ay Khanum was small even though the city walls were imposing, and conclude that the city was a center for a large and well-populated surrounding area based on agriculture.

[32] For a survey of both art and architecture with bibliography in notes see G. A. Pugachenkova i L. I. Rempel, *Istoriya Iskusstvo Uzbekistana* (Moscow, 1965), 35-101, her *Khalchayan* (Tashkent, 1966), and "Zodchestvo antichnoi Baktrii-traditsii i svyazi," in Pichikyan, *supra*, note 2, 217–24, and other articles in this work. Ionic columns have been found in Taxila, but apparently they were very rare compared to Corinthian capitols.

[33] On Saksan Okhur see B. A. Litvinskii i Kh. Mukhitdinov, "Antichnoe gorodishche Saksanokhur," *SA*, 2 (1969), 160–78, and Litvinskii, "Drevnii sredneaziatskii gorod," *Drevnii Vostok*, Goroda i Torgovlya (Erevan, 1973), 121-24.

From the coins as well as statues and other art objects some idea of the various cults, Greek as well as ancient Near Eastern or local Central Asian, which existed in Bactria may be inferred. For example, the discovery of a silver medallion with Cybele on a chariot at Ay Khanum suggests some attention to ancient Near Eastern cults, while a bronze statuette of Herakles attests the popularity of this Greek hero, even far to the east of the Hellenistic world.[34] Local Bactrian cults of a mother goddess and other deities are attested by clay figurines, and one may suppose in this period already considerable syncretism, or rather an identification of Greek with Iranian deities, such as Apollo with Mithra, although more evidence is available for the Kushan era than from the earlier periods.[35] Some scholars place great weight on the evidence of burials from archaeological sites, not only for interpretations of religious beliefs and practices, but also as an aid in the understanding of the society and culture of an area. Whether ancient Greek practices clashed with local observances is difficult to determine. At Ay Khanum an excavated necropolis revealed two types of burial; in a mausoleum both mud brick sarcophagi as well as funerary jars with bones in them were found, and later, presumably after the departure of the Greeks from the city, many bones were found all over the stage part of the Greek theater.[36] The exposure of bodies to birds and animals is a well-known Zoroastrian custom, if not an even more ancient eastern Iranian practice, so the discovery of such a way of disposal of the dead at Ay Khanum should not be surprising. What we cannot determine is how the different modes of disposal of corpses co-existed, and if there was any interchange or adaptation in practices by one segment of the population with another.

We may conclude that the almost two centuries of Greek rule in Bactria and Central Asia saw a concentration of Hellenistic settlements and the founding of cities in Bactria proper, with a conservativism in the preservation of Greek customs, the Greek language, and a separation between the Greek rulers (by Greek also Macedonian, Thracian and Anatolian is implied) and the local population. There is no evidence of serious conflicts between the Greeks and the local population; on the contrary, a gradual fusion of the two seems to have progressed. With the independence of the Greeks in Bactria we may presume that colonists from the west ceased completely. Even if Eucratides were found to be a Seleucid general sent by Antiochus IV to reassert Seleucid rule in Bactria, which is unlikely, he surely did not bring a contingent of Greek colonists with him. Most likely after the death of Antiochus III any Bactrian connections with the Seleucids were only on the basis of agreement or treaty between two sovereign states. It is possible that an exchange of mercenaries existed at times between the two states, but any consequences of such hiring for both powers were negligible. An impressionistic but colorful assessment of the legacy of Alexander in the east has been provided by Wheeler, while popular books in Russian on the general subject abound.[37] The main difference in our knowledge of the heritage of the Greeks today as compared with half a century ago is the end of what was called the 'Bactrian mirage,' with a realization from finds at Ay

[34] For illustrations and references see Allchin/Hammond, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 43], 227.

[35] G. Pugachenkova, "O kultakh Baktrii v svete arkheologie," *VDI*, 3 (1974), 125–35.

[36] Bernard in *CRAI* (avril–juin 1978), 440–41.

[37] M. Wheeler, *Flames over Persepolis* (London, 1968), 63–122, and in Russian, V. M. Masson, *Strana tysyachi gorodov* (Moscow, 1966), 33–73, B Ya. Staviskii, *Mezhdu Pamirom i Kaspiem* (Moscow, 1966), 78–95, and many others.

Khanum and from Soviet excavations in Central Asia that the later Buddhist art called Gandharan did have roots in Bactria, even though it was a revival based on impulses from the Roman Empire. New coin hoards and finds of Greek coins in excavations will enable numismatists to better establish geographical and chronological frameworks for the many rulers of this part of the world in the two centuries before our era.

NOMADIC INVASIONS

This period of history is generally called that of the Saka and Indo-Parthian dynasties previous to the rise of the Kushan Empire. For the first time, Chinese sources may be utilized with caution for a reconstruction of history in this part of the world. A powerful Chinese emperor Wu ti of the Han dynasty sent an emissary to the west called Chang Ch'ien who returned to China in 126 B.C. His report was included in the history *Shih-chi*, chapter 123, which account essentially is repeated with many embellishments in the *Han shu*, or annals of the former Han dynasty.[38] The Chinese accounts have been translated so many times it almost seems superfluous to repeat them, especially as there are no great problems in the translations as there are in the interpretations. The *Shi-chi* simply says that the Yüeh-chih were defeated by the Hsiung-nu and went far away. They passed Ta-yüan and in the west they attacked and subjugated Ta-hsia. They made their capital north of the Kuei-shui (Oxus River) and made it their royal court.[39] Much has been written about the Chinese ethnic and geograhical designations, especially about the name Yüeh-chih which has been identified as a Chinese transcription of *Ἰατίοι*, of Tokhar(ian), of Scythian or as the great 'Ghara' people or 'mountaineers.'[40] Whatever the etymology, they should be identified as one of the nomadic tribes which invaded Bactria, according to Apollodorus (Strabo) and Trogus (Justin). The former names the Asii, Pasiani, Tochari and Sakarauli, while the latter says the *Saraucae(sic) et Asiani* seized Bactria and the Sogdians.[41] The name Sacaraucae has been explained as 'Saka commanders' by Bailey, and they may be identified as a tribe of the 'royal Scythians' or Sai-Wang 'Saka king(s)' of Chinese sources.[42] Since many tribes in the steppes in later times had clans

[38] See E. G. Pulleyblank, "The Wu-sun and Sakas and the Yüeh-chih migration," *BSOAS*, 33 (1970) 154–60.

[39] *Ibid.*, 154, and Narain, *supra*, *Indo-Greeks*, 129.

[40] H W Bailey proposes an Iranian form of the Chinese Yüeh-chih as **yaδ-čik* and associates the name *Tokhara with the Chinese designation as the *Ta* or 'great Ghara' people. Cf. his "Śrī Viśa Śura and the Ta-uang," *AM*, 11 (1964–65), 6, with further references. Bailey returned to his Ghara theory in his lectures delivered at Columbia University, N.Y. in the fall of 1979 Pulleyblank, *op. cit.* [n. 38], and in his "The Consonantal System of Old Chinese," *AM*, 9 (1962), 90, however, proposes the identification Tokharian = Ta-yüan, which is usually identified as Ferghana

[41] *Pompeius Trogus, Fragmenta*, ed. by O. Seel (Leipzig, 1956), 178, book 41. The enigmatic caption at the end of the summary of his 'addition to Scythian affairs,' *reges Tocharorum Asiani interitusque Saraucarum*, book 42 on p. 180, has been emended in various ways. The last name is obviously a slip for Sa(ca)raucae. For another view, and an etymology of Sacaraucae, see R. Schmitt in *WZKM*, 67 (1975), 87.

[42] H. W. Bailey, "North Iranian Problems," *BSOAS*, 29 (1979), 27–28. For a criticism of Haloun's identification of the word Yüeh-chih as 'Scythian,' see E. G. Pulleyblank, "Chinese and Indo-Europeans," *JRAS* (1966), 17. The Asii generally have been identified with the As-Alans, the descendants of whom are the Ossetes of the north Caucasus who speak a neo-'Saka' language.

or sub-tribes which had prerogatives of rule, it is not unlikely that much earlier the nomads also had a royal clan to which others owed allegiance. The name Pasiani has been called a misreading of Parsi 'Persians' or simply a repeat of Asii with an Iranian -n ending and the Greek feminine article replaced by a p-, but there is little one can do with the text.[43] Since it is not relevant to our history whether the Yüeh-chih originally spoke a dialect of the *centum* Indo-European language called Tokharian, the problems of identification of words and etymologies are not of concern to us.

It is significant that according to the Classical sources several groups of nomads invaded Bactria, while all of the Chinese sources speak only of the Yüeh-chih, although the early *Han shu* adds the information that in the previous course of their movement in the north the Yüeh-chih had defeated the Sai-wang who then went south.[44] The easiest way to reconcile the two is to assume that the Chinese mentioned two large but different peoples, the Yüeh-chih and the Saka, whereas the Classical sources spoke of tribal names, the Asii or Asiani, being a Saka tribe, and the Tokharians either to be identified with the Yüeh-chih, or at least part of them. Ta-hsia has been identified as the land of the Tokharians, as Greeks, as Daha to the east of the Caspian and otherwise, but whatever the phonetic identification or meaning, Ta-hsia should be either the Bactrian kingdom or a part of it. Over the years Sinologists have wrestled with Chinese transcriptions of foreign words and many enigmas still remain, and given the Chinese propensity to designate peoples or tribes as *Ta* 'large' or *Hsiao* 'small,' as well as the genius of the language for puns, many mysteries, such as identifications of western tribes, will remain to plague the reconstruction of the past. From both the Classical and Chinese sources we may say that sometime in the second century B.C., and estimated dates have ranged from 175 to 150 B.C., the Yüeh-chih moved from the western borders of China under pressure from the Hsiung-nu across Sinkiang, into the territory of the Sakas in the Ili-Ferghana area. Some of the Sakas then went south about the middle of the second century B.C. and the question arises whether these Saka had anything to do with the fall of Bactria. Narain (p. 134) suggests that the Sacaraucae and Asianii, two Saka tribes, as a result of being displaced in their northern homeland by the Yüeh-chih, were those nomads who caused trouble for the Parthians after the death of Mithradates I. These western Saka he distinguishes from eastern Saka who moved south through the Kashgar-Tashkurgan-Gilgit-Swat route to the plains of the sub-continent of India. This would account for the existence of the ancient Khotanese-Saka speakers, documents of whom have been found in western Sinkiang, and the modern Wakhi language of Wakhan in Afghanistan, another modern branch of descendants of Saka speakers parallel to the Ossetes in the west. It also accounts for the large number of coins of Saka rulers found in those northwestern regions of the sub-continent. Thus, according to this theory, the Sakas moved south on both sides of Bactria but did not overthrow the Bactrian

[43] For a survey of suggestions on emendation see Narain, *supra*, *Indo-Greeks*, 132. Daffina, *supra*, *Immigrazione*, 54–56, equates the Pasiani with the Apasiakai, which does not help us with further deductions.

[44] Narain, *supra*, *Indo-Greeks*, 130–31. Daffina, *supra*, *Immigrazione*, 46, disputes the identification of *wang* 'king' as representing the last part of the word Sacaraucae, and reviews other theories. The existence of a tribe or sub-tribe of 'Royal Scythians' is not in doubt, only the Chinese usage, and it is difficult to decide if the passage means that the 'king of the Saka' moved south or the Sacaraucae moved south

kingdom, which was left to a later migration of the Yüeh-chih. From the Chinese sources one would assume that the decline and fall of the Bactrian kingdom was not a swift but rather a gradual process perhaps in several stages.

Beyond the mention of the migrations in the Chinese and Classical sources we have no other literary sources and archaeology cannot fill the gap. Excavations of *kurgans* or burial mounds of nomads from this period have given one indication which is the close similarity in the styles of objects left by those nomads who invaded Bactria and the art of the Sarmatians of South Russia, of whom the Alans-As were one tribe.[45] Thus archaeology does coincide with the sparse linguistic data to confirm the view of the nomadic invasions of Bactria as part of the great movement of tribes over Eurasia in this period. The theory that the Yüeh-chih were the speakers of the '*centum*' Indo-European tongue called 'Tokharian' by contemporary linguists is possible but relatively unimportant historically, since they adopted the local Iranian language of Bactria as their literary language and were in any case Iranicized. One theory had the Sacaraucae and Asiani first conquer Bactria to be followed after a decade by the Yüeh-chih or Tokharians. The Sacaraucae moved south, but the Asiani remained in Bactria and became feudatories of the Tokharians, and it was the Asiani who later supplied the chiefs of the Kushans.[46] This view is also based on ch. 123 of the *Shih-chi*, which suggests that even though the Yüeh-chih conquered Ta-hsia (Bactria) the former maintained their court north of the Oxus and left the latter more or less independent. All that may be said is that from archaeological excavations and from the absence of literary sources there is no evidence of violent destruction of Bactrian cities on the part of the nomads, and one may presume some sort of co-existence between the nomadic and settled population over a period of time, but any details are lacking.[47]

The Saka obviously went south to Drangiane or Zranka and gave their name to this province, Sakastan or Seistan today, but when this happened is disputed. If they followed a usual nomadic pattern rather than one of an invading army, the Sakas, whatever tribes participated in the move to the south, probably infiltrated the countryside from Merv to Herat and Seistan in the time of Mithradates I. It was under his successor Phraates II that the Saka became belligerent and defeated him. So in the middle of the second century B.C. the Saka were moving south into Seistan but probably not much beyond. Since two Parthian kings, Phraates II (died c. 128 B.C.) and Artabanus II (died c. 123 B.C.) lost their lives in warfare against the nomads, we may assume that in their time Saka power was at its height and they had occupied

[45] See esp. A. M. Mandelshtam, *Pamyatniki Kochevnikov Kushanskogo Vremeni v Severnoi Baktrii* (Leningrad, 1975), 148; also the series *Uspeki Sredneasiatskoi Arkheologii*, vypusk 1–3 (Leningrad, 1972–75). The continuity of culture from this period to the later Kushan era is also striking. O. Maenchen-Helfen in "The Yüeh-chih Problem Re-examined," *JAOS*, 65 (1945), 79–80, discusses the western movement of the Asii-Asiani-Aorsi-Arśi, and he asserts these were lords of the Tokharians, while the Digor dialect speakers of Ossetic are descendants of the Tokhari, an interesting but unsubstantiated surmise.

[46] L. Bachhofer, "On Greeks and Sakas in India," *JAOS*, 61 (1941), 247.

[47] Daffina, *supra*, *Immigrazione*, 65–67, proposed that the Sacaraucae and the Pasiani crossed the Oxus more or less together, the former moving south to Seistan while the latter occupied Bactria. As mentioned, he identifies the Pasiani with the Apasiakai, mentioned by Strabo (XI, 513) instead of considering the form with P- a mistake. Both guesses are possible, but, as usual for the east, we must say *non-liquet*.

some of Bactria as well as eastern Iran. The relationship between these Saka and the Yüeh-chih to the north is unknown, but no evidence exists for any relations in the second century B.C. What happened to the Saka in eastern Iran after the defeat of the Parthians?[48] Presumably the beginning of a Saka kingdom in Seistan may be dated from this period.

One scholar has maintained that there was only one Saka movement in this period of the Yüeh-chih invasion of the Bactrian kingdom (c. 130 B.C.) and this was an eastern invasion of Kashmir and the northwest part of the Indian sub-continent, following the Chinese annals of the former Han dynasty, from Sinkiang.[49] This movement of one group of Sakas, however, need not obviate the need to explain Seistan, which was hardly settled by Sakas coming from India. The fact that the *Parthian Stations* of Isidore of Charax (17 and 18) mentions both 'Zarangiane' and to the east of it Sakastane, implies the settlement of Sakas to the east of the Hamun lake by the first century B.C., since Isidore flourished in the following century.[50] If a Saka state were created in eastern Iran, it did not maintain its independence long, for Mithradates II (c. 123–87 B.C.), as Justin (XLII, 2) informs us, added many areas to the Parthian kingdom and several times fought successfully with the Scythians, and avenged the previous Parthian defeats. There is no evidence that Mithradates II either restored the limits of conquest of his predecessor Mithradates I or that he exceeded such boundaries in the east. All that may be said is the implication of Isidore's text that Parthian rule included Seistan and Arachosia, although clearly at times one or both areas were either fully independent or in some sort of dependent relationship with the Parthian kingdom. Before turning to the Parthian expansion in the east, however, the Sakas in India and the last of the Greco-Bactrians deserve attention.

The Saka migration to India from Sinkiang, part of the general movement of peoples in Central Asia in the second century B.C., has been mentioned, but a chronology and geographical details are lacking. The annals of the former Han dynasty (chs. 61 and 96) say that the Sai (Saka)wang went south and subdued Chi-pin; the Saka tribes were scattered and constituted several kingdoms in various countries.[51] Much has been written about the identity of Chi-pin, although all agree it is a land to the south of the Hindukush–Himalaya mountain range, some identifying it with Gandhara, others with Kafiristan and still others with Kashmir. Pulleyblank restores the ancient pronunciation as *kiei-pyin* < **kā(t)s-pēn* = *Kaspir

[48] J. Junge, *Saka Studien* (Leipzig, 1939), 102–03, following G Haloun, "Zur Üe-tşı-Frage," *ZDMG*, 91 (1937), 256, emends Asıanı ın the text to **cusani* and interprets *interitus* as the destruction of Saka power ın India by the Kushans. Tarn, *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 23], 306, explains this word by the defeat of the Saka near Merv by a Parthian of the Suren family who 'drove them across the Oxus where they perished,' all of which is unconvincing. Cf. Daffina, *supra*, *Immigrazione*, 77–80, who accepts the view of Junge.

[49] Junge, *op. cit.* [n. 48], 105–06. According to hım, this accounts for the existence of the Khotan-Saka language and close connections with India.

[50] On Isidore's dates see Daffina, *supra*, *Immigrazione*, 72, 75, 82.

[51] Translation in Narain, *supra*, *Indo-Greeks*, or in Bachhofer, *op. cit*, [n. 46], 242, in J. de Groot, *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens* II, Die Westlande Chinas (Berlin, 1926) 86–91, and Altheim, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 19], 608. Variations in translations are not vital to the general information that some Saka moved south to India, and there is no reason to doubt this information.

for Kashmir, which it probably was at a later period, but perhaps also in the second century B.C. as well.[52] In any case, some Sakas, but maybe only a few, crossed the mountains to the sub-continent of India. This account has been disputed by Tarn (p. 321), Daffina (*supra. L'Immigrazione*, 47) and Altheim (p. 609), who claim it is a later addition to the original text, when the Sakas from Seistan had established kingdoms in India, and the southward migration was a mere invention, since for them all of the Sakas in India came from the west. The first Saka ruler in northwest India was Maues, called Moa in the Kharoshthi alphabet on his coins, or possibly the same as the name Moga in a Kharoshthi inscription on a copper plate from Taxila.[53] There is no other information except the coins, and numismatists agree that the centre of Maues' rule was Taxila and territories to the north. One feature of the Taxila copper plate inscription raises questions, for it has the date 78, in an unknown era, while other inscriptions also with dates have produced a great literature about the existence of various eras in the sub-continent which were used for dating inscriptions. In India, as in the Seistan of Iran, we learn about the Sakas from later evidence of their presence, for example, in Sanskrit texts such as the epics the *Rāmāyana* (IV, 43, 12) and the *Mahābhārata* (II, 32, 17), but the history of the Sakas in India with their probable descendants in the Western Kshatrapas and others is beyond the scope of the present book.[54]

Numismatists now agree that Maues must have ruled in northwest India around 80 B.C. although the relative chronology of this ruler who had a long and varied series of coins is better understood than an absolute dating. The rule of early Saka chiefs in northwest India is closely bound with that of late Greek kings, according to numismatists, because of the copying of coin types and especially similar titles and the same monograms on the coins. It is impossible to discuss in the space here the various theories of dates and order of rulers in this part of the world, based on the same title on coins of different rulers, on overstrikes of one ruler on the coins of another and on the appearance or disappearance of monograms from various stages of the coinage of a ruler, since new finds of coins continually bring revisions to theories on the order of rule or the territories ruled by one king or another. One way of showing the changing fortunes of rule is to present a table of rulers and mints, usually identified by monograms on coins as well as their find spots, much of which is accepted by most numismatists such as Jenkins, Narain, MacDowall, Mitchiner, Mukherjee, Simonetta

[52] Pulleyblank, "Consonantal System" [n. 40], 218. This identification is disputed by L. Petech, *Northern India according to the Shui-ching chu* (Rome, 1950), but others support Pulleyblank. For various views see Narain, *supra, Indo-Greeks*, 136.

[53] For the coins see Jenkins/Narain, *supra, Coin Types*, 1, and for the Taxila plate inscription S. Konow, *Kharoshṭhi Inscriptions, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Calcutta, 1929), 28–29. Compare the name Maues with a Saka chief Mauakēs at the battle of Gaugamela in Arrian (III, 8, 3) and Meuakos in inscriptions from South Russia; cf. L. Zgusta, *Die Personennamen griechischer Städte der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste* (Prague, 1955), 118. The etymology is uncertain.

[54] Likewise fascinating topics such as the home of the Sakas, the legendary continent of *Śaka-dvīpa* in Indian sources, the *maga* priests of the sun cult, especially in the famous temple at Multan, the maga-brāhmaṇas, and other questions belong to Indian history.

TABLE OF RELATIVE CHRONOLOGIES AND SITES BASED ON COINS

(from Dobbins, Simonetta and others)

Bactria	Seistan	Arachosia	Paropamisos	Paktiya	Gandhara	Taxila	Rough dates
Sakas-Yüeh-chih (coins are imitations of Eucratides & Heliocles)	Sakas	Sakas	Archebius	Archebius	Archebius	Archebius	100 B.C.
			Amyntas	Amyntas	Nicias		
	Vonones & Spalahora	Vonones & Spalahora	Peucolaus	Vonones & Spalahora	Peucolaus Artemidorus	Telephus	80 B.C.
	Spalagadama	Spalagadama Spalyrios	Hermaeus		Maues Apollodotus II	Maues Apollodotus II	60 B.C.
	Spalirises Azes I	Spalirises Azes I	Pseudo-Hermaeus	Azes I	Pseudo-Hermaeus Hippostratus Azes I	Zoilus II Hippostratus Azes I	20 B.C.
Heraeus	Azilises Parthians	Azilises Parthians?	Pseudo-Hermaeus Parthians?	Azilises Azes II	Azilises Azes II	Azilises Arsaces? Azes II	A.D. 1
Kujula Kadphises		Orthagnes?	Kujula	Kujula?		Indravarma Aspavarma	A.D. 20
	Gondophares?	Gondophares Gadama?	Gondophares?	Gondophares	Gondophares	Gondophares Sasa	A.D. 40
			Abdagases	Abdagases	Abdagases	Abdagases	
Soter Megas	Pakores	Pakores	Soter Megas				
	Phraates	Orthagnes II? Sanabares?					A.D. 60
Vima			Vima	Vima	Vima	Vima	

and Dobbins.[55] General works by Narain, Tarn and Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw are not so useful as the detailed articles in establishing a chart of the rulers.[56] The chart below is obviously most tentative, since absolute chronologies in the east elude us; furthermore no two numismatists would agree on all dates and geographical extent of rules as proposed here, while Parthian or Saka vassal relationships are very difficult to discern simply from coins. At least from Indian sources we can distinguish between Sakas and Pahlavas, or Parthians, and we may assume that these two peoples, closely related to each other, divided the rule in the eastern part of the Iranian world. The relationship between Maues and Azes is unknown as is any connection between the Vonones group and Azes, but it is important to remember that the Sakas came into India probably as a tribal invasion or expansion, whereas the Parthians more likely came as a conquering army. Since the Parthian kingdom itself was feudal with semi-independent dynasts under the titulary rule of one king, it is not possible to determine the inter-relations and allegiances of the names we find on coins. We omit the names and titles of later Saka rulers in Western India, such as the Kshatrapas; their proliferation indicates a fragmentation of rule in the east. Likewise, titles have been omitted, for the pretensions of minor rulers to grandiose titles confuses attempts to arrange relationships according to titles, even though the changing titles do seem to indicate relationships between probable contemporaries.

THE PARTHIANS IN THE EAST

Literary sources are very sparse, and they are not unequivocal, but we have already mentioned probable conquests of Mithradates II in the east. Then come the Saka invasions. Several coins of Gotarzes I (c. 90–80 B.C.) have the names of mints written in full in Greek: Areia, Traxiane (present Sarakhs?) and Margiane, indicating Parthian rule over those areas.[57] Next we hear in Lucian (*Makrobioi*, 15) that Sinatruces, king of Parthia, was placed on the throne by the Sacaraucae when he was eighty years old and he then ruled for seven years. This statement implies an importance and power for the Sakas in the eastern part of the Parthian realm in this period. Thereafter we hear no more evidence of direct Parthian rule in the east, so we must turn to the coins, and we find first those of Vonones and his Saka successors.[58]

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TABLE OF RELATIVE CHRONOLOGIES AND SITES BASED ON COINS

(from Dobbins, Simonetta and others)

Bactria	Seistan	Arachosia	Paropamisos	Paktiya	Gandhara	Taxila	Rough dates
Sakas-Yüeh-chih (coins are imitations of Eucratides & Heliocles)	Sakas	Sakas	Archebius	Archebius	Archebius	Archebius	100 B.C.
			Amyntas	Amyntas	Nicias		
			Peucolaus	Vonones & Spalahora	Peucolaus	Telephus	
	Vonones & Spalahora	Vonones & Spalahora			Artemidorus		80 B.C.
	Spalagadama	Spalagadama	Hermaeus		Maues	Maues	
		Spalyrios			Apollodotus II	Apollodotus II	60 B.C.
	Spalirises	Spalirises	Pseudo-Hermaeus		Pseudo-Hermaeus	Zoilus II	
	Azes I	Azes I		Azes I	Hippostratus	Hippostratus	20 B.C.
					Azes I	Azes I	
Heraeus	Azilises	Azilises	Pseudo-Hermaeus	Azilises	Azilises	Azilises	
	Parthians	Parthians?	Parthians?			Arsaces?	A.D. 1
				Azes II	Azes II	Azes II	
Kujula Kadphises			Kujula	Kujula?		Indravarma	
		Orthagnes?				Aspavarma	A.D. 20
	Gondophares?	Gondophares	Gondophares?	Gondophares	Gondophares	Gondophares	
		Gadama?				Sasa	A.D. 40
			Abdagases	Abdagases	Abdagases	Abdagases	
Soter Megas	Pakores	Pakores					
			Soter Megas				
	Phraates	Orthagnes II?					A.D. 60
		Sanabares?					
Vima			Vima	Vima	Vima	Vima	

and Dobbins.[55] General works by Narain, Tarn and Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw are not so useful as the detailed articles in establishing a chart of the rulers.[56] The chart below is obviously most tentative, since absolute chronologies in the east elude us; furthermore no two numismatists would agree on all dates and geographical extent of rules as proposed here, while Parthian or Saka vassal relationships are very difficult to discern simply from coins. At least from Indian sources we can distinguish between Sakas and Pahlavas, or Parthians, and we may assume that these two peoples, closely related to each other, divided the rule in the eastern part of the Iranian world. The relationship between Maues and Azes is unknown as is any connection between the Vonones group and Azes, but it is important to remember that the Sakas came into India probably as a tribal invasion or expansion, whereas the Parthians more likely came as a conquering army. Since the Parthian kingdom itself was feudal with semi-independent dynasts under the titulary rule of one king, it is not possible to determine the inter-relations and allegiances of the names we find on coins. We omit the names and titles of later Saka rulers in Western India, such as the Kshatrapas; their proliferation indicates a fragmentation of rule in the east. Likewise, titles have been omitted, for the pretensions of minor rulers to grandiose titles confuses attempts to arrange relationships according to titles, even though the changing titles do seem to indicate relationships between probable contemporaries.

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How can we interpret the legends on the coins? Presumably if we find the title 'king of kings' on an eastern coin this would indicate complete independence from the Parthian great king, but the use of other titles, such as *ΒΑCΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑC*, does not thereby imply a vassal relationship. Coins with two names, one in Greek on the obverse and Kharoshthi on the reverse apparently do show a subordinate relationship such as coins of Indravarma and Aspavarma who are called *stratēgos* the Greek word for 'general' in the Kharoshthi script, but with 'great king of kings Azes' in Greek on the obverse. On the other hand, we have 'great king of kings Orthagnēs' in Greek on his coins, but on the reverse the same in Prakrit and Kharoshthi script with the name Gondophares, which has elicited many theories on the relationship of the two. Chance remarks in Classical or Indian sources can be enigmatic as well. We have mentioned the *Parthian Stations* of Isidore in which all the land to and including Arachosia is said to be under imperial Parthian rule, but the reality of such rule in the time of Isidore, who probably lived in the first century of our era, is dubious. Likewise the accounts of a king called Phraotes, who presumably ruled in Taxila, mentioned in the life of Apollonius of Tyana by Philostratus (II, 42), have been used variously to reconstruct a history of northwest India even though the moralistic and legendary nature of the work is apparent.[59] Another source is the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (Para. 38), which notes that the town of Minnagar, near the mouth of the Indus River, was subject to Parthian princes who were constantly driving each other out of it. From this remark we may infer merely that in the lower Indus valley area Iranian chiefs fought with each other, but beyond this we cannot go, for Saka lords might well be confused with Parthians in this period by a foreigner. Indian sources, such as the Jain legend on the origin of an era ascribed to Vikramāditya on his defeat of the Sakas, are even more unreliable or unusable than the Classical sources, in spite of attempts to use them as historical.[60] Chronologies with precise years of reign of various rulers should be rejected when presented as fact; they should be regarded only as guesses, some obviously quite fanciful, for only a relative chronology on very general lines can be accepted at this time. The question of eras, however, will be discussed under the Kushans.

Vonones, it seems, was the first independent ruler to issue coins, possibly in Seistan but more likely in Arachosia; associated with him was either his real brother or one who had an honorary title of 'just brother of the great king' as written in Kharoshthi on the reverse of coins of Vonones. This latter person had a Saka name Spalahora, and he was succeeded by his son Spalagadama, who like his father kept the name Vonones in Greek on the obverses of some of his coins; but on other coins, presumably later, we find in Greek the name Spalyrios with the title 'just brother of the king.'[61] What

[59] Herzfeld, "Sakastàn" [n. 28], 113, identified this Phraotes as an epithet *apratihata* 'triumphant,' of Gondophares, which was rejected by Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *op. cit.* [n. 56], 360, although Tarn, *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 23], 341, accepted it. It is better not to use Phraotes as an historical ruler when no coins of his have been found.

[60] As Altheim, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 19], 617; cf. also, but more cautiously, Tarn, *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 23], 335, and rejected by B. N. Mukherjee, *Central and South Asian Documents on the Old Śaka Era* (Varanasi, 1973), 89–93, with good reasons.

[61] Cf. Jenkins/Narain, *supra*, *Coin-types*, 3–4. The names have been given Saka etymologies by H. W. Bailey, "Ambages indoiranicae," *Annali, Istituto Orientale di Napoli* Sez. Ling. I, 2 (1959), 130–32. Vonones has been identified as a member of the Parthian Suren family by Tarn, *op. cit.*, [ch. 1, n. 23], 344, and others, and this may be so, but hardly his Saka successors.

do these titles mean? Attempts to explain the name of Vonones on the coins as an appellative for Mithradates II are based on a false etymology for Vonones 'the victorious' and are to be rejected.[62] The importance of the nephew of the king as his successor, however, is a widespread though not obligatory practice in Central Asia and is known from the Parthians to the Qarakhanid Turks of the eleventh century, to mention only two peoples where the practice of succession is attested.[63] Unfortunately, only brief notices exist of the Parthian 'brother of the king,' and no conclusions can be drawn about the nature of the institution or practice, and we have no sources other than the coins from the east.[64] Whether the institution of 'brother of the king' was similar to, or the equivalent of, a later title found in Iran, 'second' in rule after the king, is unknown, but obviously the problem of succession must have been important, especially in a nomadic society where life could be precarious and any institution of a vice-king or even sub-king would insure continuity.[65] Thus, because of this alone it is extremely difficult to reconstruct a history of the rulers in the east solely from coins.

It seems that after the rulers Vonones and his true or honorary brother Spalahora, followed by Spalagadama and then Spalyrios, who may have been the brother of Spalagadama, we have a certain Spalirises, who also calls himself 'brother of the (great) king,' but which king? Since he also struck coins with the legend in Greek 'great king Spalirises' on the obverse and in Kharoshthi on the reverse the same in the name of Azes, either a family connection or a political connection of the two may be presumed. Then, since Azes strikes some coins with Azilises, a continuation of rule if not in the same family at least in the same system of succession may be assumed, which seems to be different from that of the Bactrian- or Indo-Greeks or of the later Kushans. The existence of a second Azes seems assured by the coins. On the other hand, when one ruler overstrikes another's coins, it usually is a sign of defeat or conquest of the lands of the overstruck ruler, although it may mean usurpation or a similar act when we find a Spalirises overstrike on a coin of Spalagadama and Spalyrios, and then of Azilises on coins of Spalirises and also on coins of Azes I.[66]

With a new ruler, probably first in Arachosia, called Gondophares, we find some hints of his rule in sources other than coins, but great controversy has raged over his identification with the king Gaspar (with many variants) in Christian tradition.[67]

[62] Dobbins, *Coinage and Epigraphy* [n. 55], 53–54, while Herzfeld, *op. cit.* [n. 28], 96, identifies Vonones with the Parthian great king of the same name, and calls him a member of the Suren family. Joint coins of Azes and Vonones, contrary to Herzfeld, apparently do not exist.

[63] This is not the place to discuss theories of matrilineal as opposed to patrilineal descent and whether they played a role in the practice under discussion, as Herzfeld, *op. cit.* [n. 28], 94–95, believes, nor of tanistry as practiced by the Irish in their kingship. The subject of tanistry has many ramifications.

[64] On the Parthians, see Altheim, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 19], 621, and N. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago, 1938), 40.

[65] Cf. Frye, "Remarks on Kingship in Ancient Iran," *AAH*, 25 (1977), 78–82, with further references.

[66] On overstrikes conveniently see Dobbins, *Coinage and Epigraphy* [n. 55], 169–71, as well as other numismatic literature of Simonetta.

[67] Discussed with references in Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *op. cit.* [n. 56], 353–55, also by Konow, *op. cit.* [n. 53], xliii. The name is attested elsewhere, as early as the Behistun inscription. It is possible that a certain Orthagnes was the predecessor of Gondophares, or he may have been later. Some scholars have proposed that Orthagnes is an epithet of Gondophares since the name appears only in Greek while Gondophares appears in Kharoshthi.

This has been used to date Gondophares, but it can only be used roughly, for the tradition of St. Thomas itself must be later, but how much later? Following the principle that in such a legend as that of St. Thomas and his journey to India the reference to the name of Gondophares is not simply gratuitous, then no matter what the date of the legend, it seeks to pin the journey to a historical reality, and this fits well with the assumed dates of Gondophares solely on the basis of coins. From the distribution of find spots of coins of Gondophares, it seems that he ruled from Seistan to the Punjab, a large empire. He introduced a symbol or coat of arms on his coins ☿ which is found also on the coins of his successor Abdagases, who on some of his coins in Kharoshthi has 'son of the brother of Gadaphara,' thus presumably the nephew of Gondophares. The enigmatic coins of Sasa or Sasas do not have this symbol, although the Kharoshthi legend on some of his coins mentions his father's name Aspabhata, and on others we find Gudaphara, presumably the same name as Gondophares, but with no relationship implied.[68] The symbol appears again much later as the coat of arms of Shapur I the Sasanian where it is represented on his horse-covering on the relief of Ardashir at Firuzabad, and it is impossible to discover whether the symbol is a family sign (of the Suren family) to which the Sasanians might have been attached, or there is some other connection between Gondophares and the Sasanians. In any case, it does not appear in the east again.[69]

Other coins are not easily arranged in a sequence. For example, we have coins of Indravarma, who calls himself son of Vijayamitra, followed by his son Aspavarma, who bears the Greek title *stratēgos*, but the Greek legend has 'great king of kings Azes,' probably an Azes II.[70] Since their coins are found in northwest India, mostly from the Taxila mint, they were probably governors of, and after, Azes II.

Since coins of Gondophares were copied after his rule, the existence of a second Gondophares may be postulated. Even more enigmatic are those who struck imitations of the coins of Hermaeus, one of the last Greek kings of the Paropamisos, for it would seem that these chiefs or kings, perhaps Sakas, continued to strike imitations of Hermaeus down to the expansion of the Kushans in the first century of our era. It is clearly impossible now merely on the basis of coins to determine which Saka or Indo-Parthian ruler seized which area from the other, or from a Greek ruler, and how long it was held, although numismatists have endeavored to do this on the basis of monograms and find spots. With the discovery of more hoards and more excavations, however, the statistical probabilities would rise for identifications.

Some coin issues are especially illusive, including two series of a certain Arsaces, or perhaps two rulers with the usual name for Parthian kings on their coins. Another is Pakores, both series of which ruler cannot be simply western Parthian issues,

[68] Jenkins/Narain, *supra*, *Coin-types*, 18–20. Many scholars have assumed that the name, written as Sasasa, must be Sasan, but Scythian names Sasa or Sasas from South Russia exist; cf. Zgusta, *op. cit.* [n. 53], 142. Dobbins, *op. cit.* [n. 55], 124, identifies Aspabhata as Aspavarma, which is unproven.

[69] The Gondophares symbol is found counterstruck on some coins of the Parthian king Orodes I (c. 90–77 B.C.) and Artabanus III (c. A.D. 12–38), which indicates either a family usage (as the Suren) or possibly that Gondophares, or a successor, countermarked various coins which were current. Cf. E. J. Rapson in the *Cambridge History of India*, 1 (Cambridge, 1922), 578.

[70] Jenkins/Narain, *supra*, *Coin-types*, 23. The relation of this Azes II with Gondophares is unknown, but maybe there is some connection through the satraps Indravarma and Aspavarma, although they may simply be satraps, first under Azes II and then under Gondophares.

however, since they have Kharoshthi legends on the reverses. Since Pakores overstruck a coin of an early Kushan ruler Soter Megas, he should be placed late in the first century A.D.[71] Likewise the coins of Sanabares, with Parthian letters on some of his coins, present many problems, but since his coins have been found far to the north in Merv and Herat, we may regard him as a Parthian sub-king or independent ruler, and he should not be considered as belonging to the group of Gondophares.[72] This by no means exhausts the names of rulers or coins.

To summarize the period from the fall of the Greek kingdoms north of the Hindukush, one must at the outset say that conjectures abound, and one can only hope to present a picture which is generally correct, although the details will change with new discoveries, mainly inscriptions or coins. The Greeks, although they relinquished their rule of domains to the north of the Hindukush to nomadic invaders, did so probably not in a swift but rather a prolonged process. Greek kings continued to rule in the mountains and in northwest India after 130 B.C., when Sakas came there from Seistan and Arachosia, although some may have come from the north, from Sinkiang. The accession date of Maues, apparently the first Saka king who issued coins in the northwest of the sub-continent, is unknown but 90–80 B.C. is a likely surmise. Somewhat later, about 80–70 B.C. to use decades, Vonones ruled as an independent Parthian king in Seistan and Arachosia. Since coins of Maues are not found in the last two areas, we may regard the two rulers as contemporaries, though possibly only overlapping a few years in their reigns. How to crowd the many Greek kings into northwest India, Gandhara and the Paropamisos before this time is a difficult problem. From the number and find spots of their coins, Apollodotus, Archebius and Hermaeus were the most important of the last Greek rulers. The last named had his coins copied extensively, and one may postulate rulers of a local kingdom or kingdoms in the mountains who continued the traditions of this final Greek king in their area, sometimes probably acknowledging the overlordship of a greater Saka or Parthian king who, though he issued his own coins, may have allowed the local population to continue with traditional coinage. There may have been Saka chiefs who issued the pseudo-Hermaeus coins, as Dobbins suggests, but simply the local population might be better candidates.[73] There also may have been a revival of Greek power in some limited areas of eastern Afghanistan and northwest India with names on coins such as Telephus, Hippostratus, Strato, and of course Apollodotus II. Further Greek rule in the Punjab also has been assumed. The Sakas, having ended Greek rule, in turn were dominated by Parthian rulers beginning with Gondophares in the first part of our era. Since the Parthians were mixed with Sakas, they probably provided a ruling class, if not a ruling bureaucracy too, for the area extending from Seistan up to the Punjab. From the north, the Kushans, who had consolidated their power under a series of capable rulers, became the rivals of the Parthians and eventually swept various rulers aside to form a large empire. The legacy of the Greeks was carried by the Kushans perhaps more than by the Sakas, who had already influenced the Kushans

[71] A. Simonetta, "An Essay on the so-called 'Indo-Greek' Coinage," *EW*, 8 (1957), 53, plate 3.

[72] Cf. K. W. Dobbins, "Sanabares and the Gondophares Dynasty," *NC*, series 11 (1971), 140. The Sanabares coin, contrary to Dobbins, does not have the Gondophares symbol but one similar though not to be confused with it. The various reconstructions of numismatists are intriguing but frequently go far beyond the evidence.

[73] Dobbins, *op. cit.* [n. 55], 128 *et passim.*

with their Iranian 'steppe culture.' The Parthians, to the west, at this time were weak and could neither oppose the Kushans nor help their brethren in Arachosia and in India, and we may suspect that the eastern part of imperial Parthian domains, such as Seistan and Merv, were independent under Sanabares and his successors. We do not know what happened in Arachosia after the first century A.D., but Kushan authority seems to have extended over this province, if one judges by the number of Kushan coins found there.[74] The debasement of silver coinage after the reign of Azilises may reflect an economic decline in this part of the world. The economic importance of Seistan, Arachosia or the Kabul area in comparison with Gandhara and the Punjab should not be overestimated, but after Azilises, debased coinage was the rule until the imperial Kushans installed a gold standard. Seistan probably remained independent down to the Sasanian conquest, if we consider the coins of Arda Mitra to be prototypes of early Sasanian coinage. This will be discussed in the chapter on the Sasanians under the early eastern expansion of the Sasanians. In any case, the Kushans became the heirs of the Greeks and Sakas in the east, as the Sasanians did of the Parthians in the west.

One must not forget that this period of the history of eastern Iran, Afghanistan and northwest India, as in Iran proper, was one of independent 'sub-kings' and satraps, a 'feudal' society with much warfare and lack of central control. This is in contrast to the rise of Rome and the formation of the Roman Empire, but as frequently in history, this lack of centralized rule should not be interpreted as a period of cultural decay and unproductivity, for the material remains of the Sakas are impressive, especially the tombs of the Saka princes, such as the six *kurgans* of Tilla Tepe in northern Afghanistan where over 20,000 pieces of gold objects, such as buttons, pendants, plaques and weapons have been found. Although these tombs may belong to early Kushan princes rather than Sakas, it is impossible to differentiate the two.[75] In the tombs gold coins of the emperor Tiberius (A.D. 14–37) and a silver coin of Mithradates II of Parthia have been found, but so far no Greco-Bactrian or Kushan coins. The artistic finds, however, reveal widespread connections with Chinese, Indian, Greek, Saka (or 'Steppe') art, and the local art productions of Bactria, all evidence of a wealthy and ostentatious society. The art of these nomads, however, in spite of its striking but eclectic nature, was not the art of a mighty, centralized empire as that of the Achaemenids. Not only was the architectural grandeur of the Achaemenids missing, but the variety rather than the uniformity of smaller arts emphasizes the contrast with the imperial art of their predecessors. Of course, after the Achaemenids the entire east had been conquered by Hellenism, which was similar to modern 'Westernization,' but as today so then it was more or less limited to the upper classes. Some have equated the nomadic invasions with a revenge or a barbaric conquest of Hellenism by old Iranian culture, but if accepted, this could only be true

[74] D. W. MacDowall and M Ibrahim, "Pre-Islamic Coins in the Kandahar Museum," *Afghan Studies*, 1 (1978), 71–73. Overstrikes of coins of Gondophares on those of pseudo-Hermaeus, and by Kujula Kadphises on coins of Gondophares indicate a close temporal span as well as geographical contiguity of all of them

[75] Cf. V. I Sarinidi, "The Treasures of Golden Hill," ASA, 84 (1980), 125–31. Greek inscriptions on a ring and gold bowl, ivory combs from India, Chinese mirrors, and Siberian or 'steppe' gold plaques, all remind one of later finds from Begram.

in western Iran, or more particularly in Persis where Achaemenid traditions or memories were preserved. In the east the nomadic rulers adopted and adapted Hellenistic culture in its manifold aspects, and just as much later after the Arab conquests, so too after the nomadic conquests, including the Parthians, a new oecumenical culture was created in the east, primarily a Greco-Iranian syncretic culture with the three elements of Greece, nomadic Iran, and the ancient Near Eastern legacy of the Achaemenids fused. It was the merit of D. Schlumberger to have emphasized this syncretic art in his writings.[76] Before him the attention of art historians was riveted to the prolific production of Gandharan art, for other than coins it was the Buddhist art of northwest India which gave evidence of Hellenism in the east.

The problem, as seen in the past, was how to join the marvelous Greek coins of Bactria, which vanished after 130 B.C., in the minds of the investigators, to the profuse manifestations of western Classical influence in that Buddhist art of the Kushans and after, mostly dating after the second century of our era.[77] There was a hiatus of several centuries, and Alfred Foucher tried to bridge this gap in excavations in Balkh, while others tried elsewhere, yet the gap remained, such that Foucher despaired and began to speak of the 'Bactrian mirage' of Hellenism in the east. This led others to postulate a new Roman impulse on the Kushans and the designation of Gandharan art as a Roman provincial art, and the nomads were forgotten, since they obviously had little to contribute. The art of Gandhara will be discussed under the Kushans, but here suffice it to note that excavations at Ay Khanum have revealed a flourishing Greek culture and art in Bactria, while Surkh Kotal has given us a Greco-Iranian syncretic art, the early Kushan syncretism without Buddhism and Indian influences of later periods. So a link has been found in the culture of the nomads, primarily the Sakas, and its fusion with the settled culture which the nomads found in Bactria and elsewhere.

One tends to view history in terms of power which then is equated with civilization. The Achaemenid Empire, Alexander, then the Seleucids, the Roman Empire, the Sasanians, and the comparatively recently discovered Kushans in the east are the foci of historical surveys, and other periods are considered barbaric, periods of decline or inactivity. This view, of course, has much to do with the absence of sources or imposing monuments left to posterity, but it neglects the changes among the populace in favor of stability and the ability of centralized governments to control and organize masses of people to build a pyramid, a Persepolis or a Roman forum. Just to mention art, it is questionable whether Roman copying of Greek art in the service of the empire was more true to the genius or spirit of Greek art than the popular (or non-imperial) adaptations of it in the east. The syncretic Greco-Iranian art of the Sakas and other nomads, although frequently depicted as stereotyped, can be characterized as more dynamic than the slavish copying of Greek prototypes by imperial Romans. There is no evidence, but one may suggest that the tribal councils of nomads had more in common with the agora of a Greek *polis* in Bactria than with the ancient Near

[76] In several articles, but see especially his *L'Orient Hellénisé*, (Paris, 1969), introduction and 40–58.

[77] A popular but interesting survey of ideas about Gandharan art is given by Wheeler, *op. cit.* [n. 37], 149–71.

Eastern theories of monarchy, or even with Roman imperial institutions (not republican). Since our sources are so meagre there is no documentation for this other than the evidence of material culture, but it is certainly worth considering the possible role of east Iranian or Central Asian influences on the history of the entire Near East, and not just western Iran. The role was important not only in the syncretic Greco-Iranian art of the west, but also in ideas from this part of the world which came to the west through the intermediary of the Parthians, to whom we now turn.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PARTHIANS ON THE PLATEAU

Literature: The relatively recent but now classical work by N. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia* (Chicago, 1938) has not been superseded, for newer general books such as M. A. R. Colledge, *The Parthians* (London, 1967) or his *Parthian Art* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), with a large bibliography, or G. A. Koshelenko, *Kultura Parfii* (Moscow, 1966), add little to the work of Debevoise, except in the realm of art and culture. Monographs and articles on special subjects, especially Roman–Parthian relations, however, have added to our knowledge of the foreign affairs of the Parthians, while the results of archaeological excavations, as usual, provide new sources to augment our picture of Iran under the Parthians. It must be noted, however, that most of the excavations are not in Iran but outside the geographical boundaries of the present country. The sites and materials are as follows:

1. Nisa, near Ashkabad in Turkmenistan, was excavated by the Southern-Turkmen Combined Archaeological Expedition from 1948 to 1961, and many Parthian ostraca as well as material remains were uncovered. For a bibliography on the finds at Nisa see I. M. Diakonoff and V. A. Livshits, *Parthian Economic Documents from Nisa*, CII, Plates I–III, and Texts I (London, 1976–80), and M. E. Masson, *Perechen opublikovannykh rabot i materialov po tematike YuTAKE* (Ashkabad, 1970), a bibliography of over 500 items.
2. Kuh-e Khwaja in Seistan. For a bibliography on the surveys of M. A. Stein and E. Herzfeld see L. Vanden Berghe, *Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (Leiden, 1979), 28–29. The fragmentary wall paintings found here are important for Parthian art, but they have been lost.
3. Kangavar in Media. The work of Kambakhsh-Fard and his articles relating to it may be found in Vanden Berghe, *op. cit.*, 142. The temple of Anahita is the significant Parthian survival here, but later Sasanian changes or additions to the site have confused the picture.
4. Bard-e Nishandeh and Masjid-e Sulaiman in Khuzistan. The work of R. Ghirshman culminated in two volumes on *Terrasses Sacrées*, in MDAFI, 45 (Paris, 1976). The two sites are remains of the kingdom of Elymais rather than Parthian, and the inscriptions are in a Semitic language rather than Parthian. Cf. Vanden Berghe, *op. cit.* 85–88.
5. Shahr-e Qumis near Damghan. The Parthian capital of Hekatompylos has been surveyed with sondages by D. Stronach and J. Hansman. For a bibliography see Vanden Berghe, *op. cit.* 25–26.

There are other minor sites in Iran, usually large sites with a Parthian stratum, and excavated or surveyed major towns influenced by the Parthians, or under their rule, are located outside of the boundaries of the present country, mostly in Iraq. Among them are Hatra, Nippur, Aššur, Uruk, and in Syria, Dura Europos and Palmyra, on which see Vanden Berghe, *op. cit.* 259–60.

For Soviet works on the Parthians see T. N. Zadneprovskaya, "Bibliographie de travaux soviétiques sur les Parthes," *SI*, 4 (1975), 243–60. The works of Koshelenko are especially noteworthy, since he is the foremost Soviet specialist on the Parthians See also the bibliography on archaeology in succeeding issues of *AMI*.

As with the Greco-Bactrians and Sakas, numismatics is of paramount importance in establishing the order of the Parthian kings, but it is more complicated than in the east because the quasi-title 'Arsaces' is used on most coins and not the personal name of the rulers. Other than Vanden Berghe, *op. cit.*, 262–68, see A. M. Simonetta and D. G. Sellwood, "Again on the Parthian Coinage from Mithradates II to Orodes II," *Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche* (Lugano, 1978), 95–119, and bibliography.

The articles on the beginnings of Parthian history, frequently repetitions, by J. Wolski, are too many to list, but see one of the latest, with bibliography of others, "L'origine de la relation d'Arrien sur la paire des frères Arsacides, Arsaces et Tiridate," in *Studies in the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia*, ed. by J. Harmatta (Budapest, 1979), 67–74. The booklet by B. P. Lozinski, *The Original Homeland of the Parthians* (Mouton, The Hague, 1959), is unfortunately unusable.

Parthian inscriptions have not been assembled in a corpus, but a bibliography for them may be found in P. Gignoux, *Glossaire des Inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes* (London, 1972), 43–44, to which may be added *Das Parthische Felsrelief, Sarpol-i Zohab, Iranische Denkmäler*, Lieferung 7 (Berlin, 1976), 16.

The prime literary sources for the Parthians are chapters 41 and 42 of Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus, Apollodorus of Artemita (most as found in Strabo) and Arrian's *Parthika*, both in *Frg. Hist.* 156 and 779 respectively, as well as the *Parthian Stations* of Isidore. The many Classical sources on Roman-Parthian military and diplomatic relations are listed by Debevoise, to which work the reader is referred.

EXPANSION OF THE KINGDOM

Information on the origins of the Parthians comes from Justin (XLI, 1) who says they were originally exiles from Scythia, and Strabo (XI, 515) who says Arsaces was a Scythian man with the Aparni, a part of the Dahi, nomads who lived along the Ochus (lower Oxus) River, who invaded Parthia and conquered it. He continues that some say he was a Scythian while others claimed he was a Bactrian who fled from Diodotus and raised a revolt in Parthia. Arrian (and his successor the Byzantine writer Syncellus) tell a story about two brothers, Arsaces and Tiridates, who were insulted by the (Seleucid) satrap of Parthia. So they plotted with five companions and overthrew him thus freeing the Parthians.[1] The parallel of Arrian's account with the story of the plot of Darius against Gaumata is evident, but whether the whole story really has a mythological basis relating to the Discorides, or heavenly twins, as Wolski suggests, is uncertain.[2] The details of the lives of the early kings are clouded, but first we should ask if the story of the (A)parni invasion is believable and if there is any reason for their migration southwards into the Seleucid domains in the third century B.C.

The reality of the (A)parni is indicated not only by the mention of them in Strabo, in Ptolemy and in Justin (in the form Sparni) but also by the Middle Persian text called the *Bundahishn*, which says that one of the offspring of Sam 'gave the governorship of Aparshahr to Aparnak. Aparshahr is thus named because it is the land of Aparnak,'[3] Furthermore, Henning sought to trace east Iranian 'Parni' words in Armenian borrowings from Parthian, a west Iranian tongue, as well as elsewhere.[4] Thus we may accept the migration, more likely than an invasion, of the Parni south from the area of Khwarazm into Parthia in the first part of the third century B.C. The explanation of the name as 'mountain dwellers' and then their identification as inhabitants of the 'upper lands' (satrapies), later Aparshahr, is hardly correct though ingenious.[5] Reasons for the migrations of nomads could be many, drought, a search for better pasture lands, or political pressure. It is possible, as suggested by F. Koske, either that northern Parthia, from the Caspian Sea through present Turkmenistan to

[1] *Frg. Hist.*, Arrianos 156, 858–59. The variations in the name of the satrap have been discussed frequently by Wolksi.

[2] Wolski, *supra, l'origine*, 71–73. He is convincing in his rejection of Arrian as a reliable source for the origin of the Arsacids.

[3] Ch. XXXV, 43–44, in the edition of B. T. Anklesaria, *Zand Ākāsīh* (Bombay, 1956), 299, where the translation is wrong, the correct word being Aparnak, our Aparni.

[4] Henning, "*Mitteliranisch*" [ch. 6, n. 57], 93–94.

[5] By Eilers, "Demawend" [ch. 1, n. 19], 347, 373, n. 244. Abarshahr, later the Nishapur area, can be well derived from 'the upper lands,' but the Aparni are another problem, and they surely are not attested as 'mountaineers.' The identification of the Aparni with the later Avars, proposed by W. Haussig, "Theophylakts Exkurs über die skythischen Völker," *Byzantion*, 23 (1953), 329, is not acceptable either historically or linguistically.

Merv, was never held by the Seleucids, or that under Antiochus I short-lived forts to control the area were abandoned, and the whole territory was soon independent.[6] It is difficult to determine how much territory the Seleucid satrapy of Parthia did include, but in any case, it is reasonable to suppose that the northern desert areas and Khwarazm were not controlled by the Seleucids but did maintain an independent existence.

From Soviet archaeological excavations we know that not only the area of Khwarazm, south of the Aral Sea, but also the land to the east on the Jaxartes River contained towns and settlements as well as nomads in the period after Alexander's expedition. The names of various tribes which survive in Classical sources have been a great source of confusion and dispute among scholars, especially etymologies of names such as Massagetai, Derbikes, Apasiakai, Sacaraucae and others.[7] It is not possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to assign to a Khwarazmian state of this period the Apasiakai, as S. Tolstov does in various publications.[8] Also the identification of the state of K'ang-chü in Chinese sources, in this period located in the Talas and lower Jaxartes region, with either the Sacaraucae, or other peoples, is hardly possible with our lack of written sources. It is also not possible to assert that the expansion of the K'ang-chü drove the Parni south, and since information about the K'ang-chü is so little and shadowy, a proper history of this part of the world cannot be reconstructed.[9] Obviously the Jaxartes basin and other areas of western Turkestan were not just barren stretches of desert with a few nomads roaming over them, and settlements of Iranian speakers existed there, but we know little about them, and they seem to have had little influence on the movement of the Parni to the south into the province of Parthia (Khurasan).

Here we encounter the enigmatic Andragoras, who Justin (XLI, 4) says was the governor of Parthia, and he was overthrown and killed by Arsaces. The literature on the subject has been collected by Wolski, who correctly points out that the name is Greek, and there is no evidence that it is a translation of an Iranian name. He further suggests that his unique gold coin is a commemorative issue either at the time he declared his independence from the Seleucids, or simply a later emission by the

[6] F. Ya. Koske, "Plemena severnoi Parfii v borbe s makedonskim zavoyevaniem," *VDI*, part 1 (1962), 113–25. He dwells mostly on Alexander's campaigns in Central Asia, and archaeological evidence, but the assertion that the entire area was not under Seleucid rule may be too sweeping a generalization.

[7] A summary of some of the etymologies may be found in Daffina, *supra*, *L'Immigrazione*, 54–60. Bailey, among others, in many articles, has connected *saka* + *rauca* with Chinese Sai-wang 'Royal Scythians,' the Mas-Sak (Massagetai) with 'great Saka'; cf. his latest account in "North-Iranian Problems," *BSOAS*, 42 (1979), 207. Etymologies are always elusive and only concern us when they cause a revision of history or relate to other matters.

[8] S. P. Tolstov, *Drevnii Khorezm* (Moscow, 1948), 244, and in English with amplifications, "Scythians of the Aral Sea area and Khorezm," *XXV International Congress of Orientalists, Trudy*, 3 (Moscow, 1963), 157–63. Whether the Apasiakai are to be identified with the Pasiani as Tolstov, 162, followed by Daffina, *supra*, *Immigrazione*, 57, assert, is also uncertain.

[9] The identification of the K'ang-chü with *Καχάγαι Σκύθαι* on a map (but not in the text) of Ptolemy, or with Kangha in the Avesta or later Kang-diz is hypothetical. See Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang* [ch. 3, n. 41], 188, and B. A. Litvinskii, "Das K'ang-chü-Sarmatische Farn," *CAJ*, 16 (1972), 250–52, with further references and bibliography.

Parthians to show their connection with the Seleucids and Alexander the Great.[10] The authenticity of the coins being subject to doubt, their minting as commemorative pieces at the time of Andragoras seems more reasonable than the postulation of a later propaganda reason. More than the problem of Andragoras, however, the chronology of the early Parthians has produced a controversial literature. Wolski has marshalled many arguments to show that the Parthian revolt occurred in 238 B.C. in the reign of Seleucus II, but neither he nor anyone else has satisfactorily explained the 'later' adoption of an Arsacid era beginning in 247 B.C. rather than in 238.[11] Yet Wolski presents the following chronology: first invasion of the Parni into Iran c. 280 B.C.; the Parni under Arsaces conquer Astauene (*hodie* Quchan) c. 250; crowning of Arsaces in the capital of Astauene, Asaak (or Arshak), according to Isidore of Charax (11) in 247 B.C.; revolt of Andragoras, satrap of Parthia, 245 B.C.; Diodotus proclaims his independence in Bactria, 239 B.C.; death of Andragoras and the taking of power in Parthia of Arsaces 238 B.C.; conquest of Hyrcania by Arsaces in 235 B.C.[12] The first date was found by Wolski to be the time when Merv and Herat were devastated by nomads at the end of the reign of Seleucus I, who sent a general Demodamas to punish them. The nomads were the Parni, a division of the Dahi who at this time were moving from the north towards the Caspian Sea.[13] The second date is a plausible guess, for the process of expansion of the Parni must have taken time. The first Arsaces deserved to have his name honored,[14] as later Caesar and Augustus in the Roman Empire, for he probably transformed the marauding bands into a kingdom. Controversy exists, however, about the succession of early Parthian kings.

Fortunately, new, contemporary sources, the Parthian ostraca of Nisa, have been added to the Classical sources. On one ostracon we find in the year 157, *'ršk MLK' BRY BR[Y ZY pryp]tk BRY 'ḤY BR[Y ZY] 'ršk* or '91 B.C. King Arsaces, grandson

[10] J. Wolski, "Andragoras était-il Iranien ou Grec?" *SI*, 4 (1975), 166–69. The name is attested in Greek papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt, and one can think of no reason why an Iranian would seek to translate his name into Greek. Wolski convincingly identifies the Andragoras of this period with the name of a high official in a Greek inscription from Gurgan under Antiochus I, and he convincingly rejects the historicity of the Andragoras mentioned by Justin (XII, 4) as satrap of Parthia under Alexander. The coins of Andragoras present similar problems to those of Sophytes and both may be contemporary satraps of c. 250 B.C.

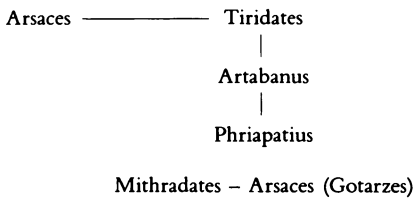
[11] Cf. J. Wolski, "L'Historicité d'Arsace Ier," *Historia*, 8 (1959), 235, and his "Arsace Ier fondateur de l'état Parthe," *AI*, 3 (1974), 197.

[12] Wolski, "Der Zusammenbruch der Seleukidenherrschaft in Iran im 3. Jh. v. Chr.," in Altheim, *op. cit* [ch. 7, n 1], 253–54.

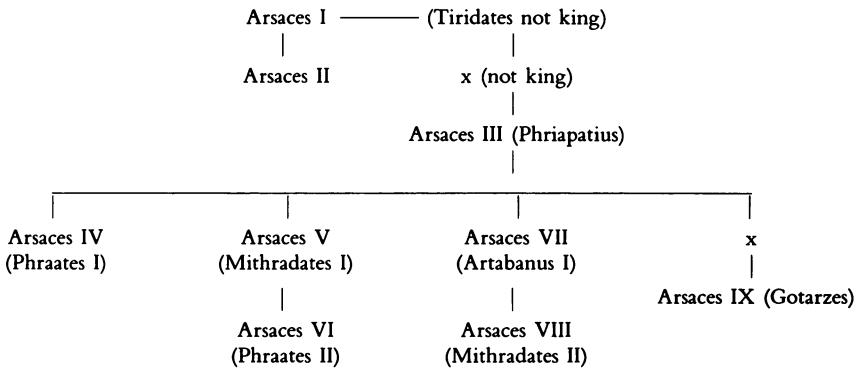
[13] *Ibid.*, 205–07. Strabo (XI, 511) says that the Aparni, part of the Dahi, are situated closest to Hyrcania, but the rest of them extend to the land parallel to Aria (Herat). He continues that they overran Hyrcania, Nisaia and the plains of the Parthians, implying raids. Although Nisaia is the land on the northern edge of the Kopet Dagh range, it may have been considered part of the richer valley of Astauene to the south, where Arsaces was probably crowned, in a town named after him, as Wolski proposes. Strabo (XI, 511), however, says that the Aparni made war, then peace and war again with the settled people, a more likely course of events than any planned conquest. This account is repeated with additions in his "Arsace Ier, fondateur de l'état Parthe" [n. 11], 159–99.

[14] The older form of the name 'Arsaces,' Aršu for Artaxerxes II has been found in Akkadian; cf. A. Sachs, "Achaemenid Royal Names in Babylonian Astronomical Texts," *AJAH*, 4 (1979), 133–35.

of Phriapatius, son of the nephew of Arsaces.'[15] The editors of the ostraca (Note 15, pp. 20–21) reconstructed the early genealogy of the Arsacids as follows:[16]



but Koshelenko proposed a new theory of descent:



The name Phriapatius may appear in another ostracon, but the inscription is damaged and incomplete and seems to say only that an Arsaces in the year 180 (of the Arsacid era = 68–67 B.C.) was a descendant of Phriapatius.[17] The latter was obviously an important king in the dynasty, and there is every reason to identify him with the third king of the Parthians, but why was he more important apparently, in the ostraca inscriptions, than his predecessors? The proposal of Koshelenko answers this question, and his suggestion in regard to the Tiridates problem does attempt to reconcile Justin (Trogus) with Arrian (and Syncellus), and as such is a good guess. Otherwise we must believe either Arrian or Justin, since they conflict. The name Artabanus for the second

[15] I. M. Dyakonov and V. A. Livshits, *Dokumenty iz Nisy Iv. do n. e.* (Moscow, 1960), 113 and plate. The brackets are smudges on the ostracon and within them are reconstructions. This is a strange ostracon with only these two lines, whereas other ostraca are accounts of quantities of wine from vineyards in various estates. The expression *BRY 'ḤY BRY*, the Parthian form of these Aramaic masks being unknown, is attested only here.

[16] See the remarks of G. A. Koshelenko, "Genealogiya Pervykh Arshakidov," in B. G. Gafurov, ed., *Istoriya i kultura narodov Srednei Azii* (Moscow, 1976), 34. This follows Justin (XLI, 5) who says that Arsaces II was also called Arsaces and was followed by Priapatius. A bibliography on this ostracon is given on pp. 36–37.

[17] I. M. Dyakonov and V. A. Livshits, "Novye nakhodki dokumentov v Staroi Nise," *Predneaziatskii Sbornik*, 2 (Moscow, 1966), 143, n. 28, and plates 10 and 10a. The historical interpretation of these documents may not be as much as the editors suggested, especially in regard to the genealogy of the Arsacids. Altheim, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 19], 446, gives Arsaces I two sons, one Arsaces II and the other the father of Phriapatius.

or third ruler of the Arsacid dynasty is not attested, and if one follows Justin, the son of Arsaces I could be assigned that name. With Phriapatius, however, we are on firmer ground, and one may assign his rule to the aftermath of the invasion of Antiochus III from whom Arsaces (II according to Justin, III according to Arrian) fled. After the retreat of Antiochus III, the Parthians seem to have turned their attention to the east against the Greco-Bactrians. Justin (XLI, 5), however, ascribes the conquest of the Mardi, on the southeastern shores of the Caspian Sea, to the short reign of Phraates, elder brother of Mithradates I, and this would be an expected expansion of Parthian authority at this time. We have already seen how several provinces were wrested from the Greco-Bactrians, but under Mithradates I Parthian expansion to the east is unclear.

In Media the situation is also unclear, even more so after the discovery of a Greek inscription on a relief of Herakles near Behistun, speaking of Cleomenes a satrap of the 'upper provinces' in 149–48 B.C.[18] The easiest explanation of this is to assume that the Seleucid satrap of Media, Timarkhos, lost some territory in the area of present Tehran (Rhages) and farther east to Mithradates, while the Seleucid reconquest did not recover this land but maintained rule in Ecbatana.[19] According to Justin (XLI, 6) Mithradates had to fight many times in Media, and it is conceivable that the Seleucids held only the city and the lowlands, to the west of Ecbatana, at the time the relief of Herakles was carved.[20] Since the earliest Babylonian documents dated in the name of Arsaces begin in 141 B.C. after the defeat of the Seleucids in Mesopotamia, we may assume an interval of time of several years for the Parthians to move from Media to Mesopotamia and to the capture of Seleucia. The defeat of Demetrius II the Seleucid ruler was not accomplished in one battle or the conquest of Mesopotamia in one campaign, and the advance of Mithradates apparently was not swift.[21] It generally has been supposed that the Parthian king was called away to Hyrcania, as Justin (XLI, 6) tells us, after which Demetrius II was captured by a general of Mithradates and sent in captivity to Mithradates about a year later in 140–139 B.C., but the Parthian king only lived another year himself after having secured the submission of Elymais.[22] For further information we must turn to the numismatists, some of whom assert that only under Mithradates I did the Parthian rulers begin to strike coins, and all earlier attributions are false.

The problem with early Parthian numismatics is that, unlike the coins of Bactria and northwest India, only the name or title Arsaces appears on the coins and identities must be established by style, the busts, or figures and titles. Le Rider argued that since the Dahi, of whom the Parni were a branch, served in the army of Antiochus III, according to Polybius (V, 79) and Livy (37, 40), therefore the Arsacid rulers were vassals of the Seleucids and did not have the right to strike coins until Mithradates I

[18] Cf. chapter on the Seleucids, and esp Mørkholm *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 93], 178–80

[19] The renaming of Rhagai-Europos to Arsakia may have occurred under Phraates I; cf. M.-L. Chaumont, "Études d'histoire Parthe II," *Syria*, 50 (1973), 204.

[20] At this time on the plateau Bacasis or Vagasis could have served as satrap of Media under Mithradates I, according to Justin.

[21] For references cf. Debevoise, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 64], 22–23. The coinage of Seleucia indicates that Mithradates struck coins there the first time only for a year; cf. Le Rider, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 25], 361–62.

[22] On these events see Will, *supra*, [ch. 6, n. 32], 2, 343–44, with references; also Debevoise, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 64], 24–25.

who liberated the Parthians from this status.[23] Other numismatists support a coinage going back to the first king, although they admit that the number of coins greatly increases under Mithradates I.[24] It is difficult to support the thesis that until Mithradates I the Parthians were only vassals of the Seleucids and had no right to mint coins, while the Dahi mercenaries of Antiochus III give no indication of Parthian submission to the Seleucids. As we have seen in the previous chapter, both the Parthian king and Euthydemus of Bactria made treaties with Antiochus III, not as submissive vassals, but as allies. With the withdrawal of Antiochus III from the east and his defeat by the Romans at Magnesia in 189 B.C., it is difficult to believe that the Parthians continued to act as subjects of the Seleucids. The symbolism on early Parthian coins of the seated royal archer on the reverse has been explained as the giving of the bow, as the symbol of authority, to the king from the gods, a practice attested for the Sakas, and this would not suggest any position as vassals of the Seleucids.[25] The questions which early Parthian rulers struck coins and where the mint sites were located have not been answered, but inasmuch as mints do not require heavy equipment, but are even mobile, the location of a mint at Nisa, Asaak or Dara in the north Parthian homeland is not impossible.[26]

The conquests of Mithradates I brought the Parthians from a small kingdom in the east to a position of power in the arena of the Near East, but after the Parthian king's death in 138 B.C. a campaign of recovery of eastern domains by Antiochus VII began. Mithradates I had struck in Seleucia on the Tigris coins with the term *philhellene*, probably as a sign of conciliation with the Greek population, and possibly as a sign of a special relationship of that great city with the Parthian conqueror.[27] Parthian rule in Seleucia continued after the death of Mithradates under Phraates II until Antiochus VII appeared, after consolidating his position in Syria and the west. This was not until 131 B.C., however, as can be determined by cuneiform documents from

[23] Le Rider, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 25], 315–22, with references to previous scholars, such as J. de Morgan and E. T. Newell (with certain reserves). The attribution to the mint at Ecbatana of issues of Mithradates I, with the title 'great king,' may be attributed to the conquest of that mint site c. 150–147 B.C.

[24] Cf. Wroth's catalogue of the British Museum and A. Simonetta, "La monetazione Partica dal 247 al 122 a.C.," *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, 16 (1968), 20–25; M. T. Abgarians and D. G. Sellwood, "A Hoard of Early Parthian Drachms," *NC*, 11 (1971), 115–18, and G. A. Koshelenko, "Neketorye voprosy rannei istorii Parfii," *VDI*, no. 1 (1968), 53, and his "Monetnoe delo Parfii pri Mitridate I," *Numismatika i Epigrafika*, 10 (Moscow, 1972), 81, hold to an earlier coinage for the Parthians.

[25] D. S. Raevskii, "K voprosu ob obosnovanii tsarskoi vlasti v Parfii." in B. G. Gafurov, ed., *Srednyaya Aziya v drevnosti i srednevekove* (Moscow, 1977), 81–87. His analysis of the archer-chief among the Scythians, and the Parthian counterpart of this, is convincing. For an etymology of the name Sinatruces see Henning, "Mitteliranisch" [ch. 6, n. 57], 41, n. 1.

[26] On these towns see Chaumont, *op. cit.* [n. 19], 197–222. It is hardly possible to trace a succession of Parthian capitals from Asaak, Dara, and Nisa through Hekatompylos, Arsakia-Rhages to Ecbatana as the progress of Parthian arms to the west since the 'capital' in the period before Mithradates II changed considerably, and we are unsure which city was a capital and which just an important center.

[27] Cf. R. H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann. Arbor, 1935), 218, and Sellwood, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 57], 38. The copper coinage issued by Seleucia under Parthian rule indicates a greater autonomy for the city than it had under Seleucid control; see also McDowell, *Stamped and Inscribed Objects from Seleucia* (Ann Arbor, 1935), 6, and Le Rider, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 25], 373. On the coinage of Seleucia under Mithradates see Koshelenko, *op. cit.* [n. 24], 100.

Mesopotamia.[28] The exact time of the march of Antiochus VII into Mesopotamia is difficult to establish, but if his entry into Seleucia was in 130 after winning three battles against Parthian forces, presumably in northern Mesopotamia, we may suggest that the reconquest of Mesopotamia took a number of months in 130 B.C. As the sources say, many local princes joined Antiochus who took the title 'great' king in honor of his victories.[29] The continued campaign against the Parthians on the Iranian plateau has presented some discord in the interpretation of meager sources. It is not possible to determine when precisely Demetrius II, who had remained in Parthian captivity so many years, was released by Phraates, while other details are also disputed. Coins from Susa indicate that in the year 130–129 that city reverted from Parthian to Seleucid allegiance and apparently many areas on the Iranian plateau also threw away their fealty to Phraates for Antiochus VII.[30] One extensive study of the Parthian campaign of Antiochus argues that he went as far as the homeland of the Parthians and it was there that he wintered and then lost his life in the early spring of 129 B.C.[31] This is unlikely, since Ecbatana is neither mentioned in any source, nor were any coins of Demetrius or Antiochus VII struck there, which seems odd if the latter actually wintered in the homeland of the Parthians. Refusing the offer of the Parthians to negotiate peace, Antiochus, probably in Media, was surprised with a small body of his troops and either was killed or committed suicide.[32] Seleucid control disintegrated and the Parthians re-established their rule. Phraates appointed a certain Himerus, a Greek to judge by his name, governor of Babylonia and left for the east where the Central Asian nomads, we have seen in the last chapter, threatened Parthian rule.[33] According to Justin (XLII, 1), Phraates had hired Saka mercenaries for his war against Antiochus, but the swift demise of the latter obviated any need for the Sakas who were not paid, and rose against Phraates. The latter moved against them with Greeks and others from Seleucid forces now incorporated in his own army, but these on the first occasion abandoned Phraates who was killed by the Sakas in 128 B.C. The nomads were powerful, for the uncle and successor of Phraates, Artabanus lost his life fighting them in 123 B.C.[34] There is no information about the state of affairs in the east after Artabanus, but one may presume that for a while Parthian prestige was at a low ebb.

In the west, however, we are better informed not only because of literary notices,

[28] See references in Debevoise, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 64], 29, n. 3.

[29] *Ibid.*, 32.

[30] Le Rider, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 25], 377–78. No coins of Antiochus from the mint of Ecbatana, however, have been found.

[31] T. Fischer, *Untersuchungen zum Partherkrieg Antiochos' VII.*, (Ph.D. thesis, Tübingen, 1970), 39. His insistence that in Josephus the term Parthyene means the homeland of the Parthians while Parthia or Parthuaia meant the whole empire, and Antiochus went into the former, is questionable. Actually Josephus, *Ant. Ind.* XIII, 253, uses the former, on this one occasion, in an offhand remark that Demetrius was released at the time that Antiochus invaded Parthyene, whereas elsewhere he does not use Parthia or Parthuaia, but always a plural ἐκ Πάρθων for 'from Parthia' and εἰς Πάρθους 'into Parthia.' Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae* (XII, 540) uses the more likely term 'Media' instead of Parthia.

[32] Fischer, *op. cit.* [n. 31], 46, favors the suicide report. Whether Ecbatana became a Parthian capital in the time of Phraates is also uncertain.

[33] Debevoise, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 64], 35, follows Diodorus (XXXIV, 21) and Posidonius in calling Himerus an Hyrcanian, which is possible, but his name is Greek, attested in Papyrus from Egypt and he then would have been a Greek settled in Hyrcania or a native who took a Greek name.

[34] There is no reason to reject the statement of Justin (XLII, 2) that he died fighting the Thogarii

but also cuneiform records and a more ample coinage aid in the reconstruction of history. After Antiochus VII lost his life Seleucia and much of Mesopotamia reverted to Parthian rule. But the weakness of the Seleucids had not only induced Bactria, Parthia and much of the Iranian plateau to secede from Seleucid rule, but also parts of Mesopotamia became independent or semi-independent. In the south the kingdoms of Characene and of Elymais make an appearance on the scene at this time and there is no reason to suppose that in the east there was more centralized control over Seistan, Kerman and elsewhere than in Mesopotamia.

The Parthian state did not disintegrate, however, and the reign of Mithradates II (123–c. 87 B.C.) marks a high point in Parthian central power. He reconquered Babylonia, which had at first maintained a quasi-independent position under Himerus, who seems to have oppressed the local population greatly according to Justin (XLII, 1) and Diodorus (XXIV, 18). The former opinion, according to coins supposedly struck by Himerus, that he became an independent king of Babylonia, is no longer accepted.[35] The sequence of events is uncertain, but it would seem that Hyspaosines, the ruler of Characene at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, although he fought Himerus and others, did not occupy either Seleucia or Susa, both of which, according to the coinage, remained in Parthian hands.[36] Just how much Mithradates had to reconquer is difficult to determine, but probably not as much as hitherto assumed. He did, of course, defeat and secure the submission of Characene, and overstrikes of Mithradates on the coins of Hyspaosines exist. He took the title 'king of kings,' the first Arsacid to do so, and he is pictured on his later coins wearing a distinctive crown or tiara. Whether this indicates a new order of government of the Parthians with vassal states and semi-independent cities such as Seleucia and Susa is unknown, but at some time, perhaps under Mithradates, the Parthian state became a loose empire rather than a tribal kingdom, which question will be examined later. The long rule of Mithradates II, in any case, was a time of consolidation of Parthian institutions as well as expansion. For the first time we hear of Armenia, where after the fall of Antiochus III, according to Strabo (XI, 528) two of his generals carved out kingdoms for themselves, 'Greater' Armenia under Artaxias (Artašēs in Armenian), and another centered on Sophene and the upper Euphrates area under Zariadres.[37] Antiochus IV invaded 'Greater' Armenia and secured the submission of Artaxias

(corrected to Thocarii) as Tarn, *Seleucid–Parthian Studies* (London, 1930), 13–14 does. This Artabanus is sometimes called Artabanus II, and if the second ruler of the dynasty Arsaces II had the name Artabanus, he was obviously the first. We do not know, however, and without evidence it is better to call the uncle of Phraates by the numeral one. The passage in the prolegomenon to book 41 of Trogus (ed. by O. Seel in Leipzig, 1955) has the following: *successores* (of Arsaces I) *deinde eius Artabanus et Tigranes cognomine Deus, a quo subacta est Media et Mesopotamia*, which is quite unreliable.

[35] For his position as king see S. A. Pallis, "The History of Babylon 538–93 B.C.," in *Studia Orientalia, Ioanni Pedersen septuagenario*, ed. by F. Hvidberg (Copenhagen, 1953), 289–90. He well may have destroyed the city of Babylon, but Hyspaosines is mentioned as ruler there in 127–126 B.C. in a cuneiform tablet; cf. Fischer, *op. cit.* [n. 31], 19, for references.

[36] Le Rider, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 25], 382–83, and Fischer, *op. cit.* [n. 31], 58–59, for other references. See also H. Klengel, "Babylon zur Zeit der Perser, Griechen und der Parther," *Forschungen und Berichte*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, 6 (1962), 40–53.

[37] On this period of Armenian history see Ya. A. Manadyan, *Tigran Vtoroi i Rim* (Erevan, 1943), 18–21, with references to Polybius and other sources.

which lasted only until the death of Antiochus.[38] According to Diodorus (XXXI, 27), Artaxias became an ally of Timarkhos, the rebel Seleucid governor of Media, but we do not know of the rewards or land offered to Artaxias for his support, although if we follow Strabo the areas under the rule of Artaxias included much of present Iranian Azerbaijan around Lake Urmia. Artaxias was followed by his son Artavazdes, and it was against him that Mithradates II of Parthia led an army and secured his submission. The date of this expedition is unknown, but presumably it was near the beginning of the reign of Mithradates, for the future Tigranes the Great was taken as a hostage by the Parthians. According to Appian's *Roman History* (*Syrian Wars*, 48) Tigranes was the son of Tigranes, and the question arises whether the father ever ruled as Tigranes I and just what his relation was with Artavazdes. The latter may have been his uncle, and Tigranes I may have been put in power by Mithradates II while holding his son as a hostage, but these are mere surmises.[39] What seems certain is that under Mithradates II the first contacts between Rome and Parthia took place about 92 B.C., but which apparently led to no treaty between Sulla, the governor of Cilicia at that time, and Orobazes, ambassador of Mithradates.[40] This will be further discussed below.

The last years of rule of Mithradates II are uncertain, and numismatists have argued about his successors, calling this the 'dark age' of Parthian history.[41] Since their many and varied arguments cannot be discussed here, only a summary of views will be attempted, with some preliminary observations on the coins, based primarily on the research of Sellwood and Simonetta. In the coinage of Mithradates II we find a change in the reverse sides from an archer sitting on the omphalos, which was probably inspired by the Seleucid use of the omphalos, to an archer sitting on a throne, which was followed by all subsequent Parthian drachms. From cuneiform tables we infer that between 110 and 109 B.C. the title of Mithradates II was changed from 'Arsaces, king' to 'Arsaces, king of kings,' and by 91 B.C. his name disappears from Babylonian documents. In 87 B.C. the Seleucid ruler Demetrius III Eucaerus was sent as a prisoner to the Parthian king, who may have been Mithradates II.[42] In 91–90 B.C. Gotarzes is

[38] Boundary stones of this king have been found in Armenia written in Aramaic similar to Achaemenid chancellory practice. In them he is called Artaxerxes son of Zariadres of the Orontid (Ervanid) family; cf. A. Périkhanian, "Les Inscriptions araméennes du roi Artachès," *REA*, 8 (1971), 169–74. Apparently he ordered a measuring of land in 179 B.C.

[39] Marquart, *Ērānšahr* [ch. 3, n. 37], 173, suggested that Mithradates I of Parthia fought against Artavazdes, but this period of history is lacking in sources. Manadyan, *op. cit.* [n. 37], 26, suggests that Tigranes I preceded Tigranes II, his son, as king.

[40] On the sources, and for a good analysis see J. Dobiaš, "Les premiers rapports des Romains avec les Parthes et l'occupation de la Syrie," *AO*, 3 (1931), 218–21.

[41] A. M. Simonetta, "Some Remarks on the Arsacid Coinage of the Period 90–57 B.C.," series 7, vol. 6 *NC* (1966), 15–40; K. W. Dobbins, "The Successors of Mithradates II of Parthia," series 7, vol. 15 *NC* (1975), 19–45; D. Sellwood, "The Drachms of the Parthian 'Dark Age'," *JRAS* (1976), 1–25; N. Waggoner, "The Coinage of Phraates III of Parthia," in D. K. Kouymijian, ed., *Near Eastern Numismatics, etc. in Honor of George C. Miles* (Beirut, 1974), 15–26; and Simonetta and Sellwood, *supra*, "Again Coinage", 119, with bibliography.

[42] Sellwood, *op. cit.* [n. 41], 6; Simonetta and Sellwood, *supra*, "Again Coinage", 104, and Debevoise, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 64], 50. The sources are not certain that the ruler to whom Demetrius was sent was Mithradates, in spite of Simonetta's assertion. Later tetradrachms, which were struck only at Seleucia, do give personal names and dates of Parthian rulers and are thus invaluable for identification of rulers.

mentioned in cuneiform tablets as king, but he did not rule more than a year, for succeeding dated tablets until 87–86 B.C. mention an 'Arsaces who drove out Gotarzes,' who is not further identified but may be identified as Orodes I. Then a tablet dated 80–79 B.C. has an 'Arsaces who drove out Orodes,' who is probably the Arsaces called '*Philopator*' on his coins. Opinions based on coins alone may be widely divergent. For example, countermarks of a certain Otannes on coins of Sinatruces and Phraates III have been assigned to a satrap of the Parthians in Persis, functioning as an intermediary between the Persis rulers Autophradates II and Darius II, by Koshelenko, while Simonetta makes Otannes a last Iranian independent ruler preceding Gondophares, the Indo-Parthian ruler.[43]

A badly damaged relief with a Greek inscription at Behistun has been restored in the second line as reading 'Gotarzes, satrap of satraps, the great king Mithradates,' in the nominative instead of expected genitive case.[44] The first line mentions another name, perhaps the one who ordered the relief carved in the time of Mithradates and of Gotarzes, with the unique title not found elsewhere. It has been proposed that the Gotarzes of this inscription is the one mentioned in cuneiform tablets from Babylonia, which may be true, but we have no information regarding his relationship with Mithradates or with Orodes I, presumably his opponent. In this period of confusion Tigranes II of Armenia expanded his power and domains against the Parthians and exacted revenge for the losses suffered by Armenia.

Tigranes II had been held as a hostage but then was placed on the throne of 'Greater' Armenia by Mithradates. Either after the death of Mithradates or during his last years, Tigranes not only took back seventy valleys which the Armenians had been forced to cede to Mithradates, but he also secured the submission of the rulers, or satraps, of Atropatene (Azerbaijan) and Gordyene (Upper Tigris), as well as parts of Mesopotamia, and western lands with which we are not concerned, according to Strabo (XI, 532). Tigranes apparently raided almost as far as Ecbatana and took the title 'king of kings,' which the Parthian kings in that time did not hold according to their coins. This state of affairs must have lasted until about 68 B.C. when Lucullus, the Roman general, took Nisibis, although, since Tigranes was much occupied in the west, he (Tigranes) may have lost territory to the Parthians earlier. The situation must have been confused and bad for the Parthians, such that Sinatruces or Sanatruk, presumably an Arsacid prince, was brought to the throne by the Sacaraucae about 77 B.C., but it is not known whether the nomads were asked by Sinatruces to aid him or whether they took advantage of the chaos to push their own interests. Since he was reportedly eighty years old, he must have been closely related to one of the former Parthian kings, otherwise a younger man would have been more appropriate.[45] He

[43] G. A. Koshelenko, "Drakhma Sinatruka s nadchekankoi Otany," *Numismatika i Epigrafika*, 9 (1971), 33–37, and Simonetta/Sellwood, *supra*, "Again Coinage", 107. Koshelenko bases his surmise on the cap or *bashlyk* worn by Otannes and his name, which he claims is found only in Fars in ancient sources. This is most dubious.

[44] E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (Berlin, 1920), 35–39.

[45] The main source are the Makrobioi (Ps. Lucian) 15; for a discussion of this passage see Daffina, *supra*, *Immigrazione*, 75–76. After Sinatruces the significance of Parthian numismatics changes from an exclusive source to one in support of literary notices.

ruled about seven years, and his coins are found in Susa, as well as elsewhere, an indication that he recovered most of Iran, including Babylonia, for the Parthians.

With the accession of Phraates III, son of Sinatruces, sometime between 70 and 68, for the actual date of death of his father is uncertain, the history of Parthia becomes connected with Roman history, and the sources increase considerably. Also from the time of Phraates, we may suggest that institutions are fixed and the next two and one half centuries down to the fall of the Parthians are filled primarily with internal struggles for supreme power, and with the external wars with the Romans. The eastern frontiers seem to have been more or less stable, especially with the rise of the Kushans and their creation of a centralized state; thus Roman-Parthian relations are of paramount importance. It seems appropriate that before discussing this comparatively well-known phase of Parthian history we should examine the structure and institutions of the Parthians as far as we can reconstruct them.

THE ORGANIZATION OF RULE

The position of the Parthian king in the eyes of his subjects probably changed as the empire grew out of a small state with a background of nomadic traditions of rule. The ideology of kingship would be composed of three traditions, or rather an amalgam of the nomadic (development of Indo-Iranian concepts), Greek, and ancient Near Eastern (primarily Achaemenid) traditions.[46] It is, of course, difficult to disentangle the three, but elements of all appear in Parthian royal ideology, as much as it can be determined from coins (legends as well as crowns), from a few details in literary sources, and from our knowledge of both earlier and later practices and beliefs in Iran, or those of neighboring peoples. The nomadic, or what might also be called Indo-Iranian, beliefs probably included the concept of the royal *farn* or 'glory' which was so prominent among Iranian peoples everywhere. The belief in the investiture of the chief of a tribe with a bow by a deity, as pictured on the earliest coins, has been mentioned, and one may elucidate here briefly the idea of the royal 'glory' or 'fortune.' Much has been written about the *farn*, its etymology and meaning, but here we are only interested in any significance it had for the Parthian rulers.[47] At the outset one should note the existence of names with *farn* in them on the ostraca from Nisa such as *Prnḥw*, *Prnbg* and *Mtrprn*, literally 'the glory of Mithra.'[48] The *farn* is an ancient concept, and in the Avesta we hear of the *farn* or 'glory of the Aryan lands' (Yašt, 19, 57 and 64 foll.), whereas later we learn of the *farn* of the 'king of kings' or the *farr-e īzadī* or 'divine *farn*' as found in the *Shāhnāme*, and this *farn* is the guide of the king in his rule.[49] When Taeger says that the Parthian kings had a dynastic cult

[46] It is interesting to see the same tripartite division applied to architecture, based on religious beliefs, by G. A. Koshelenko, *Kultura Parfii* (Moscow, 1966), 33.

[47] The fundamental work on the word and its etymology is by H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth-Century Books*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1971), 1–78 and xvii–xl; J. Greppin, "Xvarənah," *JIES*, 1 (1973), 232–41, with references to articles by J. Duchesne-Guillemin and others. Cf. E. Imoto, "Av. *xvarənah*," *Bulletin of the Society for Near Eastern Studies in Japan*, 17 (1974), 75–86, English summary p. 183, where the word is connected with 'eating.' On the charisma of the king see F. Taeger, *Charisma*, 1 (Stuttgart, 1957), 304–431.

[48] For references see Litvinskii, *op. cit.* [n. 9], 2, 50.

[49] For a study of the concept in the *Shāhnāme* see Manuchehr Khudāyār Maḥabbī, *Farr-e yazdān dar ta'rīkh-e adyān* (Teheran, 1972), 1–42. For a

without a noumenal or divine character, this is true if he is refuting the divinization of the ruler, but it is not so if one considers the *farn* as a divine concept.[50] The dynastic cult, or the cult of ancestors, may be characterized as the same as the Hellenistic cult of dead heroes, combined with an ancient and widespread cult of ancestors, to make a royal cult, the implementation of which was coterminous with the state's boundaries. The Seleucid and Greco-Bactrian kings' use of the epithet ϑέος on coins apparently was bound to the title or office of king, or to the institution of kingship, and was not a personal divinization, and this was the same for the Arsacids.[51] The Hellenistic ruler cult was adopted by the Parthians, but probably not at the beginning of their rule, when Central Asian or tribal notions of kingship were predominant. So we may conjecture that Arsaces I convinced his friends that the royal *farn* had descended on him and his family, which was destined to rule an even larger area than at the commencement of his rule. Obviously power and success in conquest were elements in the rise of the Parthians. In time, Achaemenid concepts of kingship joined the ancient practices and beliefs together with the heritage of Hellenistic kingship of the Seleucids. This may be seen in the adoption of the title 'king of kings' by Mithradates II and by his use of a distinctive crown or tiara instead of the usual diadem of the Hellenistic rulers. Koshelenko has described the development of Parthian ruling ideology on the basis of their coins, first with the simple name Arsaces without a title, which he claims shows that Arsaces like Diodotus did not revolt against the Seleucids but simply took over the right of coinage because of the absence of Seleucid authority.[52] Also the existence of an ever burning fire in the town of Asaak where Arsaces I was first proclaimed king, as attested by Isidore of Charax 11, suggests that the act of proclaiming a king had a religious significance. One could also suggest that the formation of a royal ideology began with Arsaces I, who must have had a strong personality to have given his name as a title to all succeeding Parthian kings. This fact in itself attests to the importance of a royal family or royal clan of the Arsacids in the political ideology of the Parthians. The protocol of crowning of the king was undoubtedly also developed over time, usually with the head of the Suren family in the capacity of the one who put the crown on the king's head.[53]

discussion of the concept of *farn* in Iran and neighboring concepts see F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 85. For Hellenistic influences and a discussion of headgear, see Ritter, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 28], 27–30, 125.

[50] Taeger, *op. cit.*, 1 [n. 47], 432. The concept of *farn* was more than a mere charismatic exaltation of the king (p. 402) but was similar to Greek τύχη and δόξα. Neither the Indo-European ramifications of the concept nor the religious implications of kingship can be discussed here, for which see G. Widengren, "The Sacral Kingship of Iran," *Numen*, Supplement 4 (Leiden, 1959), 424–55.

[51] Taeger, *op. cit.*, 329, 333, 432. Herakles, a divinized hero, was made the ancestor of the Seleucids. As Taeger aptly says, the Hellenistic ruler cult had many opponents but hardly any martyrs (p. 307). On the Hellenistic ruler cult see H. Dörrie, *Der Königskult des Antiochos von Kommagene, Abh. GWG*, 60 (1964), 236 pp.

[52] G. A. Koshelenko, "Tsarskaya vlast i ee obosnovanie v rannei Parfii," in B. G. Gafurov, ed., *Istoriya Iranskogo Gosudarstva i Kultury* (Moscow, 1971), 213.

[53] On the crowning of various kings, with sources, see Ritter, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 28], 168. Trajan crowned his own Arsacid candidate for the Parthian throne in Ctesiphon, but this only indicates the symbolic importance of the ceremony. For the crowns see H. von Gall, "Beobachtungen zum arsakidischen Diadem und zur parthischen Bildkunst," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, 19/20 (1969–70), 299–318, and for the curious crown of Phraates III see J. Sugiyama, "Some Problems of Parthian Kings' Crowns," *Orient*, 9 (Tokyo, 1973), 31–41.

Much has been written about the institution of 'double kingship' in Iran, but it seems that the association of the son (crown prince) or successor of the king with the ruler to insure continuity has been mistaken for the institution of two kings, as in ancient Sparta and elsewhere.[54] In any case, there is no evidence for an institution of two kings among the Parthians, even if etymologically the title of *bidakhsh*, which we meet below, meant 'second king,' which itself is uncertain.[55] The formulae and protocols of rule were highly developed under the Parthians, but so were they under the Roman emperors. How much of the hyperbole of kingship, such as the comment of Ammianus (XXIII, 6, 6) that the Parthians worshiped Arsaces as a god, can be believed as real and how much of it is political propaganda is difficult to determine. With Mithradates II, however, we can see the evidence of such political propaganda on his coins and with his title. It is unlikely that his reign marks a change in political ideology different from the past; rather a significant progress in the continuing evolution or development of an ongoing Parthian royal protocol and belief is indicated. The usurpation of the title 'king of kings' by the Armenian Tigranes II is only an indication of the realities of power and the importance of the developing Parthian ideology in regard to kingship elsewhere in the Near East.

The aristocracy and its assumption of titles paralleled the ideology of kingship but changes took place to a greater extent in this domain. Presumably the Parni, when they moved into Parthia, were still in a form of society characteristic of steppe tribes similar to the Indo-Iranian period. The division of that society into the classic tripartite warriors, priests and the rest of the people, we may assume, had developed towards a more differentiated class system of nobles of various grades, with common folk also divided according to professions and beliefs. Likewise we may assume a continuation of the heritage of the tribe, clan and family organization of pastoral societies. The mixture of old and new in the case of the Parthians produced a knightly or feudal class, each member of which was called *āzāt*, which, as Perikhanian has shown, should not be confused with the word meaning 'free,' although the two later did fall together.[56] The family of the king had a special position, especially the crown prince or heir apparent, the *vispuhr*, but as mentioned, the royal family of the Arsacids all participated in the heritage or patrimony of the ruler, and this special position, as argued by Perikhanian, was called *vāspuhrakānih* (pp. 19–21). The proliferation and differentiation of titles in the Parthian court cannot be dated any more than changes in functions or the use of honorifics as well as titles. For example, the Parthian title **pačāγrīw*, attested in Syriac, Sogdian and at Hatra, may well have been coined by the Parthian kings to designate either a regent or the successor to the throne, but it may have been, on the other hand, an honorific designation rather than a fixed title

[54] Cf. Frye, "Remarks" [ch. 7, n. 65], 78–82, for further references.

[55] Szemerényi "Iranica V," [ch. 4, n. 63], 391. The etymology, meaning 'second ruler,' is no assurance of the existence of such an office; rather one would expect this originally to be an appellation given to a confidant or a close friend of the king regardless of office.

[56] A. Périkhanian, "Notes sur le lexique iranien et arménien," *REA*, 4 (1968), 5–30. The secondary meaning of *vāspuhrakān* as princes who were not sons of the king has only confused the matter. Note also that a feminine form **visduxta* 'princess' is presumed for Parthian by Périkhanian.

in a hierarchy or organization.[57] As the Parthians expanded, they encountered all kinds of principalities, city states, or other forms of rule which had evolved under the Seleucids, or which had come into existence when Seleucid rule weakened or collapsed. If we may take Armenia as a kind of 'microcosm' of the Parthian 'macrocosm,' then the remark that Armenia was a collection of royal domains, military viceroyalties, separate principalities and temple lands may be applied with even more cogency to the Arsacid kingdom.[58] Furthermore, titles which appear in the Parthian east may not have had any currency in the western part of the territories ruled by the Arsacids. For example, the term *kanārang* or *kāradranga*, which we shall discuss in the chapter on the Kushans, is not found in the west. We may suppose that the Parni aristocracy intermarried with both the local, settled Parthian aristocracy, as well as with any Greek or Macedonian aristocracy. By the end of the second century B.C. they were also undoubtedly mixed with local Iranian upper classes, not to mention any Saka or other intruders. As Wolski has convincingly shown, after the consolidation of the Parthian state on the basis of tribal support of the king, in its expansion the ruler, following Hellenistic tradition, had to engage mercenaries to further his ambitions.[59] Until the first century B.C. the mixed Parthian aristocracy and the mercenaries fought together for common booty and for the ruler, but later internecine struggles between various pretenders to the throne supported by different groups of the aristocracy were endemic. As the boundaries of the Parthian state became fixed, especially in the west by the Roman Empire, revenues and booty based on an expansionist policy greatly declined, and the influence of the ruler fell as that of the aristocracy rose. For more than two centuries Parthia was on the defensive, for on the whole the Romans were aggressors in the wars between them. One may describe a change in Parthia in the first century B.C. as a transition from the old world of the Hellenistic monarchies to a new 'feudal' age, which is the picture of the Parthian state given by Classical sources. The Parthian aristocracy became wealthy and powerful as the influence of the king sank. At the same time the traditions, protocol and nominal allegiance to royalty were preserved and even fostered.[60] Society became more fixed in various classes and hierarchies.

The upper nobility, many of whom were relatives of the king, were given provinces to govern, as were brothers or immediate members of the king's family.[61] The relationship between these governors and a court nobility is unknown, and it is unwise to project backwards information from the Sasanian period except to the

[57] For references see D. Harnack *apud* Altheim, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 49], 516–19. Gershevitch proposed the form **pačāgriw*, which is preferable to Harnacks' **pašgrab*. His further suggestion that the Parthian word is a calque on Greek διάδοχος may be true, but the latter was hardly a real title in Hellenistic times. Other than the *vispuhr*, usually written as BR BYT', we find 'princess' *visduxta* (BR BYTH) and the general designations *'ḥšynd* 'prince,' *ḥwtwy* 'lord,' as well as other words for the rulers.

[58] R. H. Hewsen, "Introduction to Armenian Historical Geography," *REA*, 13 (1979), 96. Much in Armenia parallels Parthia, but one should not assume that the situation in Armenia was a carbon copy of Parthia.

[59] J. Wolski, "Le rôle et l'importance des mercenaires dans l'état Parthe," *IA*, 5 (1965), 107.

[60] Cf. J. Wolski, "L'aristocratie parthe et les commencements du féodalisme en Iran," *IA*, 7 (1967), 133–44, with further references.

[61] E.g., Vologeses gave the governorship of Media to one brother Pacorus and Armenia to another brother Tiridates, acc. to Tacitus, *Annals* (XV, 2). The Greek μεγιστᾶνες corresponds to the *wuzurgān*.

period just before the end of Parthian rule. We may suppose, however, the existence and power of the class of great nobility, the Sasanian *wuzurgān*, attached to court and having a high position in society because of relationship to the king and presumably owning extensive lands. The governors of large provinces, the *ḥštrdrn* or *shahryārān*, were the equivalent of small kings, while the majority of the nobility were small landowners, the *āzātān*, or *liberi* of Latin sources, who brought foot soldiers with them from their lands when called to support the king in war.

Much has been made of a senate or council of Parthian nobles and priests who supposedly elected the king from the Arsacid family in the last two centuries of Parthian rule. Wolski has shown that this is a mistaken assumption on the part of Greek and Latin authors. Rather, the nomination of the ruler at times in the last two centuries of Parthian rule followed a long existing institution and should not be attributed to a new institution, a senate which arose as a result of the weakness of the rulers and competing claims of various princes to the throne.[62] The privileges and the ranks of the aristocracy were strictly arranged, but no *notitia dignitatum* has survived, except in Armenian, for the later Arsacid court of that land.[63] It is quite possible that lists of military as well as civil positions existed for various provinces or lands in the Parthian kingdom with coats of arms for each dignity, as in the case of the late Roman Empire.[64] We cannot reconstruct the order of ranks in the Parthian court from the titles found in inscriptions, usually in the frontier areas such as Dura Europos or Hatra, but several of the positions mentioned in the inscriptions may throw some light on the Parthian nobility. We find a general word *ḥwtwy* 'lord' possibly used as a general term of address for a member of the nobility. Those who were at court as friends and even bodyguards of the king probably had special designations such as *nḥwdr*, the *nohadares* of Ammianus (14, 3), the 'first' or 'top friends' of the ruler.[65] These seem to have comprised a small top class of nobility, rather than the word being either a civil or military title. Civil and military titles, usually held by the nobility, will be mentioned below.

In Armenia later the peasants seem to have been distinguished from the town *plebes*, and one may presume similar conditions in Parthian territories, but it is questionable whether the lower classes were subdivided into any kind of semi-legal ranks similar to the nobility.[66] In cities, especially those which continued their Hellenistic status of a

[62] J. Wolski, "Remarques critiques sur les institutions des Arsacides," *Eos*, 46 (Wroclaw, 1954), 60, and K. H. Ziegler, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Rom und dem Partherreich* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 16.

[63] M.-L. Chaumont, "L'ordre de préséances à la cour des Arsacides d'Arménie," *JA*, 254 (1966), 471–97. Undoubtedly one could interpolate from this list to a similar one in Iran under the Parthians, called a *gāhnāmak* or 'book of ranks,' but details are lacking.

[64] Cf. O. Seeck, ed., *Notitia Dignitatum* (Frankfurt/M, 1962, reprint of 1876 original), XXII for coats of arms, and 77–80 for the *dux Mesopotamiae*.

[65] Discussed with references by Harnack *apud* Altheim, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 49], 537–40. Note that Benveniste, [ch. 5, n. 74], 20, emphasizes the correspondence between Parthian *ḥwtwy* and Greek κύριος. The group of 'friends' of the Hellenistic kings undoubtedly was paralleled in Parthian times. On the early predecessors of the 'friends' see G. Widengren, *Der Feudalismus, im alten Iran* (Köln/Opladen, 1969), 38–43.

[66] Périkhanian, *op. cit.* [n. 56], 13, where the *šinakank'* 'peasants' are distinguished from the *ramikk'* *'plebes'*, but Widengren, *Der Feudalismus*, 123, and his "Die Begriffe *'populorum ordo'* und *'ram'*," *Festschrift Walter Baetke* (Weimar, 1966), 384–87, claims that the *ram* were peasants on royal domains and thus in a separate class, but his further assertion (p. 387) that they possessed horses and followed the entourages of nobles is most question-

polis, differentiation according to professions did exist, but it does not seem to have been a social class division as among the nobility. When we turn to slaves and servants, the sources are silent, but some inferences can be made from words found in inscriptions, or in Armenian and later Middle Persian texts. The Armenian word *anšahrik*, which seems to be Parthian in form, originally meant a foreigner, probably taken in warfare, and it may have preserved this meaning throughout the Parthian period, for in the Sasanian period it probably fell together with the common word for any slave, *bandag*.[67] The legal position of slaves varied in different areas, for the Parthians did not institute a uniform system wherever they ruled but allowed local differences to exist. The word *parištār* (MP *paristār*), meaning a maid-servant, in the Parthian period referred to a hierodule, dedicated to service in a temple, but the extent of such 'slavery' is unknown either geographically or numerically.[68] The *vēšak* or 'house slave' was universal but unfortunately nothing is known about them. The vineyard ostraca from Nisa and parchments from Avroman tell us nothing about the status of slaves or serfs in the *dastkirt*, the estates or patrimonies of the nobility.[69] Slavery was widespread, especially in Babylonia, and while we hear of manumissions which made slaves free (*āzāt*), the number of slaves was always large.

The organization of the provinces was perhaps even more complicated than under the Seleucids and Achaemenids. The size of the satrapy had declined, but not so far as in the Sasanian period, when a satrapy was only a town with surrounding villages and lands.[70] The Parthians on the whole left the local lords and local administration intact when they conquered lands. In their homeland, however, the Parthian kings and nobility owned much land, as we see from the ostraca of Nisa, and royal estates must have been large here. Whether Parthia had a special position, free from taxes as Fars was at the beginning under the Achaemenids, is unknown but unlikely. Likewise, along the road from Khurasan through Rhages and Hamadan, i.e. Media, down to Seleucia, where Seleucid control had been centered, we may presume that

able. His elaboration of the concept *ram*, as the corps of mounted peasants, is unconvincing in "Recherches sur le féodalisme iranien," *OS*, 5 (1956), 99.

[67] Cf. A. G. Perikhanyan, "K voprosu o rabovladenii i zemlevladenii v Irane parfyanskogo vremeni," *VDI*, no. 1 (1952), 13–27. On Armenia see S. T. Eremyan, "O rabstve i rabovladenii v drevnei Armenii," *VDI*, no. 1 (1950), 12–26. The use of the word *bandak* and *bandakīfī* 'slavery' in Parthian could also mean something like 'submission' to a king or a lord. Usage changed over the centuries.

[68] See A. Perikhanyan, *Sasanidskii Sudebnik* (Erevan, 1973), 534–35, with further references. There were many kinds of dedications of 'slaves' to temples, and this kind of slavery, of course, was not ordinary slavery. Cf. P. Koschaker, *Über einige griechische Rechtsurkunden aus den östlichen Rand gebieten des Hellenismus*, Abh. der Sächsischen AW, 42 (Leipzig, 1931), 76.

[69] Much has been written about the different meanings of *dastkirt*. For a summary of meanings and references to previous articles, see Perikhanyan, *op. cit.* [n. 68], 458–60, where the religious factor of *dastkirt* as a 'trust' or as a 'creation,' is discussed. The Semitic mask for the Parthian word is *BN'* (comp. Aramaic *BNH*) which implies the property of inheritance. See also G. Kh. Sarkisian, "O dvukh znacheniyakh termina *dastakert* v rannykh Armyanskikh istochnikakh," in *Ellenisticheskii Blizhnii Vostok, Vizantiya i Iran*, Festschrift for N. Pigulevskaya (Moscow, 1962), 97–101, with much the same double meaning for the term in Armenia as in Iran.

[70] It is clear that the *ḥštrp* or PḤT' of the Nisa ostraca, like the *dyzpty* or 'commandant of a fortress' were not titles of great officials or nobles. See I. M. Dyakonov and V. A. Livshits, *Parthian Economic Documents from Nisa*, I (London, 1980), *passim*. The fact that Classical sources continue to use the word 'satrap' for governors and also for almost any official, seems to indicate a generalization of the term.

the Parthian king took over the role of the Seleucid ruler and appropriated the Seleucid crown lands for his own, so Media was probably ruled like Parthia. We are told that the Parthian Empire consists of eighteen kingdoms, according to Pliny (VI, 112), eleven of which are 'upper' and seven of which are 'lower,' here meaning those on the plateau and seven in the plains of the 'Fertile Crescent.' On the plateau, other than Parthia and Media, there were probably several kingdoms subject to the Parthians in Armenia, Hyrcania, Azerbaijan (Media Atropatene), and possibly one in the mountains of Tabaristan. In the south we know of the kingdoms of Persis and Elymais, but Kerman may have been another independent area, with Seistan at some times under Parthian rule and in other periods independent or subject to rulers in India. Although eleven 'kingdoms' on the plateau cannot be identified, it is possible that Pliny is reporting accurate information. In the lowlands we know of the kingdom of Characene in the land called Mesene (Aramaic: Maišān) at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. North of Mesene was the central part of the land between the two rivers, ancient Babylonia, but called Beth Aramāye literally 'house of the Aramaeans' in Aramaic or Syriac and Asūristān in Parthian. This rich province, like Parthia and Media, was governed directly by the Parthian kings who maintained their winter residence on the plains, while in the summer they moved to the plateau. The great city of Seleucia had maintained a special status until Vologeses I built a competing city Vologesia to outrival Seleucia, which will be mentioned below. The area to the northeast of Seleucia, including the Diyala River basin and present Sulaimania, was called Beth Garmai in Syriac, Garmikān in Middle Persian, and the capital was Karkha de Beth Slōk (in Syriac) modern Kirkuk.[71] This kingdom existed down to the coming of the Sasanians, when it was joined either to the central province of Asūristān or to the kingdom of Adiabene to the north.

Adiabene, or Hadhyab in Syriac and in Parthian, called Nodshirakan by the Sasanians, from which Armenian Norshirakan is derived, was the land between the Greater and Lesser Zab Rivers with Arbela as its capital.[72] Little is known about Adiabene in Parthian times except the conversion of a queen of the country and her son Izates to Judaism, and later Izates was rewarded by Artabanus III for supporting his claim to the Arsacid throne by the grant of some land to the northwest, including Nisibis, to Adiabene.[73] In this extension of the domain of Adiabene, to the west and

[71] The Middle Persian form was reconstructed by Marquart, *op. cit.* [ch. 3, n. 37], 21, and is probably the *glmykn*, as well as the form *glmykc'n* in the Paikuli inscription of Narseh, and on a seal of the British Museum; cf. W. B. Henning, "Notes on the Inscription of Šāpūr," in the *Professor Jackson Memorial Volume* (Bombay, 1954), 50. In addition to the sources given by Marquart see J. F. Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne*, 3 (Beirut, 1968), 11–145. Kirkuk probably was founded by Seleucus, the town of Seleucia of Pliny (VI, 117), while the people, called Garamaioi, are noted by Ptolemy (I, 12, 5 and VI, 1, 2).

[72] In an inscription from Hatra, the name is written *ntwn'šry'*, which J. T. Milik in "A propos d'un atelier monétaire d'Adiabène," *RN*, 3 (1961), 51–82, has identified as Natunia, plus *šaro-kerta* as 'city made by the Natunians,' and later abbreviated to Shahrqird a site on the route from Baghdad to Mosul. This seems correct although the location of the town near Kirkuk, thus strictly not in Adiabene, is curious. The later deformation of the name in MP, using the name Ardashīr, founder of the Sasanian dynasty, into Nōd Ardashīr(akān) is a case of 'folk etymology' becoming official. Henning, "Mitteliranisch," [ch. 6, n. 57], 45.

[73] On this see J. Neusner, "The Conversion of Adiabene to Judaism," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 83 (1964), 60–63, and his "Shorter Note," in *Numen*, 13 (1966), 144–50. On the historical geography of this area in the Parthian and Sasanian period see L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents* (Paris, 1962), esp. 105–29.

northwest, that land, called Beth Nuhadra in Syriac, with its center in the plain of ancient Nineveh, capital of Assyria, was absorbed. Neither under the Parthians nor under the Sasanians does this area of Beth Nuhadra, on the frontier of the Roman Empire, seem to have had a local dynasty; rather it was a military province governed by a *Nohodar* presumably a confidant of the king given a military command. In the flat land to the west of it was the desert and the province called Beth Ar(a)bāye in Syriac (in Middle Persian Arbayastān and in Armenian, Arvastan) the chief town of which changed; at one time it was Nisibis. But at the end of the Parthian period, the kingdom and city of Hatra embraced the term Ar(a)bāye. Hatra only expanded in the last century of Parthian rule and fell to the Sasanians in the last year of Ardashir's reign.

Since the frontier fluctuated between the Romans and Parthians, the history of the rise and fall of minor principalities or the complicated changes in their boundaries cannot be followed. Other areas which in the Seleucid period were either provinces or separate principalities, and which may have preserved some independence into the Parthian period, were Sophene (Armenian Cop'k'), Zabdicene (Syriac: Beth Zabdai; Armenian: Zaudēk'), Gorduene (Syriac: Beth Qardu; Armenian: Korduk') and others located in the mountain valleys to the north of Mesopotamia.[74] Since they were not integrated into the Parthian Empire but were usually under Armenian rule, or independent, they need not be further considered since they have little relation to the history of Iran except in the wars with Rome. Obviously there were many changes not only in the administration of various provinces and principalities. The revision of boundaries is difficult to follow, also on account of the changing fortunes of war in the land between the two rivers.

As noted, the satraps were no longer the governors of huge lands such as Babylonia in the Achaemenid period, and we may assume that the subdivisions of the former large territories were not governed by officials called satraps, but the governors of large provinces, in continuation of the Seleucid tradition, were called *stratēgos* in Greek. In Parthian the equivalent term was probably *ḥštrdry* or *shahrdār*, with a general meaning of 'holder of the realm' or 'sovereign.' Under the governors were satraps, as we see from the Nisa ostraca. There were many officials under the satrap, especially accountants to care for the revenues, *'hmrkr*, the *hamarkār*. The chief collector of taxes was an important official called *ḥrkpty*, or *'rkpty* and *ḥrgwpt* in Parthian, an office formerly mistakenly interpreted as *argbad* or 'fortress commander.'[75] For the Parthian period we have no information about the position of the chief tax collector in the hierarchy, but presumably it was not high and only under the Sasanians does the office gain in importance.

[74] Names of Seleucid provinces, however, do not tell us whether local princes ruled in them or Seleucid governors. The area about Nisibis was called Mygdonia, after the river, by the Greeks but does not seem to have been an independent principality, and the same is true of Apolloniatis on the Diyala River, nearby Sittacene, and others. Information on native names and changes in administration is extremely sparse.

[75] Much has been written about the *argbed*; cf. my remarks *apud* C. B. Welles, *The Parchments and Papyri, The Excavations at Dura-Europos* (New Haven, 1969), 111–12, to be corrected and superseded by the above; also Szemerényi, *op. cit.* [ch. 4, n. 63], 366–75.

When we turn to the army, our sources are also deficient, and the temptation to turn to earlier Achaemenid or later Sasanian times to reconstruct the Parthian army should be resisted, for the Achaemenid organization broke down with the ever greater use of mercenaries, also a feature of the Seleucid kingdom. We may assume, however, that some sort of decimal organization of the army continued under the Parthians, and that there was an army commander, *spdpty* or *spāhbad*, especially in time of war, and that the cavalry, the *'sb'ry*, was especially important, as we know from Classical sources. In the frontier areas, such as Nisa, we find the military titles of *mrzwpn* 'margrave' and *dyzpty* 'fortress commander,' the former probably the officer in charge of the frontier troops, while the latter was the officer in charge of a fort, as the name says.[76] From Classical sources we learn that the cavalry tactics of attacking and then feigning retreat, with the famous arrow shot, the 'Parthian shot,' turning in the saddle while fleeing, made a great impression on the Romans. When Justin (XLI, 2) says that fifty thousand cavalry opposed Marc Antony, of which only four hundred of them were free men (*liberi*), he means that the nobles only numbered so many. Although it may have seemed to outsiders that the common soldiers were like slaves, they were more like followers or even serfs of the nobility. The feudal nature of Parthian society must have evolved throughout the course of history, but there is no evidence of the peculiarly Western European form of vassalage, and all that went with it. The Parthian form of 'feudalism' seems simpler, with the followers, or the peasants in villages belonging to a lord, supplying troops when needed. Sources for further speculation are lacking.

A loan document from Dura-Europos may throw some light on Parthian political and military provincial organization. It gives the titles and honorifics of two officials, one military and one civil, but it must be remembered that Dura was located on the frontier, even though the document itself is not directly from the frontier area. A certain Phraates, a eunuch, and *hargbad* or 'tax collector,' and 'one of the people' (at the court of, or in the entourage of) Manesus, son of another Phraates, who was governor of Mesopotamia, Parapotamia as well as *Arabarkhos*, or 'ruler of the Arabs,' made a loan to another person. One of the witnesses was Metolbaessa, commander of the local garrison. The governor held not only the civil office, but had another title which is damaged in the parchment, which was restored as one who receives taxes, but this is uncertain.[77] In any case, both the commander of the garrison and the governor carry honorifics, the former belonging to the (order of the) 'first and chiefly-honored friends and bodyguards' (presumably of the king), while the governor belonged to

[76] For the titles and bibliography, see the glossary of P Gignoux, *Glossaire des Inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes* (London, 1972). The title *ptykwspn 'paygōspān'* or *'padhōspān'* is uncertain, for in Sasanian times it seems to have meant a 'governor-general' of a number of provinces, or the officer in charge of the armies of one of the four quarters or frontiers of the empire In Parthian times it may have meant the same as 'governor,' or more likely the same as *marzban*, 'warden of the marches,' but we cannot determine the jurisdiction of the official.

[77] M. I. Rostovtzeff and C. B. Welles, "A Parchment Contract of Loan from Dura-Europus on the Euphrates," *Yale Classical Studies*, 2 (New Haven, 1931), 51. The restored title παραλήπτης 'gatherer for one's self,' has not been found elsewhere. If the word is not Greek, it might be a parallel to *stratēgos*, like *PḤT'*, but I have no suggestion which would fill the gap in the parchment. Cf. H. Bengtson, Die Strategie in der Hellenist. Zeit II² (1964), 279–280: παραπᾶπον (Enns-lin and Mlaker).

the (order of the) *batēsa* and the *āzātān* or nobility.[78] Just what *batēsa* means is uncertain, but I would like to suggest that it does not mean the title *byt'ḥš* (*bidakhsh*) with many forms, but is rather related to the Middle Persian word *p'tḥš'dy* (*padehshāy*) 'having rights by authority,' a civil honorary order of nobility.[79] The *bidakhsh* is more military in character than civil. Much has been written about this title found in many sources, and no matter what the etymology, the historical importance of this title in Parthian times was not that of a 'second king,' or second in line of succession, but rather the representative of the king, and since we find the title mostly used on the western and northern frontiers of the Parthian domains, we may conjecture that this official was originally the king's representative at the courts of the sub-kings or 'vassal' rulers. From later usage in Armenia and Georgia the term may have already developed in Parthian times to a meaning of 'warden of the marches,' or something similar to the *mrzwpn* (*marzban*), although the functions of both offices were undoubtedly more than simply military commands.[80] It is virtually impossible to distinguish official designations from popular usage or synonyms in nomenclature, as we have seen with the Parthian words for 'prince,' 'lord,' and others. A word such as *prmtr* (*framatār*) 'commander,' which was civil, however, rather than military, gives no clue to his functions, but we may conjecture it was the equivalent of modern Persian-Arabic *ra'īs*, or 'director' of any civilian institution. As noted, the values or meanings of titles changed over centuries, and what may have existed in early Parthian times frequently was either a memory or altered in significance by the time of the Sasanians. Certain constants can be recognized, however, and one may postulate the continuous existence of a village chief under the Parthians as the basic office of authority.[81] Above the village chief was a district or provincial chief of the *rwdyst'g* (NP *rōstā*) who was called a 'satrap' (*ḥštrp* or *PḤT'*), while above the satrap was the ruler of the *ḥštr*, the *shahrdār*, the local potentate, corresponding to the Achaemenid satrap and the Sasanian *ōstāndār* or head of a large province.[82] When we come to the Sasanian period more sources aid us, but for the Parthians these three divisions in the hierarchy of civil jurisdiction were the most widespread, although, as usual, exceptions probably did occur under the Parthians as at other times.

[78] Cf. Welles, *op. cit.* [n. 75], 115–16. My remarks in "Some early Iranian titles," *Oriens*, 15 (1962), 352–54, are still valid regarding parallels and honorifics as well as offices in spite of attacks by F. Altheim/R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, 1 (1964–69), 635–38, or Szemerényi, *op. cit.* [ch. 4, n. 63], 371. They mistakenly assumed parallels to mean identities or synonyms, whereas one, Metolbaessa, holds a military office, while the other, Manesus, is a civil official.

[79] The Parthian form would be **pdyḥš'h-* which the Arabs settled around Dura might have pronounced **bādēsa*. The Greek form implies a foreign word, and the uninflected plural would indicate an (honorary) title rather than an office, although it might mean 'district officer,' on which see *infra* n. 82.

[80] Likewise the *ptykwspn* or 'guardian of the side' (see n. 76) may have been a synonym for *marzban*, but in Parthian times we have no sources, and a reading backwards from the Sasanian period may be misleading.

[81] The Parthian word for 'village' is found only in the Aramaic logogram QRYT' in the Nisa ostraca, which has been interpreted as **dyz* (+ *pty*) lit. 'lord of the citadel' (*dizbed*), but it may have been rather **wyspty* or **visbed* 'village chief,' even though every village may have had a wall around it like a citadel.

[82] In some areas the chief of a district may have held the title *pṭḥš'* (*padehshā*), as Mar Qardaq who was the *padehshā* of the district of Athur (Assyria) in Sasanian times; cf. P. Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, 2 (Leipzig, 1890), 445, line 2. Or this word could be only a general designation of one in authority.

The local potentates were on the whole Parthian princes, especially after Mithradates II when members of the Arsacid family were installed as local rulers in many areas.[83] The great families and rulers of the Parthians were traditionally seven, the two most prominent of which were the Suren, who maintained estates in Seistan and elsewhere in Iran, and the Karen family primarily in western Media with a center in Nihavend.[84] The other great families are not mentioned in any source of the Parthian period but notices from Sasanian times may be referred to the early dynasty. One family probably held the office of army commander of the Parthian forces for several generations, such that it became known by the title *'sp'dpty* (Aspabad), and their chief seat apparently was in Khurasan and Gurgan. The later Sasanian families may have existed in Parthian times, or they may have new names; we do not know. One family, the Mihrān, reputedly had its center at Rayy, but another name Spandiyād is also connected with Rayy, while still another Varāz seems to be a new noble family coming to the fore in Sasanian times. We may postulate the existence of several, perhaps seven according to tradition, high noble families of the Parthians, but we have no information about them.[85] Undoubtedly there were protocols and a hierarchy of rank among families at the court of the Parthian Arsacids, as we find in Armenia, but again the details elude us, although, as noted, Tacitus (*Annals*, VI, 42) says that the right of crowning the Arsacid king was a prerogative of a member of the Suren family, and there were surely other similar protocols.[86] The king as the chief of the nobles had the right of assignment of offices or fiefs, provided that traditions were maintained. To return to the question of a senate of Parthian nobles who had the right to banish or elect kings (Justin XLII, 4) (or as Strabo [XI, 515] says there were two assemblies, one composed of relatives of the king [the nobility] and the other of Magi and wise men), undoubtedly the great families had much influence in such meetings, but if one or two assemblies existed, they were related to the tribal traditions of the Parthians rather than to well-established governmental institutions.[87] The feudal relations between sovereign and nobles can only be inferred from later practices, but we may suppose the existence of small courts copying the royal court, coats of arms, and such accoutrements of what we know from Western 'feudalism,' under the Parthians.

Cities seem to have flourished more in the Parthian era of history as compared with the Seleucid or Sasanian periods, probably because of the expanding east-west trade rather than any liberal policy of the Parthian government. Seleucia has been excavated and the continuing Hellenistic institutions and traditions indicate that

[83] See esp. Tacitus, *Annals* (XII, 14 and XV, 2), where various Arsacid princes are mentioned as installed in local kingdoms.

[84] See J. Marquart, "Beiträge zur Geschichte von Iran," *ZDMG*, 49 (1893), 635–36, for references, also Herzfeld, "Sakastān" [ch. 7, n. 28], 64–66, where his derivation of the Karen family from a governor installed by Mithradates I is highly conjectural.

[85] It is unclear whether the chief of a great family would have been called a **nāfapat* in Parthian whence Armenian *nahapet*, 'chief of a clan.' In Manichaean MP we find *zndbyd* 'head of a *zantu* or tribe,' which may have replaced an earlier title of **nāfapat*. On the Latin term *megistanes* see the discussion in T. Mommsen *Römische Geschichte*, 5 (Berlin, 1885), 343, n. 2.

[86] On Armenia see Chaumont, *op. cit.* [n. 63], 471–97. This *gāḥ nāmak*, or *notitia dignitatum*, is from a later period but is derived from Parthian practices.

[87] Cf. G. Widengren, *op. cit.*, [n. 65], 108–115, with further references.

Parthian rule brought little change from Seleucid times. The example of the great metropolis in the lowlands may have been unique, however, since the sources on other towns are few and tell us little. The Parthians seem to have neglected the lowlands, or at least southern Babylonia, during the pre-Christian period, since archaeological surveys show a neglect of agricultural land there.[88] Compared to the Sasanian period, when land under cultivation and irrigation greatly increased while urban life did not, for the Parthians, at least in Mesopotamia, the reverse seems to have obtained. After the death of Mithradates II internecine struggles between Arsacid contenders for the throne were not conducive to the flourishing of cities. Pliny (VI, 122) says that in his time the city of Seleucia on the Tigris was free (*libera*) and retained its 'Macedonian' manners. Seleucia, as undoubtedly other cities too, revolted against Parthian control from time to time, but the sharply delineated preferences of the Hellenic 'aristocracy' as opposed to the native 'masses' have been perhaps too much emphasized by modern scholars.[89] Seleucia supported Gotarzes against his brother Vardanes, resisting the siege of the latter for seven years after A.D. 36, according to Tacitus (XI, 9). Although one can distinguish between three groups – the Parthians, Greeks and natives – to consider the inner conflicts of the three as the key to urban revolts may be too simplistic a surmise. Numismatic evidence suggests that the city after A.D. 24 ceased to issue its own local bronze coinage. The old Seleucid organization was maintained there and, on the whole, in other '*polis*' cities, if one is to judge by the Greek letter of Artabanus III to the city of Susa; for a city council and various magistrates governed the city undoubtedly continuing the old organizations, although the influence of Parthian royal officials on the city must have been great.[90] Ctesiphon, a suburb of Seleucia, across the Tigris River on the east bank, was the residence of the Parthian kings, according to Strabo (XVI, 743), although Pliny (VI, 122) claims the city was founded to draw the population away from Seleucia, an echo of the founding of Seleucia itself vis-à-vis Babylon. Another city, Vologesocerta, was founded by King Vologeses nearby, according to Pliny, although which king this was is uncertain. Likewise the location of this city and its identification with the Vologesias of Ptolemy, Ammianus, and others, is in dispute.[91] The Parthian kings,

[88] R. M. Adams and H. J. Nissen, *The Uruk Countryside: the Natural Setting of Urban Societies* (Chicago, 1972), 57, and H. Nissen "Südbabylonien in parthischer und sassanidischer Zeit," *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, 6 (1973), 82.

[89] Cf. C. C. Hopkins, ed., *Topography and Architecture of Seleucia on the Tigris* (Ann Arbor, 1972), 160, where the dichotomy of natives supporting rebels and Greek commercial oligarchy favoring the Parthians, or the Romans if powerful, is maintained. Cf. McDowell, *Coins op cit.*, [n. 27], 226–27. It is possible that after the revolt masses of non-Greeks settled in the city, as suggested by G. A. Koshelenko, "Arkhitektura zhilishcha Grecheskikh gorodov Parfii," in *Antichnyi Gorod* (Moscow, 1963), 181. Tacitus (*Annals*, VI, 42) mentions the senate of Seleucia and the conflict between the aristocracy and the common folk of the city.

[90] F. Cumont, "Une lettre du roi Artaban III," *CRAI* (1932), 238–60, and Welles, *Royal Correspondence*, [ch. 6, n. 68], no. 75. For a discussion of the roles of the *archons*, the *epistatês* and satrap, see G. A. Koshelenko, "Gorodskoi stroi polisov zapadnoi Parfii," *VDI*, 4 (1960), 79–80. Ecbatana continued as a summer capital of the Parthians, according to Strabo (XI, 522).

[91] A. Maricq, "Vologésias, l'emporium de Ctesiphon," *Syria*, 36 (1959), 271, maintained the identity of the two, situated on the 'Royal Canal' between the Tigris and Euphrates, while N.-L. Chaumont, "Études d'histoire Parthe III. Les villes fondées par les Vologèse," *Syria*, 51 (1974), 81, places Vologesia near later Kufa and Vologesocerta on the canal.

however, were not founders of numerous cities as were the Sasanians, and the cities which flourished on the trade routes such as the capital of Characene, Hatra and Palmyra did so because of Roman demand for eastern spices and luxuries rather than from Parthian support of them. They also flourished because of their relative independence from the two great powers.

Whereas the history of the trading cities or 'caravan' cities has been treated as a continuation of Hellenism by modern authors, the political ideology of the Parthians, on the other hand, developed independently of the cities. Since the Parni came from the steppes of Central Asia, we may assume that they had only oral traditions and no written history. Likewise the inhabitants of the province of Parthia which they conquered, unlike the Persians of Fars province, probably had few significant traditions or memories of the Achaemenids. There is no evidence that the early Parthians paid much attention to any political ideology, other than those of the ancient Iranian or even Indo-Aryan or Indo-European tribes. With their conquest of settled Iranians and of descendants of the Greeks and Macedonians of the Seleucid Empire, two traditions were added to their own. The Greek or Seleucid tradition was accepted by the Parthian rulers, as we can see from the title '*philhellene*' on the coins of most of the rulers from the beginning to the end of the Arsacids. From the coins, at least, there is no evidence of an anti-Hellenic sentiment, and there was little reason for this among the Parthians. The old Iranian or Achaemenid tradition is more difficult to grasp, since evidence for the promotion of dynastic links with the past, great dynasty is scanty. The Parthians, of course, fought against the Seleucids, but the treatment of Demetrius II by Mithradates I indicates that the Parthians were not simply partisans of Iran versus the enemy, Greece. As at Commagene, the Parthians may well have created a mixed Persian–Greek fictitious genealogy, as Wolski suggests, but this is only surmise.[92] Arrian (*Parthika*, frg. 1 in Syncellus) says that the Arsacid family was descended from the Achaemenid Artaxerxes, probably the second of the line, whose name before becoming ruler was Arsaces. From the title 'king of kings' on coins of Mithradates II and from indications in Tacitus (*Annals*, VI, 31) and others, the belief that they were the heirs of past Persian glory and empire was probably promulgated by the Arsacids after the first century B.C.[93]

Perhaps too much has been made of the reappearance of the title 'king of kings' and the appearance of Aramaic letters on the coins of Vologeses I to support the hypothesis that the Parthians adopted an anti-Greek attitude by the first century of our era, with a corresponding exaltation of Achaemenid traditions.[94] The use of Aramaic at Nisa instead of Greek is no real evidence for anti-Greek feeling, for from Avroman in Kurdistan documents in both Greek and Aramaic were found and obviously in some areas Greek was more used than Aramaic, or vice versa in other places. The Aramaic

[92] J. Wolski, "L'idéologie monarchique chez les Parthes," in *Studi vari di Storia greca, ellenistica e romana* (Milan, 1977), 233, and his "Les Achéménides et les Arsacides," *Syria*, 43 (1966), 74–77.

[93] Cf. J. Neusner, "Parthian Political Ideology," *IA*, 3 (1963), 56–58, and Wolski, "Les Achéménides" [n. 92], 87, and his "Arsakiden und Sasaniden," in *Beitrage zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben*, ed. by R. Stiehl, 1 (Berlin, 1969), 321. See also F. Altheim, *Literatur und Gesellschaft im ausgehenden Altertum*, 1 (Halle, 1948), 83.

[94] Especially by Wolski in "Les Parthes et leur attitude envers le monde Gréco-Romain," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne*, 2 (Besançon, 1976), 284–85. Contrary to Wolski, Greek legends do not disappear from Parthian coins although they

legends on Parthian coins have been misunderstood. They are not legends, for those are in Greek, albeit debased, to the end of the dynasty. The Aramaic letters are rather mint, or mint masters' marks, and names appear on coins in Aramaic only in the last century of Parthian rule, which should be attributed to the decline of knowledge of Greek rather than a conscious anti-Greek policy on the part of the Arsacid rulers. The question of the use of Aramaic, however, has many ramifications.

Under the Seleucids Greek was the official language and script of the state. Parallel to it went Aramaic, which continued to be used as the principal means of written communication in areas away from the main road from Mesopotamia to Bactria. Thus in Parthia, Persis, Azerbaijan, Central Asia and the Caspian districts, Aramaic continued to be used with little or no inroads by Greek. As time continued the usages of Persis varied more and more from those of Sogdiana and elsewhere. Local scribes began not only to use more Iranian words in their texts but also to introduce local grammatical features. All the time the texts were read aloud in the local language by the scribe, whose duty was to write messages for government officials, the local ruler or for anyone who paid him to write for them. The ostraca from Nisa, dating into the first century A.D., can be read as Aramaic with Iranian words and even endings, or they may be read as Parthian, written in ideograms or logograms, but read aloud in Parthian alone. For the inhabitants of Nisa were Parthians who spoke Parthian and obviously did not speak Aramaic, not even a broken form of it. In Persis the Aramaic legends on coins were read aloud as Persian, in Georgia and Armenia, similar inscriptions were read aloud in the local language. The fully developed Parthian system of writing, however, which may be characterized as an Iranian text with Aramaic ideograms in it, as contrasted with the earlier Parthian writing in Aramaic with Iranian words and some endings, is only attested from the third century A.D., the end of Parthian rule. The second century is blank, for we have no Iranian inscriptions from this period. We do have Semitic inscriptions from this period, however, in Hatra, Palmyra, and even from Characene and Elymais, but none from Iran. One may conjecture either a gradual change from the first to the third century A.D., or possibly a conscious effort to reform the writing at some date during this period. The separate development of local scripts in Mesopotamia, in Georgia, Khwarazm and Sogdiana is part of the overall decline of the use of Greek and the relative isolation of the peripheral areas of the Iranian plateau. More evidence for these local developments can be found in the Sasanian period when both religions and scripts proliferate, giving more material for a reconstruction of the history of both scripts and languages. In any case, there is no evidence for either an anti-Greek language/script or an anti-Aramaic language/script movement; rather time took its course in both cases.

The view of religion under the Parthians is filled with contradictions, for again we

become debased, while his further remark that the first Arsacids borrowed the model, even the idea of coinage from Persis is unconvincing. The Aramaic letters KN, which appear on the reverses of several rare Susa 'type' coins of Seleucus I, and the coins with legend WḤŠW/R are enigmatic but they do not change the general picture of Seleucid and Parthian coinage in which Greek legends are the norm. The change in the chancellery of Nisa in the middle of the first century B.C. is revealed in the smaller, more legible style of writing on the ostraca, as well as the mention of scribes, according to I. M. Dyakonov and V. A. Livshits, *Dokumenty iz Nisy* (Moscow, 1960), 17, but their significance escapes us.

have no written sources from this period of Iranian history and archaeological evidence is equivocal. From this evidence, theoretically, one may distinguish between Greek cults and influences, local beliefs and cults, and Zoroastrianism on the Iranian plateau under the Parthians. In the east, Buddhism and various Hindu cults are attested at various times and in various places, while in Mesopotamia Judaism and various local religions, some of them descendants of ancient Babylonian religions, existed. The farther east and Mesopotamia will be discussed in later chapters, while here the emphasis will be on the religious situation in the heart of the Parthian domains.

Continuing Greek influences, and possibly cults which were Greek in origin, are attested by inscriptions and art remains. Herakles undoubtedly was a popular hero-deity in Iran in Seleucid and Parthian times with some sort of a cult and followers. The Greek inscriptions in a cave at Karaftu, about 20 km. west of Takab on the Azerbaijan–Kurdistan border, with the apotropaic message, "here lives Herakles; may no evil enter," from the Seleucid period, plus another on the rock relief of Herakles Kallinikos at Behistun from 149–148 B.C., plus several statues of the hero-god, all attest his popularity in Iran.[95] Throughout the Seleucid and Parthian periods a process of amalgamation or syncretism continued, whereby local deities were identified with Greek deities. Thus in Iran, Herakles probably was early identified with Verethragna, later Bahram, Vahagn in Armenia, and also in Commagene on the royal statues and inscriptions of Antiochus, the local ruler.[96] On coins and in the arts, evidence of the assimilation of Greek and Iranian deities indicates a widespread acceptance of this syncretism, which is not unexpected since both peoples came from the same Indo-European linguistic family. Likewise the fire cult of Iran was matched by a Greek counterpart, and the word *ΕΣΤΙΑΣ* on a rhyton from Nisa could refer to a combined fire cult.[97] In Iran, of course, the fire cult was characteristic of the Zoroastrian religion then as later, and when Isidore of Charax (par. 11) speaks of an ever-burning fire in the city of Asaak where the first Arsacid king was crowned, we have the prototype of later Sasanian practice, where in the royal fire temple a fire was started at the beginning of the reign of a new king. Ancestor worship, or rites in honor of the *fravašis* or spirits of one's ancestors, was a feature of the religion of the Parthians, as later in Iran.

Popular beliefs differed from more formal religions, and worship of the elements, as well as the stars and the sun, apparently was widespread.[98] Likewise the

[95] H von Gall, "Die Kulträume in den Felsen von Karaftu bei Takab," *AMI*, 11 (1978), 94; and for Behistun, L. Robert in *Gnomon* (1963), 76. Many terra-cotta figurines from Seleucia indicate the popularity of Herakles there; cf. Frye, *supra*, *Heritage*, 170–76, with references.

[96] F. K. Dörner u. T. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphos*, Istanbuler Forschungen, 23 (Berlin, 1963), 223; and for Vahagn see G. D. Bardumyan, "Gosudarstvennye religioznye kulty Armyan," *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta*, 2 (1976), 87–88. His etymologies must be viewed with skepticism. See also J. M. Unvala, *Observations on the Religion of the Parthians* (Bombay, 1925), 21–22. On some coins of Mithradates I a standing Herakles appears on the reverse.

[97] G. A. Koshelenko, "Grecheskaya nadpis' na Parfyanskom ritone," *VDI*, 2 (1967), 167–70. His identification of the Greek deity Hestia with Vesta in Rome and Agni in India is questionable since the Greek Hestia although patroness of the hearth does not seem to have had a special fire cult dedicated to her.

[98] See C. Colpe, "Die Bezeichnung 'iranisch' für die Religion der Partherzeit," *ZDMG*, Supplementband (1969), 1013–14. The popularity of

identification of certain deities with planets or stars existed, but the significance of astrology in popular belief is uncertain, for just what an 'identification' of the sun with Mithra or Venus with Anahita meant is unclear. Anahita in Sogdiana was distinguished from another female deity Nane or Nanaia as also in Armenia, but the relation of these two deities to each other and to the old belief in a mother goddess are both unknown.[99] In any case, syncretism and the identification of deities with each other, with a common cult or set of rituals, was widespread. Whether one cult was more popular or more followed in one place than another, or whether one cult was more patronized by the ruler or aristocracy than another, cannot be determined but is likely. If we try to assemble the notices about the religion of the Parthians, many popular practices are found, such as the remark of Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*, XVIII, 344) that the Parthians carried small idols with them on voyages, or that trees were worshipped in Mesopotamia in Parthian times.[100] Popular beliefs certainly may be found, but what of an 'official' religion – of Zoroastrianism? Apparently no official state religion existed, as later under the Sasanians, but the Parthians have suffered in later sources as being poor Zoroastrians or even non-Zoroastrians.

Undoubtedly there were Magi who condemned the presence of statues in cult places while others did not object; or some adhered to one set of rituals and others to another.[101] Likewise some indulged in time speculation (Zervanism) while others did not, but again there is no evidence for formal sects or religions under the Parthians. The extension of Iranian cults, especially one of fire with Magi, into Anatolia is mentioned by Strabo (XV, 733) and others, but one may conjecture that this was the legacy of Achaemenid domination. At the end of the Parthian period, however, Zoroastrianism was developing into an organized religion in competition with other religions such as Judaism, Christianity and possibly the one we know as Mandaism. According to a late Middle Persian text, the *Dēnkart*, a Parthian king Valakhsh (Vologeses) ordered a gathering of all oral texts of the Avesta, and any teachings derived from it, presumably in order to codify the sacred texts of the Zoroastrians, but which king of this name is intended cannot be determined.[102] At least, this is an indication that the Parthians were not indifferent to the Zoroastrian

shamans in this period (p. 1017), however, is nowhere attested, even though not impossible. Buddhism in the eastern part of Parthian domains will be discussed in the next chapter.

[99] On Anahita see H. Lommel, "Anahita-Sarasvati," in *Asiatica*, Festschrift Friedrich Weller (Leipzig, 1954), 405–12, with references. On Sogdiana see N. V. Dyakonova and O. I. Smirnova, "K voprosu o kulte Nany (Anakhity) v Sogde," *VDI*, 1 (1967), 74–81. Isidore of Charax (6) speaks of a temple of Artemis at Concobar (Kangavar), which has been identified with the massive ruins in that town. Anahita also has been identified with Cybele in Asia Minor, and probably elsewhere with other deities. Cf. also M.-L. Chaumont, "Le culte de la déese Anāhitā (Anahit) dans la religion des monarques d'Iran et d'Arménie au IIIe siècle de notre ère," *JA*, 253 (1965), 167–71

[100] See E. Sachau, trans., *Die Chronik von Arbela, Abh. PAW* (Berlin, 1915), 52. The reliability of this Syriac source has been questioned, but it is hardly a modern fabrication.

[101] See J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les mages hellenisés*, 1 (Paris, 1938), 74. Every female figure on rock reliefs, silver bowls, or on seals is usually identified as Anahita, but this is too simplistic since not every representation is a goddess, and Anahita was not the sole female deity as even a reading of L. Gray, *The Foundations of the Iranian Religions* (Bombay, 1929), indicates.

[102] Cf. the text of D. M. Madan, 1 (Bombay, 1911), 412, 5–10 and trans. by Zaehner, *op. cit.* [ch. 3, n. 40], 8.

religion, and continued to support its development. The names from the Nisa ostraca, such as Sroshdat, Tirdat, Vahuman, and many others are clearly Zoroastrian, but whether the large number of names with Mithra in them, such as Mihrfarn and Mihrdat, point to the existence of a separate cult devoted to Mithra, the prototype of Roman Mithraism, cannot be determined.[103] Whether such Zoroastrian texts as the *Vendidad* were composed in Parthian times cannot be determined although not unlikely. In any case, Zoroastrian practices, such as next-of-kin marriages, exposure of the dead, are attested for Parthian times, indicating a continuity from the past and a link to the Sasanians.

At the same time, however, the later tradition that the Arsacids were lax in their religious zeal seems correct, for in this manner the Parthians continued Achaemenid tradition. With the rise of Christianity and other organized religions, however, the Parthians had to combat conversions from Zoroastrianism which probably caused a tightening of the organization and priesthood of Zoroastrianism. Jews, on the whole, were on good terms with the Parthians, especially after the Roman occupation of Palestine.[104] The episode of the two Jewish brothers Anileus and Asineus, as reported by Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*, XVIII, 9), who created a private army and domain in Babylonia in the time of Artabanus III, indicates the importance of the Jewish settlement there as well as the weakness of the central government.

We have mentioned the disposal of the dead by exposure, but this practice had not become general among the Parthians as in the Sasanian period. In Merv and elsewhere in Central Asia burials in large jars have been found by archaeologists but *astodans* or ossuaries for the bones have also been found.[105] The principle of non-pollution of the soil is maintained in both cases, and different forms and styles of coffins have been found in graves of the Parthian period in Mesopotamia as well as on the plateau. Thus evidence for the Zoroastrian faith of the defunct should not be limited solely to bodies exposed to vultures. Obviously in the pre-Sasanian period there was no prescribed manner for the disposal of the dead, and only the general admonition not to pollute the elements prevailed. The ancient Indo-European practice of cremation which we find among the Greeks and other Indo-European peoples evidently had vanished from the Iranian plateau by this time, since there is no evidence for ashes of the dead in Parthian burials, although it is conceivable that some people followed the Greek practice for one reason or another. In any case, the Zoroastrian abhorrence of polluting the fire already held sway in Parthian times. We now know that much of

[103] I. M. Dyakonov and V. A. Livshits, *Dokumenty iz Nisy* (Moscow, 1960), 24. The curious appearance of the name Sasan apparently as a deity, in the Parthian ostraca from Nisa, in compounds such as Sāsānbōkht, Sāsāndāt, indicates a wider pantheon, or even a cult of divinized ancestors, than we know from later times. See V. A. Livshits, "Parfyanskii teonim *Sasan*," *Pismennye pamyatniki i problemy istorii kultury narodov vostoka*, ed. by P. A. Gryaznevich (Moscow, 1977), 93–97.

[104] See G. Widengren, "Quelques rapports entre juifs et iraniens à l'époque des Parthes," *Vetus Testamentum*, Supplement 4 (Leiden, 1957), 197–240.

[105] G. Koshelenko and O. Orazov, "O pogrebalnom kulte v Margiane v Parfyanskoe vremya," *VDI*, 4 (1965), 42–56. In the footnotes further references to ossuaries and other burials may be found. See also Y. A. Rapoport, "Some Aspects of the Evolution of Zoroastrian Funeral Rites," and G. P. Snesarov, "The Mazdeist Tradition in the Burial Customs of the Peoples of Central Asia," in *Trudy XXV Mezhdunarodnogo Kongressa Vostokovedov*, 3 (Moscow, 1963), 127–40.

the culture and practices of the Sasanians was Parthian in origin and the former have received credit for innovation, when they really were building on the past of their enemies whom they successfully sought to denigrate.

WARS WITH ROME

The Classical sources on Parthia naturally deal mostly with the wars between the Romans and Parthians, although some information about internal affairs or dynastic quarrels is recorded. The accounts are, of course, partisan and must be used with care, but at least the general course of the struggles between the two powers and the outcomes of such contests are usually reliable. On the whole, the Romans had the upper hand, especially in the time of the empire when Parthian central authority had been weakened and local rulers had asserted more authority than in the first two centuries of Parthian rule. Phraates III saw the fall of Tigranes II the 'Great' of Armenia and Mithradates of Pontus to superior Roman arms and the generalship of Lucullus, but it was not until Pompey replaced Lucullus that the Romans were able to impose a peace on the area. The Classical sources on the diplomacy and intrigues between Tigranes the younger, son of Tigranes the Great of Armenia, and Phraates have been well summarized by Debevoise, making repetition here unnecessary.[106] Tigranes and Phraates composed their differences after their ambassadors met Pompey in Syria in 64 B.C., and it seems the boundary between the Armenian and Parthian states was drawn between the northern border of Adiabene and Nisibis, while Syria was annexed by Rome. Phraates was murdered in 57 B.C. by his sons Mithradates and Orodes (*wrwd*), and the former apparently seized power only to be ousted by his brother, who after much fighting succeeded in capturing and executing Mithradates in 54 B.C. The following year the new Roman governor of Syria, Crassus, with overweening arrogance, attacked the Parthian domains and lost his life as well as his legions at the battle of Carrhae in May 53 B.C. With one stroke the position of the two antagonists changed, for the well-nigh invincible Romans were stunned by the great losses, and the Parthians became the champions of anti-Roman groups everywhere in the Near East, especially the Jews and some peoples of Anatolia. We are not concerned here with the change in Roman thinking about the east, but about Parthian reaction to the victory. The Parthians, contrary to what one might except, did not take advantage of the victory, for we hear only about raids into Syria with no thought of immediate conquest. Time was secured for the Romans who proceeded to consolidate their position in the east. It is from this period that the letters of Cicero, appointed governor of Cilicia in 51 B.C., give insights into the changed attitude of the Romans towards the Parthians. The Romans now realized they had a formidable foe, able and willing to challenge Roman domination of the east, although their cavalry tactics belied any intentions to permanently occupy settled areas. The need or desire to make a treaty between the two hostile powers, however, does not seem to have occurred to either side until the Roman civil war brought Pompey to seek an alliance with Orodes, the Parthian king (Cassius Dio, XLI, 55), but nothing happened since Julius Caesar triumphed over his rival. Caesar made extensive preparations for a war

[106] *Op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 64], 70–5, and in more detail, Dobiáš, *op. cit.* [n. 40], 228–42.

of revenge against the Parthians, but his murder ended such plans.[107] The conflict between the Republicans and Marc Antony and Octavian changed the picture, for Cassius, governor of Syria, took the side of the Republicans and sought support from Orodes (Cassius Dio, XLVIII, 24) and according to several sources Parthians fought against Octavian at the battle of Philippi in 42 B.C.[108] Antony took up the task of mobilizing for an expedition against Parthia, but while he was in Egypt the Parthians invaded Syria under Pacorus, son of Orodes, together with Labienus, the envoy of Cassius who had remained at the Parthian court. After initial successes they divided forces, Labienus moving into Asia Minor and Pacorus south into Palestine. Many local rulers broke with Rome and joined the Parthians and in Jerusalem Antigonus, nephew of Hyrcanus the high priest, was made king by the Parthians while Hyrcanus was carried a prisoner to Parthia.[109] Roman power reached its lowest ebb in the east, but soon the tide turned.

Antony's general P. Ventidius Bassus in 39 B.C. defeated and killed Labienus, who had taken the title *imperator*, and the following year Pacorus too met his death at the hands of the same general.[110] Antony came to Syria to restore Roman authority and in 37 B.C. Jerusalem fell; Antiogonus was killed and Herod was put in his place. Elsewhere pro-Parthian rulers were punished, and the Romans regained their former position. It is, of course, unknown whether Orodes had any dream or plan of re-establishing the Achaemenid Empire, but this was the only opportunity given to the Parthians in their history to extend their sway beyond the Euphrates to the Mediterranean Sea. Undoubtedly many of the inhabitants of Syria and Asia Minor welcomed the Parthians, but large numbers, perhaps the majority, wished to remain under Roman protection. In any case, the Parthians failed, and Orodes renounced his throne to his son Phraates IV, who then killed his father and brothers. Some Parthian nobles fled to the Romans, including a prominent general called Monaeses (*mnyš*) whom Antony hoped to use as a friendly claimant to the Parthian throne, but Phraates persuaded the deserter to return, and Antony seeing his chances diminished proposed a peace with Phraates, seeking the return of the standards lost by Crassus at Carrhae as well as war prisoners. Phraates refused, and Antony made preparations to attack Parthia through Armenia.[111] The war between Antony and Phraates involved Armenia and Median Atropatene, and in this direction the Romans advanced as far as the capital called Phraaspa identified as modern Maragheh.[112] The king of Armenia,

[107] For an extensive survey of the sources on Caesar's preparations see Debevoise, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n 64], 106–07. On the relations of this period see Ziegler, *op. cit.* [n. 62], 32–34.

[108] Debevoise, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 64], 108, for sources.

[109] *Ibid.*, 13. The events of this period are discussed in detail by A. G. Bokshchanin, *Parfiya i Rim*, 2 (Moscow, 1966), 90–99. The overthrow of the Hasmonaean house by the Idumaeans in Jerusalem cannot be discussed here.

[110] On the Roman actions see H. Buchheim, "Die Orientpolitik des Triumvirn M. Antonius," *Abh. Heidelberger Akad. der Wiss.*, 3 (1960), 75–77 L; H. Bengston. "Zum Partherfeldzug des Antonius" (Sb. Akad. d. Wiss., München, 1974, Heft 1) and "Marcus Antonius, Triumvir v. Herrscher d. Orients" (München, 1977), 184 foll. For all of the wars see A. Günther, *Beitrage zur Geschichte der Kriege zwischen Römern und Parthern* (Berlin, 1922), 136 pp. Coins attributed to Pacorus suggest a coregency with his father.

[111] On the attempts at peace see Ziegler, *op. cit.* [n. 62], 36–44.

[112] V. Minorsky, "Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene," *BSOAS*, 11 (1944), 258–61, with references to sources. Perhaps this is a Middle Iranian form **frāh-āspa*, but the location is conjecture.

Artavazd, abandoned Antony and the ruler of Azerbaijan, also called Artavazd, who had been quarrelling with Phraates IV, became reconciled with the Parthians against the common foe. The result was a disastrous retreat of the Romans with great losses, but after the departure of Antony, Phraates and Artavazd, king of Azerbaijan, again quarreled, after which Artavazd then sought the support of the Romans. Plans were made for a new invasion of Parthian domains by Antony but instead he only entered Armenia and deposed the king in 34 B.C. and brought him and his family to Alexandria as captives.

Antony entered the eastern game of marriage alliances to strengthen his position, offering his young son Alexander to the daughter of the king of Azerbaijan, after having first considered a marriage into the Armenian royal house. In general he distributed territories to dynasts who would support him, such as Cappadocia to Archelaus and Sophene to Polemo, according to Cassius Dio (XLIX, 32). The intermarriages between the minor courts under Roman control paralleled those under Parthian influence, and the picture resembles that of Europe in the nineteenth century, when the royal houses were filled with intermarriages. In 33 B.C. Antony and Artavazd of Azerbaijan defeated the Parthians, allied with Artaxias, the new ruler of Armenia and a son of the deposed king. But after Antony had to withdraw all Roman troops for his war with Octavian, his ally in turn was defeated and fled to the Romans (Cassius Dio, LI, 16). Roman power and influence again sank in areas to the east of the Euphrates River, but so volatile was the power structure in the east that Phraates was not able to take advantage of the Roman civil war between Antony and Octavian. Instead he was faced with a revolt led by a certain Tiridates who struck tetradrachms at Seleucia calling himself both 'friend of the Romans' and '*philhellene*.'[113] Even though he may have hoped for Roman aid to maintain his position, the victor at Actium did not support Tiridates, and he had to flee before the forces of Phraates, and took refuge in Syria in 26 B.C. (Cassius Dio, LI, 18). Octavian, now called Augustus, prepared for war, but then peace was made, and the Roman standards lost by Crassus and Antony were returned in 20 B.C. by Phraates, and the Romans celebrated this event by erecting a triumphal arch in Rome.[114]

Roman policy had vacillated between the creation of Roman provinces in the east to the installation or recognition of client kingdoms, but Parthia favored the latter course. Antony's policy of supporting pro-Roman dynasts was followed by Augustus, and he preferred intrigue and rewards and punishments with client dynasts rather than military action to extend Roman frontiers. In Armenia, for example, a pro-Roman party was probably encouraged to ask Augustus for a new king, and the future emperor Tiberius escorted Tigranes, the younger brother of Artaxias, to Armenia with Roman troops to install him on the throne. Fortunately for the Romans, Artaxias was murdered and Tigranes II was accepted by the Armenians and Romans thus averting a civil war. In an inscription at Ankara Augustus says that he made Armenia major into a province but 'he preferred to hand it over to Tigranes to

[113] Sellwood, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 57], 167–68. See also H. Dessau, *Prosoprographia Imperii Romani* (Berlin, 1897–98), T 175.

[114] References in Debevoise, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n 64], 141, n. 58; he stresses the importance of this act for the Romans. On the treaty between the Romans and Parthians see Ziegler, *op. cit.* [n. 62], 45–51.

rule.'[115] About the same time the son of Artavazd of Azerbaijan, called Ariobarzanes, succeeded to the throne in that kingdom at the whim of Augustus according to his inscription (para. 27), but in reality Roman influence had little to do with this succession. Archelaus of Cappadocia was a Roman client, and after the settlement of the Armenian succession he, probably because of his cooperation with the Romans, received Armenia Minor, the land around Melitene (Malatya) from Augustus. Archelaus' wife was probably a princess of the Median royal family, an indication of the dynastic connections in this time. Armenia, although in the eyes of Augustus a client state, in reality was to prove a headache for the Romans, since pro-Parthian sentiments were strong, and the Parthians remained as influential as the Romans in influencing Armenian affairs.

Augustus had sent a slave girl called Musa to the Parthian king, who managed to influence Phraates so much that he raised her from concubine to queen, and she secured the right of succession for her young son, born while she was a concubine, and the sending of other sons of Phraates to Rome for education, although the Romans considered them as hostages.[116] The Augustan peace gave a great impetus to merchants, and commerce flourished across the Euphrates, the boundary between the two states. The small trading states, such as Palmyra and Hatra, perhaps profited more than the two central great powers, but prosperity was manifest everywhere. The death of Tigranes II of Armenia some years before 6 B.C. almost interrupted the peace, for the Armenians raised the son of this Tigranes with the same name, and his sister-wife Erato to the throne without the approval, tacit or direct, of the Romans. Augustus, however, accepted the fact, but about 6 B.C. he apparently tried to impose another king on Armenia called Artavazd, possibly a brother of Tigranes III (Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 4). This move failed, since the pretender died, and Tigranes then did send gifts to Augustus to conciliate him (Cassius Dio, LV, 9), and the Romans accepted him. After Tigranes III died fighting 'barbarians' about A.D. 2 (Cassius Dio, LV, 10a), his sister Erato could not hold the throne. If we follow the *Res Gestae* (para. 27), after the death of Tigranes III Augustus gave Armenia to Ariobarzanes, king of Media Atropatene (Azerbaijan), and after his death to his son Artavazd. He continues that when Artavazd was murdered after about two years of rule in A.D. 6 he sent Tigranes IV, a grandson of Herod the Great of Judaea by his son Alexander, to Armenia. Thus we see that the intervention of Augustus into the internal affairs of the small kingdoms of this area respected dynastic ties among them, as it generally ignored the wishes of the people. Augustus seemed to have followed a policy of strengthening the related dynasties, even though he may have thought he was dividing them. At the same time, unsuccessful rulers who fled to Roman protection were well received by Augustus, and in his *Res Gestae* (para. 32) he mentions Artaxares of Adiabene, as well as Artavazd of Media and others, who took refuge as suppliants of the Roman emperor. A similar policy was followed by the Parthians, although we do not have the sources in this regard.

[115] T. Mommsen, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (Berlin, 1883), par. 27. Tiridates II should really be III, but Tiridates the 'Great' is usually called I, so we use II here.

[116] Ziegler, *op. cit.* [n. 62], 52, and Debevoise, *op. cit* [ch. 7, n. 64], 144, for sources.

Phraates IV died, possibly poisoned, in 2 B.C. and was succeeded by his widow Musa who married her son Phraataces, and issued a joint coinage, the only such example in Parthian history. The Parthians did not support Phraataces, however, and in A.D. 4 he fled to Syria where he vanishes from the scene.[117] He was followed by Orodes III who struck tetradrachms alone and had a very short reign and was assassinated. The Parthian nobles sent envoys to Rome to obtain another son of Phraates IV, who had been sent there, to be their ruler, and Vonones the eldest was sent home in A.D. 8. His Roman ways did not appeal to the Parthians, and a claimant to the throne, Artabanus from Hyrcania, led a revolt against Vonones, who at first was successful and struck coins with the legend 'conqueror of Artabanus,' but Artabanus prevailed and drove Vonones out of the land. Vonones fled to Armenia where Tigranes IV had been deposed, and the throne was vacant. For little more than a year Vonones occupied the throne of Armenia, until Artabanus threatened an invasion and Vonones left for Roman exile in A.D. 16 (Tacitus, *Annals*, II, 1–4). The Romans, however, were not ready to abandon Armenia to Orodes son of Artabanus, so the new emperor Tiberius sent his adopted son Germanicus in A.D. 18 with an army to install Zeno, son of Polemo king of Pontus, as king of Armenia, with the new name Artaxias, and from 18 to 24 peace prevailed in Armenia, as well as between Rome and Parthia which gave Artabanus the opportunity to consolidate his rule.[118]

Our sources give little information about internal affairs in Parthia, but the coinage of Artabanus may reflect a turning point in Parthian history, for the epithet '*philhellene*' which had appeared on the issues of previous kings was omitted on some issues, presumably late tetradrachms. This could signify an emphasis on an Iranian reaction to the Romanized Vonones whom Artabanus defeated, but it would be wrong to conclude solely from the coins that Artabanus followed an anti-Hellenic movement, since later coins return to the epithet which persisted down to the end of the dynasty. Artabanus, however, was from a collateral branch of the Arsacid family and thus represents a change from a pro-Roman to an independent Iranian policy for the Parthians. Josephus (*Antiquities*, XVIII, 48) says Artabanus was king of Media, while Tacitus (*Annals*, II, 3) says he grew up among the Dahi, to the east of the Caspian Sea where his family had marriage connections. Kahrstedt goes to great lengths to prove that Artabanus was not king of Atropatene but of Hyrcania.[119] Certainly Artabanus, according to our sources, took refuge and secured support in the east when pressed by Vonones and later rebels, but he also could have held kingship in

[117] Acc. to the *Res Gestae* (par. 32), he took refuge with the Romans. See also Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, XVIII, 42, where he attributes the uprising of Parthians to revulsion over the mother–son marriage. That Musa allowed herself to be deified is suggested by a ring from Anatolia where she is identified as Thea Urania, perhaps to be identified with Anahita in Iran. Cf. R. Zahn, "Ein kleines historisches Monument," *Anatolian Studies presented to Wm. Ramsay*, ed. by W. H. Buckler (Manchester, 1923), 454–55.

[118] The history of Armenia is confused in this period. Orodes may have ruled Armenia for a few years in the period A.D. 15–18 and perhaps fled to Parthia where he reappears at the head of a Parthian army to avenge the murder of his brother. See P. Asdourian, *Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Armenien und Rom* (Venice, 1911), 81. This is uncertain, however, and conjectural.

[119] U. Kahrstedt, *Artabanos III und seine Erben* (Bern, 1950), 12–16. In his arguments for Hyrcania as the homeland of Artabanus he is convincing but not so in including Carmania or greater Kerman as the other area of support for Artabanus as a dual kingdom.

Atropatene for a short period, since the local dynasty seems to have either died out or was replaced. In any case, Artabanus after defeating Vonones put his eldest son on the throne of Atropatene, which bound it closer to Parthia. The period from the accession of Artabanus to the end of Parthian rule is one of conflict followed by conciliation and then new hostilities with Rome. As many modern scholars, as well as ancient authors, have remarked, the Romans now considered the Parthians worthy opponents, and treaties between the two parties in 20 B.C., in A.D. 1 between Caius Caesar, grandson of Augustus, and Phraataces, in A.D. 18 or 19 between Artabanus and Germanicus, nephew of Tiberius, and in A.D. 37 between Artabanus and L. Vitellius, Roman governor of Syria, all testify to the political equality of the two opponents.[120] Most of the reign of Artabanus was spent in restoring prestige and authority to the central government, and on the whole he was successful.

In Armenia, however, at the death of Zeno-Artaxias in 34, Artabanus installed his son Arsaces as king, and Tiberius sent a counter-claimant Tiridates, of the family of Phraates. Tiridates shortly died, and the Romans turned to Mithradates, brother of Pharasmanes, king of Iberia (Georgia), persuading him to seize the Armenian throne after the murder of Arsaces. Mithradates was successful and defeated the Parthian force led by another son of Artabanus, Orodes, who was killed. Mithradates then ruled Armenia amidst constant intrigues and warfare until 47. Artabanus at this time lost his influence, and a revolt of nobles caused Artabanus to flee to the east, as he had done in the time of Vonones (Tacitus, *Annals*, VI, 36). Again the Romans sent a pretender to the Parthian throne, Tiridates grandson of Phraates IV, across the Euphrates where he was crowned king. But Artabanus was able to return and Tiridates fled to Roman territory, and the peace of A.D. 37 was the result. This did not end internal problems for Artabanus, and the rest of his reign was troubled by the unrest of the nobility such that on one occasion Artabanus had to take refuge with Izates II of Adiabene, a client king. At the death of Artabanus, central power and authority had been shattered, and constant bickering for the throne followed him. The weakness of central authority which even an energetic ruler like Artabanus could not overcome became the hallmark of later Parthian history. The flights of Artabanus to Hyrcania and his restorations cannot have contributed to the stability of the state, and territory, or at least jurisdiction over some areas, was lost in the east as well as the west. The district of Herat may have been lost to Gondophares in the reign of Artabanus, for his coins predominate among the Parthian coins overstruck by Gondophares.[121] At the same time that Parthian central authority suffered, Parthian princes were installed as client rulers in various areas and thereby Parthian influence was spread through intermarriage more than conquest. But the client princes had equal claim to the Parthian throne, and civil wars became endemic.

[120] On the treaties cf. Ziegler, *op. cit.* [n. 62], 48–64. Most of the provisions of the agreements stressed the return to a status quo after hostilities, and the Euphrates border of the Romans remained constant, whereas Armenia continued to be an area of discord.

[121] Kahrstedt, *op. cit.* [n. 119], 34–35. All of Kahrstedt's surmises, given as history, need not be accepted; for example, the identification of Abdagases, who revolted against Artabanus and supported Tiridates, with the Indo-Parthian ruler of the same name is most unlikely. Also his statement that under Vologeses I Persis was lost by the Parthians makes little sense; Persis continued as a client state to the end of the dynasty, even though in some periods Parthian influence was stronger than in others. The striking of coins is no sure sign of absolute independence.

At the death of Artabanus, presumably his son Vardanes succeeded him, although his descent is uncertain as is that of his rival Vologeses I. Coins fail us, primarily because the city of Seleucia, with dated tetradrachms, had revolted in the last years of Artabanus, and we do not know when Vardanes or Gotarzes ruled there.[122] Civil war, interspersed with truces, lasted until 47, when Vardanes was murdered, and Gotarzes became sole ruler. Some of the Parthian nobles, headed by a member of the Karen family, opposed Gotarzes and turned to Rome, asking that Mithradates (called Meherdates, the current pronunciation, by Tacitus), son of Vonones and grandson of Phraates, be sent to be king. He was defeated and captured by Gotarzes, however, and the outside threat ended. On the death of Gotarzes in 51 by disease or accident, he was succeeded by Vonones, who had been ruler of Atropatene, according to Tacitus (*Annals*, XII, 14, 7), but who ruled a very short time and was followed by his son, Vologeses I. His brother Pacorus became king of Atropatene, and he determined to put another brother Tiridates on the throne of Armenia, which had become vacant by the murder of Mithradates in 52. Vologeses was successful, but Rome was aroused, and the new emperor Nero, who succeeded Claudius in 54, sent an experienced general Co. Corbulo to retrieve Roman prestige; for the ebb and flow of Roman–Parthian relations, especially in regard to Armenia, mostly concerned a matter of honor for the respective parties rather than actual gain or loss of territory, since neither side was able to incorporate Armenia as an integral part of their own domains. The struggle on the frontiers of the Roman and Parthian empires was to continue through Byzantine and Sasanian times to the coming of Islam, a period of more than half a millennium, and the two arms of the 'Fertile Crescent,' Syria and Iraq, although united in language and culture, were to develop different traditions, one looking to the west and the other to the east. In Classical sources we find references to the desire of the Iranians, first Parthians then Sasanians, to reach the Mediterranean and restore the empire of the Achaemenids, even though any memory of the Achaemenids was becoming hazy for the Iranians.

The war between Vologeses and Corbulo was complicated for the Parthians by revolts in the east, according to Tacitus (*Annals*, XIII, 7 and 37) by a son of Vardanes and the Hyrcanians. This latter revolt was serious, and ambassadors from the Hyrcanians came to Corbulo, and the revolt seems to have resulted in a kind of independence for that eastern region from direct Parthian control (XV, 2). In 58 Corbulo, however, drove Tiridates from Armenia, although hostilities did not end, for Tiridates continued to struggle, supported by his brothers Vologeses of Parthia and Pacorus of Atropatene. The Romans, however, installed Tigranes, great-grandson of Archelaus of Commagene, as their king of Armenia, and Tigranes in 61 launched his own invasion of Adiabene which provoked a countermove by the Parthians. After much fighting, a peace was arranged in 63, and the conflict came to an end with the understanding that Tiridates would be recognized as king of Armenia, but that he would receive a crown from Nero in Rome, an indication of a nominal Roman

[122] Josephus, *Antiquities*, XX, 3, 4, implies that Vardanes immediately succeeded Artabanus, his father, while Tacitus, *Annals*, XI, 8, suggests that Gotarzes succeeded Artabanus on the throne. If Vologeses, from Atropatene, was a brother of Gotarzes, as Josephus says, then the struggle between Vardanes and Gotarzes could have been an attempt of the Arsacid ruler of Atropatene to take over the central power.

hegemony over Armenia, but in reality it meant little. The trip of Tiridates to Rome and the celebrations which took place there in 66 were recorded by Dio Cassius (LXII) and Tacitus (XVI, 23), and they heralded a peace between the Romans and Parthians which lasted for half a century.[123] Rome had failed to impose its will, perhaps not understanding fully the importance of local loyalties to the intermarried royal houses of the principalities in this part of the Near East. Perhaps Roman supply lines and difficult logistics made Roman attempts either to make Armenia a province of their empire or a client state with a Roman-appointed ruler unfeasible, but, in any case, Corbulo was the agent of the change in Roman policy. The marriage ties of Parthian and Armenian nobility certainly did not help the Roman cause in Armenia or in other frontier states. The later Roman answer to Parthian inter-family connections in the east, the conferring of Roman titles of general, senator or consul on local dynasts, also failed to win support, and the Arsacid family connections in the courts of Armenia, Adiabene and others were to prove more important.

From notices in Tacitus and Cassius Dio about Hyrcanian embassies to the Romans, modern authors have deduced the existence of a Roman client state in the east.[124] More likely is simply the opposition of local inhabitants to demands of the Parthian king and his refusal to recognize the rights of Hyrcania similar to Atropatene or Armenia. Without information, it is surely excessive to call Hyrcania a Roman client state because the Hyrcanians sought Roman help. Based on geographical data from Ptolemy and elsewhere, Schur (*op. cit.*, 64–79) constructs a history of two powerful states in eastern Iran, Aria and Hyrcania, which expanded and contracted according to Parthian involvement with Rome. All is conjecture and must be so regarded. The Parthians themselves sought Roman aid against an invasion of the Alans from north of the Caucasus in 75 but it was refused by Vespasian which soured the Roman–Parthian friendship.[125] It is not possible to discuss Roman designs for the conquest of the Albanians, and the desire to open a land route to India over the Caspian through Hyrcania, if the Romans really had such extensive plans, but the Parthians in this period were hardly as isolated and reduced to a small area of rule as some scholars have proposed.[126] Vologeses rather increased his authority and prestige compared to his predecessors; he founded a city Vologesia as a rival to Seleucia and was interested in promoting trade.[127] He has been characterized as an anti-Hellenic king who promoted an Iranian cultural reaction solely on the basis of Aramaic letters appearing upon a few of the coins he struck, which is hardly strong evidence for a reversal of policy, since his coins continue with the legend '*philhellene*.' Likewise the possible

[123] For details of this period see W. Schur, *Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero*, Klio Beiheft, 15 (Wiesbaden, 1923), 29–32. Schur does not subscribe to the theory that Tigranes was put aside by the Romans because he could not command support among the Armenians, but this seems to have been the case, for the Roman or Augustan policy of imposing a Roman vassal in Armenia was a failure. Cf. Ziegler, *op. cit.* [n. 62], 75–77; Kahrstedt, *op. cit.* [n. 119], 83, and others.

[124] Schur, *op. cit.* [n. 123], 37–38; cf. Josephus, *Wars*, VII, 245.

[125] Ziegler, *op. cit.* [n. 62], 80.

[126] Schur, *op. cit.* [n. 123], 80–85. Romans did reach the shores of the Caspian as a Latin inscription of the XII legio Fulminata from the time of Domitian (81–96) indicates. See K. Trever, *Ocherki po istorii i kulture Kavkazskoi Albanii* (Moscow, 1959), 342–46. The significance of this inscription, however, should not be inflated, for conquests of Domitian so far east are unknown in literary sources.

[127] A. Mariq, "Vologésias, l'emporium de Ctésiphon," *Syria*, 36 (1959), 271. See n. 91.

attribution to this king of the collecting of the fragments of the Avesta in the later Middle Persian book the *Dēnkart* also does not mean such a change. The Romans evidently had a great respect for Vologeses, since they expanded the system of roads and fortifications in Syria under the Flavian emperors who succeeded Nero.[128]

The end of the reign of Vologeses, however, is unclear, for the coins seem to incidate a conflict with a Pacorus, whose relationship to Vologeses is unknown, but the latter's coins end about 78 or 79, while coins of Pacorus begin about the same time.[129] An unresolved numismatic problem is the existence of coins with the name Vologeses but with a completely different bust and crown than the usual issues of Vologeses. Some numismatists have postulated another Vologeses, a rebel against Vologeses I, while others have attributed the coins to a later king with the name Vologeses.[130] A later Byzantine source, Zonaras (XI, 18 or 578 C), mentions a Parthian king Artabanus as ruling Parthia at the time of the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 79, but he is mentioned nowhere else, although coins have been attributed to him. One incident mentioned by the sources is that of the pseudo-Nero, a Roman who claimed to be the murdered emperor, but who had to take refuge with the Parthians. This did not serve to improve relations between the two powers, and continued fortification of Roman border territory, the *limes*, did not augur well for future peaceful relations between the two. The balance between the powers was to be upset by Trajan who became Roman emperor in 98.

In Parthia Pacorus had a long reign not free from trouble, however, of which we have no information, but the long series of coins indicate a long rule, perhaps to 105, although the end date of his rule is unknown. Internal affairs in the Parthian domains are veiled in this period, but at the time of Trajan's accession in 98, hints in Classical sources indicate internal instability and perhaps even civil war there. A certain Chosroes (*ḥwsrw*), perhaps a brother-in-law of Pacorus, issued coins and at the same time so did Vologeses II, whose relationship with Pacorus is unknown.[131] We may only say that the reigns of Chosroes (also called Osroes on coins) and Vologeses were contemporaneous. The pedigrees and the reigns of later Parthian kings are uncertain, and the entire second century is a 'dark period' of Parthian history since there are no inscriptions, the coins are highly stylized, and the Romans only showed an interest when they invaded Parthian domains. This is why we cannot tell whether there were two rulers called Vologeses in this period, based solely on coins.

In the time of Trajan, we hear of a Parthian general Sinatruces, son of Mithradates and father of a Vologeses who received a portion of Armenia to rule from the Romans, according to Cassius Dio (LXVIII, 30), but whether this Sanatruces is to be

[128] Ziegler, *op. cit.* [n. 62], 80, for references.

[129] Sellwood, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 57], 220–26, proposes two kings of the same name, Vologeses I (51–78) and Vologeses II (77–80), on the basis of different coin types, but this is hardly enough to prove a second ruler at that time.

[130] *Ibid.*, 226–28; Debevoise, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 64], 214, n. 3.

[131] In relying on numismatics it should be emphasized that only Parthian tetradrachms, which were minted at Seleucia alone, give a date and frequently the personal name of the king. The drachms, which are much more numerous, are highly stylized and with several exceptions give no personal names. Furthermore, local kings in Atropatene and elsewhere on the Iranian plateau may have struck coins in Parthian style, so numismatics must be used with care. For a new method of identification on the coins see D. G. Sellwood "A Die-Engraver Sequence for Later Parthian Drachms," *NC*, 7 series, 7 (1967), 13–28.

identified with a ruler of the same name in Edessa, c. 91–109 and whether this Vologeses later became Vologeses II (or III) of Parthia is mere conjecture. Names of Arsacid princes do occur in the Classical sources, but it is not possible to make a genealogical table of the Arsacids in this period.

The war of Trajan against the Parthians has been studied by many scholars, notably by J. Guey followed by Lepper whose reconstructions generally have been accepted.[132] We are not here concerned with the causes of Rome's aggression, whether economic to control trade routes to the east, or a personal desire of Trajan for fame and glory, or, as suggested only by Lepper, as an attempt to stabilize the frontier by advances into enemy country from the *limes* which Trajan had continued to build, following the Flavian emperors. Certainly Rome was the aggressor, even though Armenian affairs became a pretext. For Chosroes encouraged one son of Pacorus, Parthamasiris, to replace his brother or half-brother called Axidares in Armenia which happened, but since the latter had the support of Rome, Trajan arrived in the east in 114 to begin a war against the Armenians in which he was successful such that Armenia was proclaimed a Roman province. Trajan organized better the *limes* system, and in 116 he invaded Adiabene and put its king Mebarsapes to flight. The land of Adiabene was annexed as well as the entire basin of the Tigris–Euphrates as Maricq has brilliantly shown.[133] The Romans, however, were far too extended, even if there was no unified Parthia opposing them, and revolts broke out in 116, and Trajan was obliged to retreat from Ctesiphon which he had captured in 117. He failed in his attempt to capture Hatra, the caravan city in the desert of Mesopotamia, and shortly afterward he died of illness. We are not here concerned with Roman history, but the farthest advance of the Romans, to the Persian Gulf, under Trajan must have made a strong impression on the Parthians. Some scholars, such as Maricq, have argued that Trajan intended to advance the boundaries of the Roman Empire to the Zagros mountains in the east, a natural barrier. This view, however, conflicts with the activity of Trajan in building roads and forts along the *limes* of the Syrian desert and upper Mesopotamia, and Lepper's view that Trajan in reality followed a policy of penetration beyond the *limes* to secure the real borders of the empire, behind the *limes*, seems more accurate. Trade with the east was surely important, but any plan to incorporate all the land to the Persian Gulf must have seemed unrealistic to many Romans, as it did to Hadrian, successor of Trajan. Perhaps the most important result of the peace of Hadrian was the abandonment of the Trajanic policy of annexation of client states in the east as provinces of the Roman Empire, and a return to the policy of client kingdoms. This gave an opportunity for small trading city-states such as Hatra, Mesene and Palmyra to flourish.

[132] J. Guey, "Essai sur la guerre parthique de Trajan," *Bibliothèque d'Istros*, 2 (Bucharest, 1937), 160 pp., and F. A. Lepper, *Trajan's Parthian War* (Oxford, 1948), 224 pp., with further references. Lepper systematically analyzes especially the chronology of Trajan's campaigns. E. J. Keall, "Osroes: Rebel King or Royal Delegate?" *Cornucopiae*, 3 (Toronto, 1975), 17–32, argues that Chosroes never acted in concert with Trajan but always in defense of his suzerain Vologeses.

[133] A. Maricq, "La province d'Assyrie' créé par Trajan," *Syria*, 36 (1959), 257. Whether most Romans thought they could hold the three new provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia and Assyria (Babylonia) with the client state Mesene, at the head of the Persian Gulf, is conjectural. Trajan must have considered his conquests as permanent, while his trip to the Persian Gulf had something of the bravado of Alexander the Great.

As noted, the second century is a dark century in Parthian history, and the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Vologeses II reveal no activity on the Parthian frontier. The mention of Bactrian and Hyrcanian envoys in the time of Antoninus indicates the continued independence of Hyrcania from the Parthian central authority while the Bactrians are surely the Kushans.[134] Vologeses III (or IV; c. 147–191) may have taken advantage of the accession of Marcus Aurelius to break the long peace and the fixed frontiers of the Euphrates between the two states, but the apparent reason for the war was his attempt to dislodge a Roman client ruler in Armenia who had been installed by Antoninus about 140.[135] The Parthians were successful in putting a new king on the throne of Armenia, called Pacorus, and in annihilating a Roman army led by the governor of Cappadocia, Severianus. The Romans, however, retaliated, and a strong army soon took the Armenian capital of Artaxata in 163 and replaced Pacorus with a prince, Sohaemus, of the royal family of Edessa and a Roman senator as well. To the south another army in 164–165 advanced as far as Seleucia which was destroyed by the Roman general Avidius Cassius, while Ctesiphon, the capital, was taken and plundered. Sickness, however, caused a retreat of the Romans, and peace was reestablished in about 166. Under the peace treaty, which is not mentioned by our sources, the old boundaries were rectified a little in favor of the Romans, by making the town of Nisibis and the Khabur River with the Singara mountains (Jibal Sinjar) the boundaries of Roman territory. Armenia's Sohaemus was recognized as king. Peace remained between the two states even when the opportunity to support Avidius Cassius in his revolt against Marcus Aurelius in 175 was presented to Vologeses. The quick fall of Cassius and the intervention of the Roman emperor in the east to regulate affairs with local rulers, and with ambassadors from Vologeses, strengthened the peace which lasted through the reign of Commodus (180–192).

In Parthia Vologeses III seems to have had a rival called Chosroes who is known only by his coins, and he cannot have reigned long even over only a part of Parthia towards the end of the rule of Vologeses.[136] The latter was succeeded by another Vologeses whose relationship to his namesake is unknown. The next to last Vologeses supported Pescennius Niger as claimant to the Roman throne in 193, but the victor was Septimius Severus. The Parthians and their allies, however, in the period of Roman civil war, had taken some territory and towns and refused to return them to Roman rule.[137] Thus Severus crossed the Euphrates in 196 and had some success, but in 196 he was recalled to Gaul by a revolt. Nonetheless, the Romans maintained their eastern boundary of the Khabur and Singara mountains. The absence of Severus emboldened the Parthians to attack, and much territory in Mesopotamia came into their hands. Severus, having settled affairs in the west, returned and invaded the Parthian domains, capturing and sacking Ctesiphon in 198, and Vologeses fled from the city. Again it was not the Parthians but rather the devastated countryside which

[134] Envoys came in the time of Hadrian, according to the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Hadrian, 21, 14, and in the time of Antoninus (Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus, Epitome* 15, 4).

[135] For sources see M.-L. Chaumont, *Recherches sur l'histoire d'Arménie* (Paris, 1969), 15–16. Armenian history in this period is also dark.

[136] Sellwood, *Coinage of Parthia* [ch. 7, n. 57], 281. No mention of this Chosroes is found in any literary source.

[137] By allies, the rulers of Adiabene and Osrhoene (to the west of Nisibis) are meant. Cf. Cassius Dio (LXXV, 1).

caused a Roman retreat, this time up the Tigris River. A long siege of Hatra in 199 failed, and Severus had to return to Syria and apparently peace was made, based on the status quo before the war, although sources again do not tell us about a peace treaty.

Vologeses died about 207 and was succeeded by his son of the same name, but sometime later Artabanus, another son, contested the throne; the civil war was incited by Caracalla according to Cassius Dio (LXXVIII, 2a). Caracalla looked for fame in conquest of the east, and in 214 he found a pretext in two exiles who had taken refuge with the Parthians, but Vologeses, pressed by internal problems, surrendered the fugitives to Caracalla. The latter, however, was determined to find an excuse for invasion, so when Artabanus gained the upper hand in Parthia in 216 the Roman emperor asked for the hand of the daughter of Artabanus in marriage which was refused by the Parthian king. Caracalla then invaded Adiabene, and Artabanus fled to the east but soon returned to the attack. Caracalla was assassinated, however, in 217, and he was succeeded by Macrinus who sought peace. Artabanus rejected the overture for peace by the Romans and advanced toward Nisibis where an indecisive battle was fought, after which peace was made by the payment of an indemnity by the Romans to the Parthians. The end of the Parthian Empire, however, was in sight, and only the final dates of the two Parthian rulers, Vologeses and Artabanus, are in doubt because of coins which indicate that the former continued to rule until 228 while Artabanus continued to 227.[138] The Parthians were to fall to a new dynasty from Persis, the Sasanians.

HELLENISM AND THE IRANIAN REVIVAL

The Parthians have long suffered denigration from their successors, the Sasanians, as well as from their enemies, the Romans, and modern scholars usually have followed the ancient sources to give bad publicity for the Parthians as destroyers of the Hellenic heritage of the Seleucids. This reputation is undeserved, for the Parthians were neither enemies and destroyers of Hellenism nor traitors to the Iranian heritage of the Achaemenids and non-Zoroastrians, as has been asserted. For almost half a millennium the Parthians dominated the history of the Iranian plateau, and they finally were recognized as worthy opponents and equals in warfare and diplomacy by the Romans.[139] A review of the cultural achievements of the Parthians is in order.

To begin with Hellenism, it must be re-emphasized that the epithet '*philhellene*' remained on most of the coins struck by the Parthian rulers to the end of the dynasty, and there is no evidence of either a prolonged or effective policy of attack on Hellenic culture of any of the Arsacid kings. The tradition of independence of those cities called *polis* was also continued from Seleucid times through most of the Parthian rule. The two most striking examples, of which we have source material, are Seleucia and Susa, both of which issued their own coinage and maintained their own institutions from Seleucid to Parthian rule. The Greek influence in both, quite naturally, became

[138] See B Simonetta, "Vologese V, Artabano V e Artavasde," *Numismatica*, 19–20 (Perugia, 1953–54), 1–4. Sellwood, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 57], dates the coins of Vologeses to 228 but Artabanus only to 224, while he correctly denies the existence of the son of Artabanus called Artavazd(es) (on the coins read *'rtbnw* for *'rtwzd*) who, according to Simonetta, ruled after 227 for a short time.

[139] See the convincing arguments of Ziegler, *op cit.* [n. 62], 140, *et passim.*

weaker, as the Hellenic population became absorbed by local people, but Hellenic features nonetheless persisted in these two cities. In December of the year 21 A.D. King Artabanus III wrote a letter to the city of Susa relating to the election of a certain Hestiaios, and, as has been remarked, the letter which is preserved on an inscription is to a Greek *polis*, of which the constitution is Greek, and the administration of the city is Greek.[140] Even though an Arsacid era beginning 247 B.C. was introduced by the Parthians, the Seleucid calendar remained more popular and, just as the native name Susa was used for the city, so also the Seleucid designation Seleucia on the Eulaius River remained in use until the end of the Parthian rule, all evidence of the tolerance for and even support of Hellenism by the Parthian rulers. Shortly after Artabanus, c. 45, the kings of Elymais took the city, and they issued coins in their form of the Aramaic alphabet and a dialect of the Aramaic language. The rulers of Elymais remained in control of Susa until the end of the Parthian dynasty. An inscription of the last Artabanus, in the Parthian language and alphabet and dated to 215, found in the excavations, attests a return of the city to Arsacid allegiance.[141] Seleucia on the Tigris did revolt against the Parthians, but it was destroyed by the Romans. In both cities royal and local coinage existed, and it seems as though the Parthians were just as much, if not more, champions of Greek culture as the Romans. In any case, as far as we can see, Hellenism was not proscribed under the Parthians.

One subject which has not been touched is commerce and trade, but we have no information from Parthia proper about such matters; rather the small states of the 'Fertile Crescent' and even the Kushans in the east supply us with some information even though sparse. The Parthians were not great traders or merchants, but they did not by any means follow an anti-commercial policy but rather the contrary. One factor in the decline of Parthia in its last two centuries can be seen in the debasement of the coinage beginning with Artabanus III. Compared to earlier coins not only do the style and quality of the coins suffer, but in the tetradrachms the amount of silver declines.[142] Whether this is the result of the loss of silver mines or, more likely economic crises affecting especially the mint of Seleucia, we do not know. The population and cultivated land of the Susa plain in Parthian times was about three times that of the Achaemenid period according to an archaeological survey.[143] In the Parthian period land under irrigation and cultivation was increased over earlier times but not so much as the maximum use under the Sasanians. Again our sources fail us. The Roman wars undoubtedly adversely affected trade and commerce in the Parthian realm, but central weakness was more important than other factors contributing to the fall of the Parthians.

The art of the Parthians has been discussed many times, and it is now generally agreed that just as the Parthians did not impose themselves on local rulers and cultures,

[140] Le Rider, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 25], 35–36 and 421–22.

[141] R. Ghirshman, "Une bas-relief d'Artaban V avec inscription en pehlevi arsacide," *Monuments Piot*, 44 (1950), 97–107, corrected by W. B. Henning in "The Monuments and Inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak," *AM*, 2 (1952), 151–78.

[142] On the debasement of the coinage, especially the tetradrachms, see W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia*, in *The Greek Coins in the British Museum*, (London, 1903), lxv, and Sellwood, *op. cit.* [ch 7, n. 57], 5.

[143] R. J. Wenke, "Imperial Investments and Agricultural Development in Parthian and Sasanian Khuzestan," *Mesopotamia*, 10–11 (Florence, 1975–76), 43.

so in the arts they allowed local schools to flourish. The Arsacid kings were not only '*philhellene*' in policy towards Hellenized conquered peoples, but also in the arts, but this early dependence changed in the last two centuries of Parthian rule and we find a 'Parthian' style developing. In painting and sculpture the concept of 'frontality' dominated Parthian art after the beginning of our era. Without discussing many questions about the origins of this style and other features of Parthian art, it should be noted that Parthian art and architecture, such as is preserved, both are 'popular' in the sense that both Achaemenid and Sasanian art are not.[144] Rather in them the overwhelming stamp of the rulers is obvious. The Parthian age was not an 'imperial age' as both Achaemenid and Sasanian, but Parthian remains reflect rather the many currents of culture among the populace. The more that archaeologists uncover from Parthian sites, the more significant appears the importance of the Parthian period as a prelude to Sasanian art, culture and institutions. The opposition of Hellenistic to the 'Oriental' art of the Parthians has been overly stressed, in my opinion, as has been the dichotomy between 'East and West' represented by Parthians and Romans. This is not to deny the fundamental differences between 'theoretical' Hellenistic and Roman art as opposed to 'theoretical' Parthian art, between representation of nature or realism as opposed to expressionism and stylized art, so ably sketched by Avi-Yonah.[145] The situation, however, was complex, and the influences of so many peoples such as Armenians, Nabataeans, Mesopotamians and others make the cultural and artistic panorama of the Near East at this time more complicated than the 'Hellenistic-Oriental' division. Perhaps one should look at the last century and a half of Parthian rule and from the meager sources show the change from an earlier 'Hellenistic' dominated age to one of Parthian autonomy in the realm of culture and institutions.

In art the Hellenistic heritage had changed in the first century of our era from a syncretic Hellenistic–Iranian *koiné* to the Greco-Buddhist or Gandharan art in the east under the Kushans, and in western Iran to a Parthian art with total 'frontality,' portrayal of the 'Parthian gallop' with horsemen in paintings or sculptures, the Parthian costumes and the use of *ayvans* in architecture and domed vaults, all hallmarks of later Parthian culture. In writing, Greek had lost its predominance, and Aramaic had been replaced by Parthian, a change symbolic of the change from early to late Parthian times.[146]

[144] On 'frontality' see G. A. Koshelenko, "O frontalnosti v Parfyanskom iskusstve," in *Istori-arkheolog. sbornik v chest A. V. Artsikovskogo* (Moscow, 1962), 135–36, who stresses the religious-ideological changes which induced artists to stress frontality. Schlumberger, *L'Orient Hellénisé* [ch. 7, n. 76], 198, stresses the origin from archaic Greek art, while M. A. R. Colledge, *Parthian Art* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1977), 143–44 summarizes 'frontality' in this period. On the ancient Oriental origin of 'frontality' see M. Avi-Yonah, *Oriental Art in Roman Palestine* (Rome, 1961), 76–79.

[145] *Avi-Yonah, ibid.*, 10–12. It is not possible to discuss such fascinating topics as round cities of the Parthians and the architectural innovations which are found in the Parthian period. Cf. G. A. Koshelenko, "Parfyanskaya fortifikatsiya," *SA* no. 2 (1963), 69–71. In building techniques a difference between Greeks and Parthians could be illustrated in the use of pillars; for the former they were fundamental and walls were added to them; for the Parthians walls came first and pillars were decorations.

[146] On Aramaic to Parthian see the discussion in P. W. Coxon, "The Nisa Ostraca: Ur- Ideographic Texts?" *AAH*, 21 (1973), 185–204, and the examples of late Parthian writing on inscriptions, p. 56. *'rtbnw MLKyn MLK' BRY wlgšy MLKyn MLK'BNYt ḥnsk ZK ZY ḥwsk šwš ḥštrp* "Artabanus King of Kings, son of Vologeses, King of Kings built this 'stele' which is of *ḥwsk*, satrap of Susa," and p. 69 *'ršk wlgšy MLKyn M[LK']* 'Arsaces Vologeses King of Kings,' in R. Ghirshman, *Iran, Parthians and Sassanians* (N.Y., 1962).

We have no Parthian literary remains from the Parthian period, but the existence of a large poetic or minstrel oral literature has been cogently proposed.[147] The Iranian national epic as preserved in the *Shāhnāme* of Firdosi is primarily of eastern Iranian origin and incorporates Parthian heroes such as King Gotarzes in the tales which have survived. Yet the epic is not concerned with the wars between the Parthians and the Romans, but with older struggles of the rulers of the east and the struggle between Iran and Turan, the latter an uncertain people and place in the east, but more mythical than real, later identified with the land of the Turks. The traces of Parthian culture and society in later literature such as the Middle Persian text the *Draxt ī Asūrīg* 'Assyrian (Babylonian) tree,' and the *Yādegār ī Zarērān* 'Memorial of Zarir,' and the New Persian poem, *Vīs ū Rāmīm*, are what one would expect, a heroic, chivalric society which could be called 'feudal' in a general sense. This is also the society and culture depicted in Firdosi's epic, and the heritage is clearly from Parthian times. This society and culture has little influence from Hellenism other than possible borrowings of stories or motifs, of Herakles to Rustam for example, while the Iranian character of the epic is paramount. Thus by the end of the Parthian period the Iranian revival had absorbed Hellenistic elements but existed in its own right in domains of art and culture, not to mention government, religion and society. The history of the Parthians, however, cannot be divorced from that of their powerful eastern neighbors, the Kushans, with their great king Kanishka, or from the history of the small states in western Iran and Babylonia where archaeology has revealed much of Parthian influences, and to these we must now turn.

[147] M. Boyce, "The Parthian *gōsān* and Iranian Minstrel Tradition," *JRAS* (1957), 10–45, and her "Zariadres and Zarēr," *BSOAS*, 17 (1955), esp. 476–77.

CHAPTER IX

THE KUSHANS

Literature: Literary sources on the Kushans are almost non-existent, other than brief notices of 'Bactrians' in Classical sources, where the word 'Kushan' does not appear, and in Armenian and Chinese sources, in both of which the identifications of Kushans are highly conjectural.* Indian sources merely mention them in the sub-continent, and we are left with numismatics and a few inscriptions to aid us to reconstruct the history of the most important ancient dynasty in the eastern Iranians world down to the coming of Islam. The material remains of the Kushans, however, are numerous, especially with the famous and prolific 'Gandharan' Buddhist art which influenced eastern as well as Central Asia. The secondary literature on the Kushans, however, is overwhelming. There have been several international symposia concentrating on the date of Kanishka, but general conferences on the Kushans have proliferated, the largest having been one in Dushanbe in 1968 which resulted in two volumes, ed. by B. Gafurov *Tsentralnaya Aziya v Kushanskuyu Epokhu* (Moscow, 1974–75), which summed up knowledge about the Kushans until that time.[1] A conference in Kabul in November 1978 and another in Delhi in January 1980 (limited to the Kushans in Mathura and India), indicate the general expanded interest in the eastern counterpart of the Roman Empire. Fussman's article in *JA* has been noted in the chapter on the Sakas, and his assessment of the high value of the general work by B. Ya. Staviskii, *Kushanskaya Baktriya* (Moscow, 1977) has been confirmed by others. Most late excavations in Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Pakistan uncover objects from the Kushan period, and they reveal the wealth and prosperity of the Kushan Empire, much more than what was found under their predecessors or successors. For French excavations in Afghanistan, see the various numbers of the *MDAFA* and for the Soviet excavations in northern Afghanistan (southern Bactria) see I. T. Kruglikova, *Drevnyaya Baktriya*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1976 and 1979).[2] On the site of Bamiyan see Z. Tarzi, *L'architecture et le decor ruprestre des grottes de Bamiyan*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1977). We may say that the Kushan sites of importance are: Begram Dilberdzhin and Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan, and Dalverzin Tepe, north of the Oxus, and on the Indian sub-continent the twin sites of Charsada, and Shaikhan-Dheri, while Taxila and Mathura should not be omitted, although finds from other periods predominated in the last two.[3] The journals *Afghan Studies*, published in London, *Afghanistan* in Kabul and *Aryāna* (in Pashto and Persian) in Kabul keep the student abreast of work in pre-Islamic culture and civilization, while the Journals *EW*, *Afghanistan Journal* (Graz) and *Journal of Central Asia* (Islamabad)

* The great inscription at Surkh Kotal, dating from the time of Huvishka, has not been discussed in this chapter, since it is reserved for an appendix.

[1] On the Kanishka congresses, see papers in the *JRAS* for 1912–14 and A. L. Basham, ed., *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka* (Leiden, 1968), 478 pp. On one Kushan conference in Kabul in 1970 see F. Ayubi, *Kushan Culture and History* (Kabul, 1971), 180 pp. For Soviet contributions to the field see B. Ya. Staviskii, *et al.*, ed., *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya Srednei Azii i Kushanskaya Problema*, 2 vols. (Moscow, 1968), an annotated bibliography. For more bibliographies see I. Stwodah and A. Z. Modarrissi, *Kushans*, annotated bibliography, 2 vols. (Kabul, 1978), and B. N. Puri, *Kuṣāṇā Bibliography* (Calcutta, 1977). For a bibliography of Soviet works from the Dushanbe congress to 1977, see B. A. Litvinskii, "Problemy Istorii i Istorii Kultury Drevnei Srednei Azii v Svete noveishikh rabot Sovetskikh Uchenykh," *VDI*, 4 (1978), 73–92.

[2] On earlier work here see I. T. Kruglikova, *Dilberdzhin*, 1 (Moscow, 1974) and 2 (Moscow, 1977) from the 1970–72 and 1973 excavations respectively.

[3] Bibliography on Begram is found in the volumes of *MDAFA*; on Surkh Kotal see D. Schlumberger, "Le temple de Surkh Kotal," I–IV, *JA* (1952, 1954, 1955, and 1964), as well as reports in *CRAI*, and "The Excavations at Surkh Kotal," *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 47 (London, 1961), 77–95. The site of Dilberdzhin Tepe has been mentioned in note 2; for Dalverzin see G. Pugachenkova, *Les trésors de Dalverzine Tépé* (Leningrad, 1978). On Charsada the excavation report (with the same title as the name of the site) has been published by M. Wheeler (Oxford, 1962), and "Shaikhan Dheri Excavations," by A. H. Dani, *Ancient Pakistan*, 2 (Peshawar, 1966), 17–214. Taxila has been mentioned in chapter seven. For Mathura see K. L. Janert, ed., *Mathura Inscriptions* by H. Lüders (Göttingen, 1961), for further references.

have articles on ancient Afghanistan from time to time. F. R. Allchin and N. Hammond, eds., *The Archaeology of Afghanistan* [ch. 6, n. 43], have a large bibliography on the Kushan period. For Tajikistan and Uzbekistan (northern Bactria), and to a lesser extent Turkmenistan and Kirghizia, the journals of the respective academies of science and universities should be consulted, as well as general works, such as the yearly survey of archaeology in the USSR, published by the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow, entitled *Arkheologicheskie Otkrytiya*, ed. by B. A. Rybakov. Individual works are mentioned below in footnotes on special problems.

ORIGINS

It is now generally accepted that the Kushans were one of the tribes known to the Chinese sources as Yüeh-chih who moved from their original homeland on the western borders of Kansu province of China under pressure of their northern neighbors to the west about 175 B.C. There is no reason to doubt this information from the *Shih-chi*, and the annals of the former and later Han dynasty, although there are points of difference between them.[4] The Yüeh-chih invaded West Turkestan and apparently were among the tribes which brought an end to the Greco-Bactrian rule in that area and northern Afghanistan about 128 B.C. as mentioned above. Nomadic invasions of the western lands from Central Asia always carried many peoples along the way, such that frequently a billiard-ball effect was produced with one group impinging on another to send them moving ahead. The Sakas probably were the first nomads to invade the Greco-Bactrian domains but, according to Strabo (XI, 511), the Asii, Pasiani, Tokhari and Sakarauli took Bactria from the Greeks. Undoubtedly different groups took part in the movement, including Tokhari, who gave their name to the mountainous area of eastern Bactria, later called Tokharistan.[5] Whether some of the nomads spoke 'Tokharian,' the centum Indo-European language, is uncertain but probable, but the local Iranian tongues were adopted by the invaders, although debased Greek continued to be used on coins. The end of the Greco-Bactrians had brought a loss in Classical sources about events in Central Asia, and Chinese sources, unfortunately, are of little aid in reconstructing the past in this area. For the rise of the Kushans, however, a notice in the *Hou* (Later) *Han Shu* is important. It says that: "Formerly, when the Yüeh-chih had been routed by the Hsiung-nu, they moved to Ta-hsia and divided the country into five *hsi hou* (*yabghu*): Hsin-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hsi (or Pa)-tun, and Tu-mi. More than a hundred years passed, the *yabghu* of Kuei-shuang, (called) Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh, attacked and destroyed (the other) four *yabghu*, set himself up as king. The kingdom was called Kuei-shuang. The king invaded An-hsi, took the country of Kao-fu. He also destroyed P'u-ta and Chi-pin, and completely subjugated them. Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh died at the age of more than

[4] On recent translations of the Chinese sources, see E. Zürcher, "The Yüeh-chih and Kanişka in the Chinese Sources," in Basham, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 358–71. See also the translations by K. Enoki, in Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* [*supra*, ch. 7, n. 2], 129–31. Cf. Pulleyblank, "The Wu-sun and Sakas" [ch. 7, n. 38], 154–60.

[5] The controversies over the identifications and locations of western place-names in Chinese sources cannot concern us here, as well as the dispute over the language and identity of the Yüeh-chih, whether they were Iranian or Tokharian speakers, similar to the Wu-sun, Ta-yüan, K'ang-chü and others, acc. to Pulleyblank, "Chinese and Indo-Europeans," [ch. 7, n. 42], esp. 27–36. The latter identifies the Yüeh-chih with the *Ἰάτιοι* of Ptolemy and Ta-yüan with Tokharians. H. W. Bailey in many articles supports the Iranian identity of the Yüeh-chih.

eighty. Yen-kao-chên succeeded him as king. He in turn destroyed T'ün-chu (India) and placed a general to supervise and govern there. Since that time the Yüeh-chih have become most rich and prosperous. (People of) many countries speak of the king of Kuei-shuang, but in China they are called Ta Yüeh-chih, according to their old name."[6] The interpretation of this passage generally has been that about the end of the millennium a *yabghu* or chief of one of the five tribes or divisions of territory of the new domain of the Yüeh-chih, called Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh, who has been identified as Kujula Kadphises, conquered the others and established the Kuei-shuang (Kushan) kingdom. Much controversy has existed over the meaning and location of the people ruled by the *yabghus*, a Central Asian title, whether they were only tribes or also settled folk.[7] If we accept the statement of the text that over a hundred years after the conquest of Ta-hsia, usually identified as Bactria, the events described happened, then it is most likely by that time the people were settled and mixed, and the notice of the *Ch'ien* (Earlier) *Han Shu* that the five *yabghus* belonged to the Ta Yüeh-chih, as their subjects, probably means that the Ta Yüeh-chih included both the tribes with their leaders, and the settled areas over which they ruled.[8] Many attempts have been made to identify the Chinese characters with place names in Central Asia or Afghanistan, but it would seem we have in the text a mixture of place and tribal names, with great difficulties in identification. More likely for identifications than tribes or regions would be an identification of the capital towns of the five *yabghus*, but even they present great difficulties, since texts in other languages, except Ptolemy's *Geography*, give us no clues to city names in this region, and Ptolemy unfortunately does not provide parallels to the Chinese place names.

From the meager reports of Chinese sources we must turn to the backbone of Kushan studies, as it was in the case of the Sakas, numismatics. Here, the sequence of Kushan coins has been established on the basis of styles and quality of the coins more than on legends. After the fall of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom, 'barbarous' copies of the coinage of Eucratides and especially of Heliocles were struck in Bactria, but whether north or south of the Oxus River is unknown.[9] Sometime in the first century B.C., or possibly at the turn of the millennium, probably it was one of the Yüeh-chih chieftains who struck tetradrachms and obols with a corrupt Greek

[6] Zürcher, *op. cit.* [n. 4], 367; Narain, *op. cit.* [*supra*, ch. 7, n. 2], 131. Differences in translation are minor but interpretations of proper names and their significance vary widely.

[7] Cf. the article by P. Daffinà, "The Return of the Dead," *EW* 22 (1972) 87–91, attacking B. N. Mukherjee, "The Ta-hsia and the Problem Concerning the Advent of Nomadic Peoples in Greek Bactria" in *EW*, 29 (1969), 395–400, both with further references. The word *yabghu* is considered Tokharian, comparing A dialect *yapoy*, B dialect *ype* 'country' by Pulleyblank, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 42], 28, and as Iranian by H. W. Bailey, in "Languages of the Saka," *HO*, Iranistik (1968), 136, comparing Parthian *ymg* 'leader' and the root *yam-* 'to lead.' Others erroneously consider the word as Turkic in origin.

[8] The former *Han Shu* in the list of tribes substitutes the *yabghu* (meaning either the leader or his clan, or the land he ruled) of Kao-fu for Tu-mi. The former has been identified as Kabul and the latter as Termez (ancient Tarmita). The ancient transcriptions of the Chinese characters following Karlgren, are given by Zürcher, *op. cit.* [n. 4], 388–90.

[9] Cf. A. M. Mandelshtam, "K predkushanskomu chekan Baktrii," *EV*, 17 (1965), 85–91. The special monogram on the copies of Heliocles coins may have been a mark or *tamgha* of a nomadic chieftain, since it is not found on any Greco-Bactrian coin. It is hardly possible to identify or locate in place or time the enigmatic coins with debased Greek legends and names such as Hyrkodes; cf. Tarn, *Greeks* [ch. 1, n. 23], 301, n. 1, and 305, n. 2, for further references.

legend to be reconstructed as *ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥΝΤΟΣ ΗΡΑΟΥ ΣΑΝΑΒ(ΟΥ) ΚΟΡΡΑΝΟΥ* (with P for the sound -š-).[10] The title of Heraus or Heraeus is less than a king, of course, but exactly what it meant is uncertain. The name was much disputed because of the variations in corrupt legends, and the name is not found elsewhere unless it is simply a variation of Greek Hēras. The third word, too, is enigmatic, but since the title was given in the first word, we may suggest that Sanab, as in the name Sanabares, is a family name followed by the tribal name of 'Kushan.' In any case, the person seems to have been a Kushan chieftain, and he has been identified as the person of whom a head and statue in clay have been found at the site of Khalchayan on the Surkhan Darya in Tajikistan.[11] Just where and how long Heraus ruled is unknown, but the next Kushan ruler of whom we have coins was Kujula Kadphises. His coins are varied in their origins, for he copied coins of Hermaeus, or pseudo-Hermaeus, Gondophares and others, indicating that he followed local usage in his conquests. This ruler is identified as the one called Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh (Archaic Chinese reconstruction: *k'yug-dz'iôg-k'yak*), who united the *yabghus* of the Yüeh-chih, invaded An-hsi (Parthia) and took Kabul from them.[12] This would refer to the Indo-Parthians, about the time of Gondophares. Most scholars agree that Kujula made raids into the lowlands of India and perhaps established rule for some years in various localities, but apparently he abandoned some of his conquests. Since he is said to have lived to an age of eighty years, presumably he had a long reign. Since few of his coins are found north of the Oxus River, and many of his coin-types have Kharoshthi legends as well as Greek, we may suppose that he ruled primarily in southern Bactria, in the Hindukush region and in Gandhara, on the northwest plains of the subcontinent. Kujula probably lived at the same time as Gondophares but how far their reigns and territories overlapped are unknown. The existence of copper coins of Kujula copied from Roman coins of Augustus or Tiberiŭs, however, suggests a date for Kujula's reign in the first century of our era.[13] Kujula, however, does not seem to have been more than a conqueror seeking booty, perhaps establishing his rule and then withdrawing, or possibly again returning, and copying the coins of his predecessors in every area which he overran. Inscriptions in Kharoshthi are unfortunately of little help in historical identifications; for example, one from Takht-i Bahi on a stone in the Lahore Museum mentions a prince (Prakrit *erjhuṇa*) called Kapa, who has been identified with Kujula Kadphises, but this is most uncertain, as is the date.[14]

[10] Cf. E. A. Davidovich, *Klady drevnykh i srednevekovykh monet Tadzhikistana* (Moscow, 1979), 17–35, with references. See also R. B. Whitehead, "Notes on the Indo-Greeks," *NC*, fifth series, 20 (1940), 120–22. Apparently no copper coins of this ruler have been found.

[11] See G. Pugachenkova, *Skulptura Khalchayana* (Moscow, 1971), 57 and plates 61–64, also her "K ikonografii Geraya," *VDI*, 1 (1965), 127–36. Heraus copied the corrupt tetradrachms of Eucratides, as others copied the coinage of Heliocles.

[12] For the reconstructed Chinese, see Zürcher, *op. cit.* [n. 4], 389. On the name Kujula, *Κοζολο*, perhaps meaning 'younger' or 'shorter,' and Kadphises as **gaδa pisa* 'he who is adorned with the throwing club,' see W. Eilers, "Die Namen der Kuschan-Könige," *Añjali, Wijesekera Felicitation Volume* (Colombo, Sri Lanka, 1970), 119, 126–27. H. W. Bailey in "Irano-Indica III," *BSOAS*, 13 (1950), 396–97, interprets Kadphises as Old Ir. **kāta-paisa-* 'of honored form.'

[13] D. W. MacDowall, "Numismatic Evidence for the Date of Kaniṣka," in Basham, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 144–45.

[14] S. Konow, *Kharoshthi Inscriptions*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (Calcutta, 1929), 62.

Inscriptions may have dates but the problem of the eras in which they are dated has plagued scholars for many years, and while relative chronologies can be established for the Kushan rulers, absolute dating eludes us, principally because dates found in the Indian sub-continent cannot be attached to chronologies in the west except by inferences and 'common sense' deductions. The tendency to seek the beginning of an era in an important historical event, or in the crowning of a king, is logical but quite uncertain, since the beginning of the Seleucid era had no such important beginning, at least in the eyes of modern scholars. Perhaps the most generally accepted beginning date of an era is one called the 'Saka' era, which is supposed to have started in the year 78 of our era. When one closely examines how the date 78 was determined, however, one's confidence in the sources for the date, the Buddhist texts, may be somewhat shaken, since the sources are late and are based on a theory of the turning of the wheel of Dharma according to a tradition of a prediction by the Buddha forty years before his death, that five hundred years later the Buddhist law would come to an end. By interpolating dates and Buddhist information Eggermont decided that the Theravadin Buddhists of Ceylon used an era beginning in 483 B.C. whereas the Sarvastavadin school of northern India used one beginning in 383 B.C., and the date of a council convened by Kanishka, which began a new era after 500 years, took place in A.D. 78.[15] Unfortunately, none of the inscriptions informs us which era was used in it for dating, so even if the year 78 were correct, it would not solve most chronological problems of length of rule, because other eras exist in India from this time which cannot be ignored. The Vikrama Samvat, or era of Vikrama, may have been established by a ruler called Vikramāditya who is supposed to have defeated some Sakas in East Rajputana about 57 or 58 B.C., although some scholars believe this to be a late tradition and that originally this era was started by Azes, a Saka ruler.[16] Paleography can aid in dating inscriptions, but the creation of new eras to justify an interpretation of obscure words in an inscription has caused great problems in trying to fix the chronology, and the truth is that we cannot prove the date of commencement of any era. An era older than the Vikrama–Azes era is implied by dated Kharoshthi inscriptions which cannot be dated by the Vikrama era, and this older era has been called the Yavana era by Dobbins (note 16), the Indo-Bactrian era by Bivar, or the 'Old Saka' era by others, and the date of its beginning has been set at 170 or 155 B.C. as well as other dates plus or minus.[17] A third system of time reckoning has been attributed to Kanishka, since all the inscriptions, dated from the

[15] P. H. L. Eggermont, "The Origin of the Śaka Era," in *Akten des 24. Internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses*, ed. by H. Franke (Wiesbaden, 1959), 540–43, and his "Kaniṣka, die Śaka-Aera und die Kharosthī-Inschriften," *ZDMG*, 113 (1964), 559–65. But see other evidence from al-Biruni in n. 17.

[16] Cf. B. N. Mukherjee, *Central and South Asian Documents on the Old Śaka Era* (Varanasi, 1973); 27–31, and K. W. Dobbins, "Eras of Gandhara," *JOSA*, 7 (1970), 257, and n. 24 for further references. Mukherjee's argumentation for a new era, the Yavana era, beginning c. 170 B.C. (p. 32) is ingenious but unconvincing. It must be remembered that references to the Vikrama and Saka eras are much later.

[17] A. D. H. Bivar in G. Hambly, *Central Asia* (London, 1969); 46, and W. E. van Wijk, "On dates in the Kanishka Era," *Acta Orientalia*, 5 (Leiden, 1926), 168–70; Mukherjee, *op. cit.* [n. 16], 32, and 44–45, for further references. Bīrūnī in his book on India (ed. by E. Sachau, 1886, vol. 2, p. 6) says the year 400 of the Yazdagird era equals 1088 of the Vikrama era and 953 of the Saka era, whence we arrive at 5–7 B.C. and A.D. 78 resp. for the two eras.

year 2 through 98, are in the Kushan period, mentioning rulers from Kanishka through Vasudeva.[18] Other eras may have existed in Central Asia, Afghanistan and northwest India in the pre-Islamic period, but for the history of the Kushans the three eras mentioned above are of importance. Dating according to the regnal year of a king, a widespread practice in this part of the world, also existed, but in the east we have relative and not absolute chronologies, so many problems still exist. It appears that several eras were in use for time reckoning in the east in one and the same region, just as the Seleucid and Parthian eras were used in the western part of the Iranian area, and possibly Kanishka, who was an innovator in many realms, was also the founder of a Kushan era. To return to the date 78 of our era, the beginning of the so-called 'Saka' era, many scholars have identified this date as the same year as the beginning of the era of Kanishka, while others dispute it. The first mention of the Saka era as such, however, is in an inscription southeast of Bombay (Badami) which is dated in the year 500 'from the inauguration of the Saka king.' When it began is not stated. The dates of Kanishka have been the subject of many writings, including two international symposia and the general consensus now is that the beginning of his reign must be not earlier than 78 B.C. and not later than A.D. 150, although the latter date is much disputed. Attempts to place the beginning of Kanishka's rule in A.D. 225 or 278 have not received widespread support.[19] It has thus proved impossible to fix the beginning year of Kanishka's reign, but the turn of the first century of our era seems to be the period in which Kanishka lived, even though his dates of rule cannot be determined. The inscriptions presumably dated in the era of Kanishka are from the year 2 through 23 in Kanishka's name, year 24 in the name of Vāsishka, and years 28 through 60 in the name of Huvishka, and 64 through 98 in the name of Vāsudēva, thus spanning a century. There are problems, including one inscription from the year 41 in the name of Kanishka, but that one may be dated in a different era. The eras mentioned above are those current in this general time period.[20]

[18] For a list of the inscriptions see J. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushans* (Berkeley, Calif., 1967), 264–73. This work is a good reference book on the Kushans. See also the three appendices to Mukherjee, *op. cit.* [n. 16], for additional inscriptions. See also B. Kumar, *The Early Kuṣāṇas* (Delhi, 1973), App. I.

[19] For the date 225 see R. Göbl, "Zwei neue Termini für ein zentrales Datum der Alten Geschichte Mittelasiens, das Jahr I des Kušānkönigs Kaniška," *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Öster. Akad. der Wiss.* (Wien, 1964), 137–51, and for 278, E. V. Zeymal, "Nachalnaya data Kanishki-278 g.n.e.," in Gafurov, *supra, Tsentralnaya,* 1, 292–301, with references, and the following article by V. G. Lukonin in the same volume, 302–06. A convenient survey of the various theories of dating may be found in Kumar, *op. cit.* [n. 18], 58–77, and App. 2, and in E. Zeimal, *Kushanskaya Khronologiya* (Moscow, 1968). A. K. Narain in his article on "The Date of Kanishka" in Basham, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 237–39, proposes three different eras used in the Kharoshthi inscriptions, a 'Yavana' era of 155 B.C., a Pahlava (or Indo-Parthian) era of 88 B.C. and a Kushan (Kanishka) era of A.D. 103, but this proliferation of eras creates new problems while hardly solving old ones.

[20] The proposal of G. Fussman, "Documents épigraphiques Kouchans," *BEFEO*, 61 (1974), 41, to date a series of inscriptions with numbers from 270 to 399 as dates in the Arsacid era is an ingenious attempt to explain their apparent time period as Kushan, but he admits that inscriptions found as far east as Mathura would rather imply a Greco-Bactrian era from the time of Diodotus. We may, of course, have an Indian era. He gives arguments for the date A.D. 78 for Kanishka. The best analysis of chronological problems is by Zeimal, *op. cit.* [n. 19], English summary, 136–61, with systematic analyses of available data. His conclusion, that Kanishka began his rule in A.D. 278, however, causes many difficulties and is unacceptable.

While the Kushan kingdom was being consolidated in the Bactrian region, to the north in the area of present Tashkent and the Jaxartes River another kingdom, called K'ang-chü (*K'ang kio*) in Chinese sources, was flourishing, but it is not possible to determine what kind of a state it was, a confederation of nomads or a more centralized state of sedentary people.[21] The people who organized this shadowy state may have been Sakas, Sarmatians, or even Wu-sun or Tokharian speakers, for hypotheses about the nature of the people are many and varied. Unfortunately, the Chinese sources give no information about the K'ang-chü other than the existence of a state to the north of the domains of the Yüeh-chih in western Turkestan, while archaeological excavations only attest the wealth and far-flung connections of the people who lived there, presumably throughout the period of Kushan hegemony to the south.[22]

To return to the Kushans, Kujula Kadphises was followed by a ruler who is only called *Soter Megas* 'great savior' on his coins but has the title 'king of kings' in Greek, higher than Kujula, and whose coins are abundant and found in excavations from northern Bactria to Mathura. Since his issues are varied as well as widely found, this ruler must have been important, and MacDowall has demonstrated from coin types and metrology that this ruler must follow Kujula Kadphises and precede Vima Kadphises while being contemporary, or shortly before, Pakores of the dynasty of Gondophares, since Pakores overstruck coins of Soter Megas.[23] Just who Soter Megas was has been debated, generally with three positions, first that he was Kujula, and his coinage represents a later phase of rule, second, he was Vima in the early years of his reign, or third, he was an independent Kushan sovereign somehow a link between the two Kadphises.[24] The position of the coins of Soter Megas between those of Kujula and Vima is now generally accepted by numismatists, although some would not go as far as MacDowall in calling the unknown ruler the Augustus of the Kushans, who earlier in his reign followed local coinage types and metrology but later issued a general coinage everywhere based on the Attic standard and using only Greek legends, and paving the way for Vima's reform of the currency. Some scholars have sought a way out of the dilemma by supposing the existence of co-kings, or 'senior' and 'junior' kings, as in the later Roman Empire, but again this is mere surmise

[21] On K'ang chü see Litvinskii, "Das K'ang-chü-Sarmatische Farnah" [ch. 8, n. 9], 249–53. At times K'ang-chü included Sogdiana, but an identification of the two is improbable. Likewise identifications with *Καχάγαι* in Ptolemy (VI, 14, 11) or Kang-diz or Kangha of the Avesta help us little.

[22] The profuse use of gold, including a corpse in golden clothes 'chain or armor' and regalia found at Issyk Kurgan near Alma Ata, probably date from the third century B.C. not the fifth, and may represent the K'ang-chü culture or its predecessor. Cf. K. A. Akishev, *Kurgan Issyk* (Moscow, 1978), 61–78. The Pazaryk burials are also from this period.

[23] D. MacDowall, "Implications for Kushan Chronology of the Numismatic Context of the Nameless King" in Gafurov, *supra, Tsentralnaya*, 1, 246–64. The suggestion of A. N. Oikonomides, "Soter the Great – The Last of the Indo-Greek Kings," *JNSI*, 35 (1973), 86–89, that the 'nameless king was the last of the Greek kings with the personal name Soter,' is unconvincing. On a Janus-faced coin of Soter Megas and Vima see *NC* (1892), 71, plate 15, no. 4. On the overstrikes of Pakores on S.M., see A. Simonetta in *EW*, 8 (1957), 49, plate 3, no. 1. Theories proposing that Soter Megas was a Kushan vassal are unlikely, since his coins are so widespread, not to mention his pretentious title.

[24] MacDowall, *op. cit.* [n. 23], 252, also his article on the same subject in *JNSI*, 30 (1968), 28–48. Overstrikes of coins of Vima by Soter Megas complicate the picture, acc. to A. Simonetta, *EW*, 9 (1958), 171, who prolongs the rule of Vima too much.

without any evidence.[25] Mukherjee, who has written extensively on the Kushans, points out that on a Prakrit legend on one of the coins of Soter Megas we find *maharajasa rajatirajasa tratarasa vamasa*, the last word of which should be the name Vima, while the first three words would correspond to the Greek legend 'king of kings, savior.'[26] Whether Soter Megas should be identified as the young Vima on the basis of this uncertain Prakrit word is dubious, and judgment may be reserved on the identity or identities of the ruler(s) who issued coins with the legend 'Soter Megas, king of kings.' On the basis of find spots of those coins, however, one may conclude that Bactria, the Hindukush area and Gandhara were ruled by the early Kushan kings, while Arachosia and parts of India were ruled by Indo-Parthian or Saka kings, although Gandhara at times may have been divided between Kushans and others. With Vima Kadphises the great Kushans begin.

THE GREAT KUSHANS

Vima introduced a gold *dinar* to the coinage system of the Kushans which had been previously only copper, and he also introduced a new copper tetradrachm, both implying a change in Kushan history.[27] Both the Chinese sources and Indian inscriptions are ambiguous in that no name in them can be certainly identified as Vima Kadphises, and his identification as the son and successor of Kujula Kadphises is not without doubts, but whatever his relation to Kujula and to the person who issued the Soter Megas coins, he seems to have ruled in the last part of the first century A.D. His relation to rulers such as Zeionises or Jihonika (Prakrit: Jihuṇiasa) and others who struck coins may have been that of overlord to vassals, but again we are in the realm of conjecture. To repeat, we do not know whether the Kushans had a system of 'senior' and 'junior' kings like the 'Augustus' and 'Caesar' of the later Roman Empire, as suggested by some scholars to justify seeming conflicts in chronologies (relative, not absolute) of inscriptions and coin types, but satraps and perhaps vassal rulers surely existed. We may say little more than Vima's extensive possessions in India and Central Asia were passed on to Kanishka, the greatest and in a sense most enigmatic of the Kushan kings.

Kanishka is generally credited with introducing a new family of Kushan rulers whose names all end in -ishka, for he is followed by Vasishka and Huvishka. This suffix of the superlative caused controversy, for some scholars proposed a Tokharian origin for it, while others supported an Iranian origin, although all agreed the general meaning of Kanishka was something like 'the youngest.'[28] Whether Kanishka began as a sub-king of Vima in Bactria or Tokharistan with the full name Māho-Kanishka (Candra-Kaniṣka in Khotanese), as Henning (*op. cit.*, 87) suggests, is possible but

[25] Göbl, *op. cit.* [n. 19], 151, n. 2. The existence of *kṣatrapas* and *mahā kṣatrapas* lit. 'satrap' and 'great satrap' in India, as well as the Indo-Parthian title 'brother of the king,' may point to the possibility of a double system of rule under the Kushans, but this is undocumented.

[26] B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇa Genealogy* (Calcutta, 1967), 54.

[27] The name Vima has been explained as 'fearsome' by Eilers, *op. cit.* [n. 12], 120. On his monetary reform see MacDowall, "Weight Standards of Kushāṇa Coinages," *JNSI*, 22 (1960), 67–71.

[28] For the Tokharian origin supported by L. Hertsenberg and V. V. Ivanov, see L. G. Gertsenberg, "Kushanskii i Sakskii," in Gafurov, *supra*,

unproven.[29] In any case, Kanishka was remembered in Buddhist sources although in no recognizable historical context; nonetheless some scholars have attempted to derive a chronology from a late mention of Kanishka as the ruler who convened the third Buddhist council, which reportedly took place five hundred years after the death of the Buddha.[30] Obviously the greatest Kushan king made an impression on Buddhists, for we find traditions in Buddhist texts written in Khotanese-Saka, in Sogdian, and Chinese about his building of *stupas* (mounds with reliquary) and *vihāras* (cloisters), while Biruni mentions a King Kanik who built a *vihāra* in Purushāvar (Peshawar), an indication of the fame of his constructions.[31] Unfortunately, historical information cannot be found in the Buddhist legends and from the extant coins one may postulate a number of rulers with the name Kanishka, one of whom is mentioned in the poetical history of Kashmir of the twelfth century, Kalhana's *Rājatarangini* (Part I, 168). As usual, coins provide the primary source for our knowledge of Kanishka. He continued the gold coinage of Vima, but he changed the obverses and the reverses on the coins. Vima had been portrayed on obverses seated, or as a bust, or riding a chariot or an elephant, while on all of his reverses the Indian deity Śiva was pictured. Kanishka, however, inaugurated on his obverses a new type, a standing figure of the ruler in Central Asian costume with boots and with one hand extended over a small fire altar. This consistency on the obverse was matched by a proliferation of deities on reverses of his coinage, the majority of which are Iranian rather than Greek or Indian. This change in the stance of the ruler with the deities on the reverses, each with its name in Greek characters, supports the theory that Kanishka consciously promoted a pro-Iranian policy in his empire, or perhaps it meant an end to the past and a proclamation of a new policy of tolerance in religions, as well as a change from Greek legends on the early coins of Kanishka to Iranian legends on his later coins. It seems as though Kanishka, while copying Roman models in his coinage, and probably in art and other manifestations of culture, nonetheless wished to proclaim a new, imperial age in the east, possibly in imitation of the Achaemenids as suggested by Fussman, but surely with strong elements of the ancient Indo-Aryan culture as preserved by local Iranians or Iranicized nomads of the steppes,

Tsentralnaya, 1, 344–49 (French resumé and reference to Ivanov), while the Iranian origin was upheld by H. W. Bailey, "Kaṇaiska," *JRAS* (1942), 16–47, also in Basham, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 37, by W. B. Henning, "Surkh-kotal und Kaniṣka," *ZDMG*, 115 (1965), 82–4, by Livshits and others. V. Abaev, in "Contribution à l'histoire des mots," *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à E. Benveniste*, ed. by M. Moinfar (Louvain, 1975), 7, showed the widespread Indo-European usage of the suffix. See also Eilers, *op. cit.* [n. 12], 112.

[29] On the epithet '*candra*' see Bailey, "Kaṇaiska," *op. cit.*, 16, and in his article "Saka Candarno and Surkh Kotal Kara-Lrangga-," in *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à E. Beneviste* [n. 28], 33, where he suggests that the Khotan-Saka word *candarno* 'troop leader' was replaced by Indian Buddhist *candra* 'moon' which may also involve a confusion between Iranian *mao* 'moon' of the Kushan coins and a word based on *mau-* meaning 'deliverer.' So the assumption that Kanishka was called Māho must be regarded as nothing more than conjecture.

[30] See F. Wilhelm, "Kanika and Kaniṣka – Asvaghoṣa and Mātṛceṭa" in Basham, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 337–40.

[31] For literary and archaeological references to the buildings in Peshawar, see K. W. Dobbins, *The Stupa and Vihāra of Kanishka I* (Calcutta, 1971), esp. 44–54. The fame and vast extent of Kanishka's empire was known to the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim of the seventh century Hsüan Tsang; cf. T. Watters, trans 1., *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, 1 (London, 1923), 270.

which the ancestors of the Kushans were.[32] This probably would appeal to eastern Iranians and Indians more than memories of the west Iranian empire of the Achaemenids, although old traditions and stories surely were preserved about them in the east. Hellenistic influences observable in the artistic productions were comparable to those in the Parthian state, but styles and techniques were borrowed from elsewhere in both cases, and in both cases the basic inspiration was Iranian.

Under Kanishka, who ruled at least twenty-three years after establishing an era, to judge by dated inscriptions with his name in them, the Kushan Empire probably attained its apogee, although under Huvishka, who ruled from year 28 of the Kanishka era to at least 60, the empire was also far extended. To the north of Bactria, homeland of the Kushans, finds of coins may indicate the extent of the Kushan domination, since no written sources exist and archaeological finds are difficult to connect with the Kushans. A detailed study of early local Khwarazmian copper coinage, and overstrikes on Kushan coins found in excavations within the area of ancient Khwarazm, point to the conclusion that the Kushans neither ruled the area directly nor held it in a vassal relationship; rather, it would seem that the Kushan coins found in Khwarazmian sites were brought by trade.[33] The Zarafshan basin with its principal city Samarqand also seems to have not been under Kushan rule, although this is uncertain since not enough excavations have been carried out in the ancient city sites occupied by buildings today. Whereas Greco-Bactrian coins have been found in sufficient numbers to postulate their rule in ancient Sogdiana, Kushan coin finds are fewer, although from sites on the Oxus River more have been found.[34] Only one coin of the 'great Kushans' has been found in Samarqand, and the extensive excavations of Panjikant east of Samarqand have yielded only several poor specimens of Kushan coins, which leads one to speculate that direct Kushan rule was absent, or possibly coins were little used and barter was more widely practiced than to the south.[35] Place names such as medieval Kushaniya, northwest of Samarqand, and others, may point to an occupation by the Kushans, but they tell us nothing about the area in the time of the 'great Kushan' rulers.[36] Sogdiana, as noted, may have been part

[32] In G. Fussman, "Documents épigraphiques Kouchans," *BEFEO*, 61 (1974), esp. 50 foll., and his "Le renouveau Iranien dans l'empire Kouchan," in *Le plateau iranien et l'asie centrale, colloques internationaux du Centre natl. de la recherche scientifique*, no. 567 (Paris, 1976), 313–22. His emphasis on the anti-Greek character of the changes made by the Kushans, in my opinion, is exaggerated, since the few, if any, Greeks in the empire in the first and second centuries of our era hardly can have had any influence either politically or even socially, or directly cultural in the Kushan Empire.

[33] B. I. Vainberg, *Monety Drevnego Khorezma* (Moscow, 1977), 85–89. This study supersedes older studies which supported the theory that the Kushans directly ruled Khwarazm, e.g., by Tolstov, *op. cit.* [ch. 8, n. 8], 180–84. For further bibliography see Vainberg, 193.

[34] Cf. V. A. Shishkin, *Varakhsha* (Moscow, 1963), 229, with other references.

[35] Cf. M. E. Masson, "Po povodu dalekogo proshlogo Samarkands," in G. A. Pugachenkova, *Iz istorii iskusstva velikogo goroda* (Tashkent, 1972), 25, and O. I. Smirnova, *Katalog monet s gorodishcha Pendzhikent* (Moscow, 1963), 59–60.

[36] M. E. Masson, "K Voprosu o severnykh granitsakh gosudarstva 'Velikikh Kushan," in Gafurov, *supra*, *Tsentralnaya* 2, 42–49 with an English summary. Also the inscription of Shapur at the Ka'bah of Zoroaster implies that the Kushans did not rule Sogdiana in the middle of the 3rd century. The Oxus River, however, probably was ruled by the Kushans, at least as far as Khwarazm. Cf. V. N. Pilipko, "Topografiya nakhodok Kushanskikh monet na poberezhe Srednei Amudari," in *Istoriya i Arkheologiya Srednei Azii*, ed. by O. V. Obelchenko (Ashkabad, 1978), 89–97.

of the state called K'ang-chü by Chinese sources, the center of which was to the north, but the information is simply not explicit and one can only conjecture.

Chinese Turkestan, with more literary fragments than Sogdiana, is also an unknown area in regard to Kushan rule, although Kushan cultural influences, especially through Buddhism, were undoubtedly strong. Commerce was lively between east and west and from India to China through Sinkiang, at least from the time of the Greco-Bactrian state, although actual direct Greco-Bactrian rule in Chinese Turkestan is unlikely.[37] Likewise, for the Kushans no evidence for political rule there can be found, although religion joins trade and cultural contacts as testimony of closer contacts between the Kushan Empire and Chinese Turkestan. Bactrian loanwords in the 'Tokharian' language (A and B dialects), and the occurrence of the name of Kanishka in a local Tokharian B text suggest a possible rule of the Kushans in the oases northeast of Kashghar.[38] The use of the Kharoshthi script, the expansion of Buddhism to the east, probably in the Kushan period, and other similar indications have induced J. Brough to conclude that the cumulative effect was not the result of 'influences' but of the political domination of the Kushans over most of Sinkiang including areas far to the east of either Kucha in the north or Khotan in the south, including a state called Shan-shan near the western borders of China proper.[39] If true, it is not possible to do more than guess at a time period or the geographical extent of Kushan rule in Chinese Turkestan, not to mention the nature of such a rule, if it existed, but a satrap or more likely a vassal relationship of local rulers to the 'great Kushans' would be more consistent with what we know of political organization in that age rather than central control. Evidence for Kushan rule there, however, is only based on inference.

Many scholars have argued that the Kushan Empire was primarily an Indian one, since the wealthiest part of it was in the sub-continent. No doubt, the majority of the population was in the lowlands of Gandhara, the Punjab and the Ganges basin, and Indian merchants, Buddhist monks and others from the sub-continent were found all over the Kushan Empire, but the rulers were not Indians, and the bases of rule were primarily Iranian, although as time progressed Indian elements grew in importance. The very name of the last 'great Kushan' ruler Vasudeva, indicates the adherence of this ruler to, or at least a sympathy for, a cult of Vishnu or Vasudeva. The 'great' Kushans ruled at Mathura but the extent of the empire to the east and south is unknown, although from the absence of coin finds one may suspect that Kushan rule

[37] J. Harmatta in "Sino-Indica," *AAH*, 12 (1964), 11–15 thinks Greek rule in Sinkiang likely, but only evidence of trade or culture not of political domination may be inferred.

[38] W. Winter, "Baktrische Lehnwörter im Tocharischen," *Donum Indogermanicum, Festchrift für A. Scherer* (Heidelberg, 1971), 220–21. The same title borne by the king of Kucha in Sinkiang as the 'great Kushan' kings, is a prime reason for the argument that the Kushans ruled Chinese Turkestan, but this by no means proves such rule, any more than the official use of an Indian Prakit as an administrative language there.

[39] J. Brough, "Comments on Third-Century Shan-shan and the History of Buddhism," *BSOAS*, 28 (1965), 597. Brough suggests that Kushan rule probably was quite short, possibly at the end of the Later Han dynasty in the second or at the beginning of the third century, but any Kushan rule there is disputed by B. N. Mukherjee in "Kharoshthī Documents of Shan-shan and the Kushāṇa Empire," *AAH*, 24 (1976), 93.

did not extend into modern Bengal or into the Deccan.[40] It seems that after the 'great' Kushans, Kushan rule collapsed in areas to the east and south of Mathura if not in that important city itself, and Nāga rulers succeeded them in the Mathura area, whereas elsewhere tribes, such as the Yaudheyas, became the heirs of the Kushans.[41] This does not mean that the Kushans vanished from central India, while some later rulers had high pretensions as heirs of the Kushans, but any rule exercised by later rulers in India claiming to be Kushans was small. The mention of a *devaputra*, king of kings, of the Kushans in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of the Gupta ruler Samudragupta in the late fourth century only suggests that a small ruler in central India used a pretentious title, and one may speculate that the term 'Kushan' became almost generic in India after the third century, much as Classical sources mention 'Bactrians' but never 'Kushans.'[42] Just how long Kushan princes ruled in the western Punjab, Gandhara or elsewhere in the west is unclear, but in the far western regions of their domain the Sasanians became the heirs of the Kushans in the late third and fourth centuries.

To return to Kanishka, what more can be said about him in addition to his prominent but unhistorical place in Buddhist tradition, his initiation of an era, and his change of language from Greek to Bactrian in Greek letters, which indicate his other changes in the Kushan Empire, which may earn him the appellation the 'Darius' of his time? Attempts to write a history of the early life of Kanishka, with his original home in Khotan, Chinese Turkestan, and his subsequent conquest of India, based on fanciful Tibetan and Chinese Buddhist works are unacceptable, and we have no evidence at all of his early life or status.[43] From inscriptions mentioning him we can say he ruled at least twenty-three years after establishing a new era of time reckoning, while suggestions that he was a viceroy of Vima Kadphises before succeeding Vima cannot be proved. The center of his empire was in Bactria, and we may assume that his domains extended north to the Hissar mountain range and up the Oxus River, to the west possibly to the area of Herat and, in India, as far east as Varanasi (Benares) where an inscription in the name of Kanishka has been found at Sarnath, and another in the south in Sanchi, perhaps including eastern Malwa, though no evidence exists for rule in the Deccan.[44] Even though the homeland of Kanishka was in Bactria, the Indian part of the empire provided the wealth and power for the development of an impressive civilization, the artistic results of which are known as Gandharan art, discussed below.

[40] Cf. B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan* (Calcutta, 1968), esp. 100 and 109, and B. N. Puri, *India under the Kushāṇas* (Bombay, 1965), 69–76. Coin finds suggest that only the 'great Kushans' ruled some parts of the Ganges valley and later Kushan rulers did not.

[41] B. N. Mukherjee, *The Disintegration of the Kushāṇa Empire* (Varanasi, 1976), 78, 86–88, and Puri, *op. cit.* [n. 40], 76.

[42] For a discussion of the Allahabad inscription with references see S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India* (Calcutta, 1958), 147–64, esp. 160. For the use of the word 'Bactrian' for 'Kushan' see, *inter alia*, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Aurelian, 33, 5; Hadrian 21, 14; Valerian, etc.

[43] Puri, *op. cit.* [n. 40], 35–37, with references. For a suggestion that Kanishka may have marched into Chinese Turkestan against the Han general Pan Ch'ao in A.D. 90, see K. Enoki, "Hsieh, Fu-Wang or Wang of the Yüeh-shih. A Contribution to the Chronology of the Kushans," in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 26 (Tokyo, 1968), 12. This too is based on inference.

[44] Cf. Dobbins, *op. cit.* [n. 31], 7 and Mukherjee, *The Kushāṇas and the Deccan*, 78, 108. Dobbins, 24–32, also describes the 'reliquary of Kanishka' in detail, mentioned below. On Kanishka's territories in southern and western India, see the discussion by Puri, *op. cit.* [n. 40], 52–54.

Kanishka ruled at least a quarter of a century, and two inscriptions, one in Surkh Kotal, the other on a reliquary from a stupa in Peshawar, mention him, and since both are probably from a later date they indicate at the least the esteem in which the name Kanishka was held after his time. If we follow dates and names on inscriptions, it seems that Kanishka was followed by Vasishka, who probably ruled from 24–28 in the relative chronology of the 'great Kushans,' but who left no coins in his name, which may indicate a subordinate status as ruler of only Indian parts of the empire without the right to issue coins.[45] We cannot determine whether the empire was torn by civil war after the death of Kanishka or whether Vasishka and Huvishka were sub-kings, or vassals of Kanishka, but in any case Huvishka (meaning 'the best' or 'the oldest') appears on inscriptions from 28 to 60, and his coinage is plentiful in gold and copper found over the entire empire. His rule of more than thirty years (possibly before 28 and after 60) indicates a stable and flourishing empire. There exists a most enigmatic Kharoshthi inscription from Ara, north of Taxila, dated in the year 41 of Kanishka son of Vajheshka, who not only holds the usual exalted titles of a great ruler, but also a strange word reconstructed as 'Kaisar,' possibly a copy of Roman 'Caesar'.[46] Many explanations of the information in this inscription have been proposed, including the existence of a later era of reckoning for the Kushans, as well as a short-lived ruler called Kanishka who usurped power from Huvishka, but from this one inscription no deductions about the succession can be made.

The last of the 'great Kushans' was Vasudeva, who from his name, associated with the Hindu god Vishnu, shows an increase in the Indianization of the dynasty. His inscriptions are dated from 67 to 98 of the 'great Kushan' era, although again he may have ruled earlier and later than these dates. The name Vasudeva occurs among later Kushan rulers, and it is sometimes difficult to know to which ruler certain coins with this name refers, and disagreement exists among scholars on the assignment of some of the coins to one or another Vasudeva. Archaeologists agree, however, that the end of the reign of Vasudeva I marked a period of decline in the sites of Bactria, homeland of the dynasty, for traces of ruin in the strata dating to the end of Vasudeva's reign may be found in a number of Kushan sites of northern Bactria.[47] Both from the archaeological evidence and the seeming end of the era of time reckoning founded by Kanishka, with no inscriptions dated after the year 99 of that era, we may conclude that the century of the 'great Kushans' came to an end. Many scholars have dated this decline with the rise of the Sasanians, which is a good surmise but which leaves us with a latitude of many years in which to try to date the 'great Kushans.' All we can say is that the second century of our era, when the Parthians were not faring well with the Romans, was the century of 'great Kushan' flourishing, with exact dates still uncertain.

[45] Vasishka, meaning 'most energetic' (according to Bailey in Basham [n. 1], 38, and Eilers, *op. cit.* [n. 12], 117), is mentioned in a Brahmi inscription from Mathura dated 24 as *mahārāja rājatirāja devāputra*, not a subordinate title.

[46] Konow, *op. cit.* [n. 14], 162–65. Rosenfield, *op. cit.* [n. 18], 59–60, discusses various interpretations of the inscription, not one of them more convincing than another.

[47] See G. Pugachenkova, "K stratigrafii novykh monetnykh nakhodok iz Severnoi Baktrii," *VDI*, 3 (1967), 88.

Shapur, son of Ardashir, in his inscription on the Ka'bah of Zoroaster, says he held in his empire 'the land of the Kushans (line 4: *Κουσην[ων ἐθ]νη*, Parthian *kwšnxštr*, MP missing), until in front of (*ἑως ἔμπροσθεν*) Pashkibur, and up to Kash, Soghd and the mountains of Chach,' which seems to indicate that about the year 265, the Sasanians had in fact secured control of, if not annexed, the Kushan domains up to Pashkibur, Kash, Soghd and the mountains of Chach or Shash.[48] The problems of identifying these places are many, but everyone would agree that Bactria, the homeland of the Kushans, the Hindukush mountains, and probably Kabul and some of the lowlands at Jalalabad and farther, were under some sort of Sasanian control at this time.[49] From what little we know of Indian history, presumably the Kushans continued to rule in parts of the Punjab or Northwest province after the end of rule of the 'great Kushans,' but coin finds on which much of the history of this period are based are notoriously unreliable, especially after an era of great, imperial expansion when copying of imperial coinage in many areas would be expected. Whether we must postulate a Kanishka III, a Vasishka II, and a Vasudeva II and III among later Kushan rulers is conjectural, but the retreat of the Kushans from regions east of Mathura seems to have begun already in the reign of Huvishka.[50] Just as the archaeological evidence from northern Bactria implies a great decline in Kushan fortunes under Vasudeva I, so the decline of trade between the Roman and Kushan Empires may also be attributed to the end of the reign of Vasudeva.[51] The continued rule of a Kushan king, Vasudeva II, in India after the Sasanian conquest of the western part of the empire has been postulated by several scholars, but it is impossible to do more than surmise the existence of rulers who followed Kushan traditions in coinage and in art, such as statues. The problem of various coins with the name Vasudeva but in different styles points to a copying of Vasudeva coins by others after him, similar to the coins of Hermaeus, last of the Indo-Greeks. Some scholars have proposed two branches of rulers copying Vasudeva coins, one following those coins with a *triratna* 'three jewels' symbol on them, which eventually were copied by the Sasanian governors of the western Kushan domains in the fourth century, while the second group of Vasudeva coins with Brahmi *akṣaras* 'syllables' on them developed into coins of the Murundas and Guptas in India. Göbl has developed an elaborate scheme of late Kushan rulers comparable to the late Roman Empire with a senior Augustus and a junior Augustus, as well as a division of the empire into two parts according to the two types of coins, but it is all conjecture.[52]

[48] The basic publication of the inscription in three versions, Greek, Parthian and defective Middle Persian is M. Sprengling, *Third Century Iran, Sapor and Kartir* (Chicago, 1953) with the Greek text ed. and transl. by A. Maricq, "Res Gestae Divi Saporis," *Syria*, 35 (1958), 295–360, with further bibliographies.

[49] On the identification of Pashkibur with Peshawar or otherwise, see E. Honigmann and A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (Brussels, 1953), 101–05, and H. Humbach, "Puṣpapura = Pešāwar," MSS, 23 (1968), 45–48.

[50] See Mukherjee, *Disintegration* [n. 41], 40–42, and Puri, *op. cit.* [n. 40], 75–76. On Vasishka II see R. Göbl, "Vāsiška II," *Anzeiger der phil.-hist. Klasse der Österreichischen Akad. der Wiss.* (Vienna, 1966), 291–300. His division of the Kushan Empire into a northwest and a southeast kingdom, on the basis of coin types is convincing, but we can do little more than speculate about this.

[51] Mukherjee, *op. cit.* [n. 41], 51–52.

[52] *Ibid.*, 72–73, 85; Rosenfield, *op. cit.* [n. 18], 109–12. The existence of copper coins with the name Vasu may point to another Vasudeva in the

At least one can suggest an eastern and a western part of Kushan domains, one on the plains of India and the other centered in Bactria and the Hindukush mountains. In the west, Sasanian relations with successors of the 'great Kushans' are unknown, while in the east the rise of local dynasties of Nāgas, Yaudheyas and others in the plain of the Ganges probably brought an end to Kushan rule even earlier than the Sasanians in the west. In between is a blank, and rare coins with difficult legends only offer tantalizing fragments for speculation.[53] Sasanian rule in the Kushan heartland is the subject for a later chapter, for the fall of the 'great Kushans' marked the end of a century of cultural splendor which outlasted the Kushans and had great effects on the Guptas of India, and on minor dynasties in Central Asia. The Kushans in the east were in a sense early counterparts of the Sasanians in the west. The cultural legacy of the Kushans was important not only as a conduit between east and west, but because of its own importance as a source area for the Far East, especially in the expansion of Buddhism and its art.

CULTURAL RELATIONS, EAST AND WEST

One may see the great influence of the Kushans in political and economic organization, in art and in religion in this period of Central Asian history. The first is mainly garnered from words in texts, although archaeology may aid in reconstructing political history as well as the flourishing material civilization of the Kushans. In Khwarazm, for example, archaeologists have determined that the period of greatest expansion of the important system of irrigation was the time of the Kushans, irrespective whether Khwarazm was under Kushan hegemony or not.[54] Elsewhere the indications are the same, that agriculture and building flourished. From many inscriptions in India and at Surkh Kotal we learn that the construction, endowment or restoration of wells, water tanks, or irrigation canals were not only pious acts, but essential to the well-being of the population and an important task of the government. The old Greek or Hellenistic city was unlike the Kushan town, for the latter was characterized by strong fortifications and a central citadel, usually with villages outside the walls.[55] Local canons of architecture seem to have reasserted themselves under the Kushans, for the archaeological remains of the Kushan period reveal more Iranian features than Hellenic in the architecture of the Kushans.[56]

Peshawar area, as suggested by Mukherjee, but we are really in the dark. R. Göbl has many articles on the late Kushan coins such as "Zwei neue Termini" [n. 19], 139–51, and his article in Basham *op. cit.* [n. 1].

[53] It is an almost impossible task to correlate coins, inscriptions and art objects, our three sources, and while theories abound, convincing proofs of correlation of dates and individual objects, whether inscriptions or coins, are lacking. Archaeology may in the future aid us, but we need some provable correlations with the west to resolve many problems.

[54] S. P. Tolstov, *Po Drevnim Deltam Oksa i Yaksarta* (Moscow, 1962), 94–95.

[55] V. A. Zavyalov, "K kharakteristike vnutrennei struktury Kushanskogo goroda," and S. R. Pidaev, "K probleme goroda i derevni v Kushanskom obshchestve," in V. M. Masson, ed., *Drevnie Goroda* (Leningrad, 1977), 46–49.

[56] See G. A. Pugachenkova, "Zodchestvo antichnoi Baktrii-traditsii i svyazi," in Pichikyan, [ch. 7, n. 2], 217–22, and other articles in the same book. Also see the remarks of Pugachenkova on architecture in I. T. Kruglikova, ed., *Drevnyaya Baktriya* (Moscow, 1976), 125–62, with a French résumé, 188–89. See also the bibliography in Fussman, "Chronique," [ch. 7, Literature], 428–29.

Preliminary investigations suggest that the population increased, as well as the expansion of agriculture, which is not unexpected with a flourishing empire such as that of the 'great Kushans.[57] In short, what little evidence exists points to an internal prosperity of the Kushan Empire in its heyday, which is confirmed by the remarkable art finds, especially at the site of Begram, ancient Kapisa, near modern Charikar in the heart of the empire.

At Begram French archaeologists unearthed Indian ivories, Chinese lacquer objects, Roman glass, Greek bronze statuettes and plaster medallions and other objects, the provenance of which is uncertain, a tribute to the far-flung commercial ties as well as to the cosmopolitan tastes of the Kushans.[58] The Roman connections of the Kushans have been discussed many times, especially in the realms of art and culture, and we may suppose that the creation of a large and stable empire, at least for a century, gave a strong impetus to east–west trade and even direct diplomatic contacts, for embassies from the Bactrians (i.e., the Kushans) did come to the Roman Empire in the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, but there is no further information about them. One of the achievements of the 'great Kushans' was to establish a stable gold coinage, on the basis of which the copper coinage under Huvishka became increasingly fiduciary in character, as MacDowall has shown.[59] Whether the break-up of Kushan hegemony in India or other factors caused a decline in east–west trade can only be surmised, but again the period of commercial flourishing coincides with 'great Kushan' rule. Although gold coinage was continued by the Guptas in India and by Sasanian governors of Bactria, in the west the coinage became debased and was everywhere replaced by silver and, in general, coinage lost its fiduciary nature and was weighed for value. This, however, is a later story.

We have very little information about Kushan political organization, but one may assume that military officials were prominent in the spread and consolidation of Kushan power. One officer known in later texts as the *kanarang* is first found in the inscription of Surkh Kotal in the form *kara-lrango* (with typical east-Iranian *l-* for *d-*) which has been etymologized as 'lord of the marches,' or as 'holder or manager of the army,' but whatever the origin of the word, it was probably a high, if not the highest, military office in Bactria, and the title continued in use into Islamic times.[60] We have

[57] E. V. Rtveladze, "O chislennosti naseleniya Kushanskikh naselennykh punktov Severnoi Baktrii," in O. V. Obelchenko, ed., *Istoriya i Arkheologiya Srednei Azii* (Ashkabad, 1978) 107–14.

[58] See J. Hackin, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques à Begram*, MDAFA, 11 (Paris, 1954), 151–56 for the lacquer, 89–150 for Greco-Roman objects, and 17–89 on the ivory. Although the stratum where these objects were found was dated to the second century of our era, earlier dates for the objects have been proposed. J. L. Davidson, in "Begram Ivories and Indian Stones," *Marg*, 24 (Bombay, 1971), 31–45, puts the ivories in the first century B.C. and proposes the Kushans as collectors of 'antiquities.' For a good short survey of the Begram find see B. Rowland, *Ancient Art from Afghanistan* (New York, 1966), 24–28.

[59] D. MacDowall, "Weight Standards of Kushāṇa Coinages," *JNSI*, 22 (1960), esp. 68–74, in his article in Basham, *op. cit.* [n.1], esp. 138–40, 148, and in his "The Mint Organization of the Copper Coinages of the Kushan Dynasty," *Proceedings of the Royal Numismatic Society* (London, 1969–70), xc. For Roman–Kushan relations see the popular account of M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (London, 1955), 115–76, and B. N. Mukherjee, *The Economic Factors in Kushāna History* (Calcutta, 1970).

[60] For the first etymology, equivalent to NP *kanārang* 'holder of the frontier,' see W. B. Henning, "Surkh-Kotal and Kaniṣka," *ZDMG*, 115 (1965), 77–79, followed by Gershevitch, while the second etymology is upheld by H. W. Bailey, "Saka *candarno* and Surkh Kotal *kara-lrangga-*," in *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à E. Benveniste* [n. 28], 33–34.

found no more titles in the Bactrian language, for we have no sources, and to turn to later India or Sogdiana to interpolate titles found in texts there back to Kushan Bactria is fraught with risks. In India, however, one may distinguish between native titles, such as *daṇḍanayaka* and *mahādaṇḍanayaka* 'police chief or inspector?' and Iranian titles as *kṣatrapa* (and *mahā-*) 'satrap', which existed, however, before the Kushans. Also the word *shāh* (or *shao* in Bactrian form) is found, possibly the western equivalent of the *kṣatrapa* in the sub-continent. In this realm one may say that continuity with the Saka–Indo-Parthian system of rule seems to have been the characteristic of Kushan rule in India.[61] In Central Asia much has been written about the title *yabghu*, found in various sources from the Yüeh-chih to the Turks, and although the Altaic origin of the word was strongly defended, it seems now agreed that it is Iranian, from the root *yam-* 'to lead,' and probably it came to prominence in the steppes of Central Asia remaining a title of nomads, but it is uncertain whether the Kushans were the originators or propagators of the title, although the coins of Kujula Kadphises have the title, and it appears in Chinese sources for the chiefs of the five tribes of the Yüeh-chih.[62] The problems the Kushans had in order to weld their tribal confederation into an empire must have been very great, but the end result was probably a preservation of nomadic norms of rule in Central Asia and an adaptation to local conditions in Bactria, the Hindukush region, and certainly in India. How much of imperial Kushan ideology was preserved after the fall of the 'great Kushans' is difficult to determine, but one may suggest that the amalgam which held the empire together was provided mainly by the personality of the ruler, for personal allegiance was always the norm for rule and expansion of rule among the peoples of Central Asia, and the Kushans came from Central Asia. It is a mistake, however, to assume that nomads merely copied the settled peoples in building a state; the empires of the Hsiung-nu and much later the Mongols indicate the complexity of nomadic organizations with 'charismatic' ruler clans and a refractory nobility, which had to be welded to settled structures of government. One feature of the nobility, as gleaned from archaeology, was an artificial deformation of the skull, either an indication of rank or class, or only a style among the nobility.[63] We do not know whether Central Asiatic nomadic traditions of double rule, or double kingship, were followed by the Kushans. It is possible, as suggested by numismatists, to explain the great variety of coinage, but there is no evidence that the 'great Kushans' followed this practice. When we turn to Fine Arts, traces of an 'imperial' style of the Kushans are suggested by stone

[61] On titles see Puri, *op. cit.* [n. 40], 79–87; H. W. Bailey, "A Kharoṣṭrī Inscription of Seṇavarma King of Oḍi," *JRAS* (1980), 24–29. The Kharoshthi form of the Greek word *meridarch* 'sub-governor' occurs as *meri'akhena* in the early Kushan period in the inscription deciphered by Bailey. In that inscription, line 9, the *guśuraka* nobles may be royal princes, the *vispuhr* of the west.

[62] See note 7; for the Turkic theory see Altheim, *Hunnen* [ch. 5, n. 68], 310. On the Iranian origin see H. W. Bailey, "To the Zamasp-Namak I," *BSOS*, 6 (1930), 64, and his *Zoroastrian Problems in the Ninth Century Books* (Oxford, 1943), 82, n. 5. Bailey now proposes a form **yāvuka* 'leader' for the word.

[63] The practice of deformation of skulls, as observed on coins and in sculptures, seems to have been restricted to the nomadic nobility, for the practice can be found not only among the Kushans, but among Sarmatians, on their skulls in graves in south Russia, and in the north Caucasus. Cf. T. A. Trofimova, "Izobrazheniya Eftalitskikh pravitelei na monetakh; obichai iskusstvenoi deformatsii cherepa," in A. V. Vinogradov, ed., *Istoriya Arkheologiya i Etnografiya Srednei Azii*, Sbornik v chest S. P. Tolstov (Moscow, 1968), 179–89.

statues of rulers from Surkh Kotal and Mathura, but no overwhelming dominance of the arts by the court, as with the Achaemenids or Sasanians in the west appears. In any case, any imperial art which may have existed was put in the shade by the Buddhist art of Gandhara, although the development of art over the vast area ruled by the 'great Kushans' is uncertain.

It is impossible here to go into the many problems of Gandharan art, not the least of which is the chronology of objects. A brief survey of the art situation tentatively may offer aid to an understanding of the developments in the domain of Fine Arts. Generally speaking, four geographical areas should be considered in a discussion of arts under the Kushans, the plains of northern India with a center at Mathura, the Gandhara area of modern Peshawar, Bactria, and finally the steppes of Central Asia. Cultural and artistic trends in these areas may have greatly influenced one another, but they were separate regions, and this is sometimes forgotten by students of the cultures of this vast area. In addition there are primarily two outside influences which must be considered as operative on all four geographical areas, but, of course, with different degrees of intensity. The first is the Near Eastern Achaemenid tradition of art and culture, followed by Parthian adaptations or additions to it, and the second is the Hellenistic-Roman impact, probably in two separated time sequences, the Greeks in Bactria, and then the Roman Empire of the first two centuries of our era. Obviously the Kushans partook of all these influences in the regions under their control, and they were the patrons of artists who carved statues of several rulers at Surkh Kotal and Mathura. Since we are here concerned with Bactria and the Hindukush region, the homeland if not the heart of the Kushan domains, we should concentrate on these regions. Under the Kushans a revival of Iranian elements, both Achaemenid and Central Asian, in architectural decoration, in monumental architecture, as the grand staircase at Surkh Kotal and palaces at Khalchayan and elsewhere, replaces the decaying Greek traditions of Bactria as seen at Ay Khanum. Sculptures are no longer in the round as Greeks made them, but with frontality stressed as well as other canons. Costumes are distinctively Central Asian on statues of Kushan rulers or nobles. So at first we find an amalgam of Greek and Iranian (steppe and Achaemenid) traditions in the art of the early Kushans. In India, both Roman or Roman provincial (Egypt and Syria) influences are met as well as the local Gandharan (local and Saka–Parthian) and Indian styles and techniques from farther east. Contact with Roman culture brought a resurgence of ancient Greco-Roman models, such as Greek myths, but it seems as though masters of painting, sculpture and other arts in the Kushan domains copied the models without knowing their meaning, e.g., myths depicted in art. The end result, probably beginning at the end of the second or in the third century, was the change from a Greco-Iranian to a Buddhist art, the famous art of Gandhara, parallel to the change from a Classical to a Christian art tradition in Europe.[64] For Buddhism dominates the art and the culture of northwest India,

[64] For a discussion of art problems see Rosenfield, *op. cit.* [n. 18], esp. 138–253; Schlumberger, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 76], 195–83, 210–14; and the articles in Pichikyan, *op. cit.* [ch. 7, n. 2], esp. those by B. I. Marshak, 258–66, and N. Meshkeris, 243–47. For relations of Gandharan art with that of Chinese Turkestan see B. Rowland, *Zentralasien*, Kunst der Welt (Baden-Baden, 1970), 79–123, and on Gandharan art itself, J. Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra* (Cambridge, 1960), 1–112. See also K. W. Dobbins, "Gandharan Art from the Stratified Excavations," *EW*, 23 (1973), 279–94, and for Parthian influences, B. Goldman, "Parthians at Gandhāra," *EW*, 28 (1978), 189–202.

Afghanistan and into Central Asia at the end of the period of the 'great Kushans' and afterwards. Buddhist art even more than Christian art is repetitious, iconic and ritualistic, unmistakable wherever it is found, but other religions existed in the Kushan Empire, and this brings us to the question of religions in the Kushan Empire.

Just as the Roman Empire saw the end of the Classical world and the beginning of a new Christian one, so the Kushan Empire passed from a similar proliferation of cults and sects, of Greek, Iranian and Indian deities, to the new Buddhist world of the east. Unlike Europe, however, Afghanistan and India later saw a resurgence of Hinduism, especially the cult of Śiva which resurgence had its roots in the Kushan period. Syncretism was in full swing before the Kushans, and we find the cult of Vishnu, otherwise called Vasudeva, identified with Herakles in Mathura perhaps as early as the fourth or third century B.C.[65] With a plethora of local cults in the pre-Buddhist period, the Kushan rulers, like the Roman emperors, sought to instill in all of their subjects a loyalty to the dynasty while not only permitting, but probably also patronizing, many cults. A dynastic cult of the Kushan rulers, probably similar to the emperor cult in Rome, was instituted, and the *devakula* at Mathura, where a portrait statue of the sitting Vima Kadphises and a standing statue of Kanishka, both in Central Asian costume, were found, was probably a royal sanctuary.[66] Since the rulers had the epithet *devaputra*, 'son of god,' a temple or *devakula* to the dynasty would be understandable. Although Śiva is prominent on the coins of both Vima Kadphises and Vasudeva I, while under Kanishka and Huvishka a plethora of Iranian, Greek and Indian deities are represented on their coins, we may only suggest that Vima and Vasudeva had personal preferences, since to go beyond this would be unwarranted. Much has been written about the various deities depicted on coins or statues which have been found, but obviously Iranian deities and cults flourished more in Bactria and Indian cults in the Indian cultural area although syncretism and mixtures seem to have occurred everywhere.[67] A sun cult dedicated to Mithra may have flourished under the Kushans, but we have no clear evidence of it, neither in material remains, such as temples, nor in literary sources, such as the much later sun cult of Multan. Given the tenor of the times one may propose that many cults existed under the Kushans as under the Roman emperors of the first two centuries. Burial customs may throw some light on religions, but in northern Bactria Soviet archaeologists have found disposal of the dead in the Kushan period in ossuaries containing bones, presumably after having been exposed, full burials in coffins, in chambers or mausolea, usually of brick, burials in large clay jars, occasional cremation and burials in terra-cotta sarcophagi, all of which points to a variety of customs if not necessarily to different peoples or religions in that region.[68]

The variety of cults and beliefs is bewildering, and although traces of such cults are

[65] Megasthenes' embassy to India is discussed in B. C. J. Timmer, *Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij* (Amsterdam, 1930) 106–07, and the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus, in Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, [n. 3], 133–34.

[66] For the statues, see Rosenfield, *op. cit.* [n. 18], figs. 1 and 2, and with a good survey of the Kushan pantheon as found on coins.

[67] On the Indian side see Puri, *op. cit.* [n. 40], 136–56; for Central Asia G. Pugachenkova, "O Kultakh Baktrii v svete arkheologii," *VDI*, 1 (1974), 125–35. For Afghanistan, B. Rowland, "Buddha and the Sun God," *Zalmoxis*, 1 (Paris, 1938), 69–84 and H. Humbach, "Vayu, Śiva and der Spiritus Vivens im ostiranischen Synkretismus," *Monumentum Nyberg, AI*, 4 (1975), 397–408.

[68] Pugachenkova, *op. cit.* [n. 67], 132–34.

found long after the Kushans, that which prevailed was Buddhism and a revived Hinduism in Bactria, the Hindukush area and northwest India, while local forms of Zoroastrianism or Mazdaism flourished in Sogdiana and western Afghanistan. One may suspect that the site of Surkh Kotal or Baghlan in the Hindukush region, which was dedicated to an imperial Kushan cult, as so frequently in this part of the world, retained its hallowed or sacred character, but transferred to new religions as time progressed and the memory of the Kushans faded. We know more about Buddhism than any other religion, for it was in the Kushan period that this religion expanded in Central Asia and China, but side by side with Buddhism, to a lesser degree, went forms of Hinduism.

In a series of articles B. A. Litvinskii has outlined the history of Buddhism in Central Asia.[69] It is now generally accepted that Buddhism had reached the Hindukush area in the time of the Mauryan ruler Aśoka, since his inscriptions have been found near there, but the progress of the religion to the north, in Central Asia, belongs to a later period. Since Buddhist remains have been found in the oasis of Merv, which according to numismatic data remained under Parthian control and was not ruled by the Kushans, we may assume a Buddhist missionary activity independent of the patronage of Kushan rulers.[70] It is highly probable that the success of Kushan expansion in Chinese Turkestan provided an impetus for Buddhist missionary activities there and towards China. Although Buddhism had adherents in Sogdiana and in Khwarazm, it never gained popularity in these two regions in which local forms of Mazdaism seem to have been predominant. We cannot follow the fortunes of Buddhism in Central Asia, except to say that Bactria became and remained the stronghold of 'Iranian' Buddhism until Islam supplanted it. Monuments of Buddhism in the 'east Iranian' area do show differences from Indian Buddhism and the remains have been studied by archaeologists and art historians, whose opinions, however, do not always coincide.[71] It would seem that the Buddha image was first developed in central India, possibly at Mathura, whence it was brought to the northwest where it was changed and became 'Hellenized' under the Kushans and became the Gandhara style. This style was then in turn adopted by Mathura and also by Bactria, but in India it became more 'Indianized' as time progressed, whereas in Bactria the Gandhara art style became more 'Iranicized.' Likewise Buddhism became 'Iranicized' in Bactria such that both the art and the religion in Central Asia became the inspiration for Chinese and other Far Eastern forms of Buddhism. Different schools of Mahayana Buddhism flourished in Central Asia, probably the most important being that of the Sarvastavadins. It is not possible here to discuss Buddhist doctrines, nor such items as

[69] Litvinskii, "Makhadeva i Duttkhagamani, o nachale buddizma v Parfii," *VDI*, 3 (1967), 88–90; "Sredneaziatskie narody i rasprostranenie Buddizma," in *Istoriya, Arkheologiya i Etnografii Srednei Azii*, Tolstov, *op. cit.* [n. 63], 128–35, and in English, *Outline History of Buddhism in Central Asia* (Dushanbe, 1968), 1–109.

[70] See V. N. Pilipko, "Parfyanskie bronzovye monety so znakom π pod lukam," *VDI*, 4 (1980), 105–24, and G. Koshelenko, "The Beginning of Buddhism in Margiana," *AA*, 14 (1966), 175–83.

[71] See esp. A. S. Melikian-Chirvani, "The Buddhist Heritage in the Art of Iran" in W. Watson, ed., *Mahayanist Art*, Colloquies on Art and Architecture in Asia, 2 (London, 1972) and his "Recherches sur l'architecture de l'Iran Bouddhique I, Essai sur les origines et le symbolisme du stūpa iranien," *Le Monde Iranien et l'Islam*, 3 (Paris, 1975), 1–61. See also W. Ball, "Two Aspects of Iranian Buddhism," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 2 (Shiraz, 1976), 103–43, on caves in Iran.

the popularity of the figure of a lying Buddha in Central Asian Buddhist art, nor the role of Maitreya in Central Asian Buddhism, but when we find terms or concepts in Central Asian, or even Chinese, Buddhism not found in Indian Buddhism, or only attested there later, we may suspect Iranian influences. Since the tide of invasion went from Central Asia to the warm plains of India rather than the reverse, borrowings from Iranian or Central Asian Buddhism into Indian Buddhism are not to be discounted. The figure of Maitreya which apparently appears in India at the turn of the millennium when the Buddhist Pali canon was written, may have been borrowed from the deity Mithra who was popular in Iran and Central Asia, but nothing can be proved.[72] Likewise a 'cult of the book,' *pustaka-*, a word of Iranian origin, may have come to India from the Central Asian Iranian world. In short, there are many indications for an 'Iranian' school of Buddhism which not only borrowed from India but also returned ideas and practices from Central Asia, especially in the time of the Kushans and later.

In summary, the 'great Kushans' played a role on the stage of history in the east as the Achaemenids had done in the west, and the heritage of the Kushans in gold and copper coinage, in the 'Iranicization' of state and society, in the promotion of those features of Buddhism and art which had their origins in the Kushan empire, and also the creation of a system of writing other than Aramaic, based on the Greek alphabet, for an Iranian language, all attest to the important place of the Kushan Empire as a model for future rulers and dynasties. Only continued archaeology will reveal the material wealth and power of the Kushan Empire, the last great Iranian empire in the east before the coming of the Turks and then of Islam.

[72] Maitreya does not behave like other Bodhisatvas who follow the original Buddha story, but Maitreya will be born into the Brahmin caste at a future golden age, and a world emperor or Cakravartin is necessary as a patron for the future Buddha, all of which sounds Iranian and non-Indian. On the other hand, the form of the name in *-tr-* rather than *-thr-* or *-hr-* betrays an Indian rather than an Iranian origin.

CHAPTER X

MINOR DYNASTIES ON THE PLATEAU

Literature: Classical sources are brief notices, mostly in historians of the Roman Empire, and Strabo, supplemented by local inscriptions. The six volumes of F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt* (Berlin, 1964–69) contain a wealth of scattered information about the pre-Islamic period of this part of the world, but much is unreliable and hard to find in scattered remarks. Their *Christentum am Roten Meer* (Berlin, 1971–73) also has only scattered remarks on Aramaic and Mandaic inscriptions of interest here. The short survey "Geschichte Mesopotamiens," G. Widengren in *HO*, 2, Keilschrift-Forschung und alte Geschichte Vorderasiens, 4. Abschnitt, Orientalische Geschichte von Kyros bis Mohammed (Leiden, 1966), 1–31, is a useful guide to the history of Mesopotamia, but vol. 3 of the *Cambridge History of Iran* provides a better survey of this period with bibliographies, while the MMAI vols. 38, G. Le Rider, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 25] and 45 by R. Ghirshman, *Terrasses sacrées de Bard-è Néchandeh et Masjid-i Solaiman* (Paris, 1976) contain much general information about Susa and environs in this period. H. J. Nissen, "Südbabylonien in Parthischer und Sasanidischer Zeit," *Baghdader Mitteilungen*, 6 (Berlin, 1973), 79–86, is based on archaeological surveys, as is D. Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq* (London, 1968), 67–92. Literary sources as noted are few, some remarks in Strabo and Pliny, a notice here and there in Stephan of Byzantium or other later books on geography, and a few inscriptions of Elymais, while archaeology and coinage complete the meagre list. Syriac sources, the Babylonian Talmud and later Arabic books have virtually nothing on the pre-Sasanian period. Specialized bibliographies will be found in the notes to each section.

PERSIS

The dynasty of the *frataraka* in Persis by the first century of our era had either changed or at least a new title MLK' 'shāh' appears on the coins, and the first ruler with this title seems to have been a certain Darius (*d'ryw* on the coins).[1] His dates of rule as well as the significance of change in title are uncertain; the coinage might imply the adoption of a vassal status under Parthian suzerainty perhaps as early as the time of Mithradates II of Parthia, or more likely later, for Strabo (XV, 728) tells us that in his time the Persians had a king of their own, and he was a vassal of the Parthian ruler. Presumably sometime in the first century B.C. this change took place, although attempts to tie the coins of Persis to the coins of one or another Parthian king in form and style, from Mithradates I to Orodes III or Phraates IV, are too conjectural or subjective to assume the role of reliable evidence.[2] The coins of Darius rather appear

[1] For the most recent work on the rulers of Persis see P. Naster, "Note d'épigraphie monétaire de Perside: *fratakara*, *frataraka* ou *fratadara*?" *IA*, 8 (1970), 74–80, and his "Fire Altar or Fire Tower on the Coins of Persis," *Orientalia Lovaniensis*, 1 (Louvain, 1970), 125–29, plus G. Ito, "Gathica XIV–XV," *Orient*, 12 (Tokyo, 1976), 47–66. Hill's *Catalogue* [ch. 5, n. 104] is still the best description of the coins.

[2] As suggested by Kahrstedt, *op. cit.* [ch. 8, n. 119], 38–39. It is significant that no Seleucid mint is attested in Persis, and the earliest coins of Persis do not copy Seleucid coins. Achaemenid satrapal issues provide a prototype for the earliest Persis coins as suggested by de Morgan, *op. cit.* [ch. 5, n. 103], 133.

to be a normal development from earlier coins of Persis and the real change to a Parthian style of coinage comes in the reign of *wtfrdt* or Autophradates, presumably the second ruler of Persis to bear this name, when a change from early 'Persis type' coins to a 'Parthian style' can be seen.[3] One feature of significance is the change in direction of the bust on the coins from facing right to facing left, after Autophradates II, as well as a new crown similar to Parthian crowns, and these may indicate a change in rule from independence to a vassalship under the Parthian kings, but again this is only surmise.[4] This change may be dated to the time of Artabanus III, as Kahrstedt suggests, but we may say that the coins would only corroborate Strabo, that during the last two centuries of Parthian rule, Persis proclaimed its vassal relationship by striking coins on the Parthian model. The coins of *wtfrdt* are followed by those of Darius king, son of *wtfrdt* king, and then Wahuxshahr (*wḥwštr*) son of Darius, and an Ardashir (*'rtḥštr*) son of Darius, followed by a *nmwpt*? son of Ardashir. Other coins seem to carry the names *pkwr*, son of Wahuxshahr?, *kp't* or *np't* son of *nmwpt*, several different types with the name Manuchihr (*mnčtry*?) and one of the last of the series 'King Ardashir son of Manuchihr King.'[5] From the names one may draw several conclusions: first, that old Achaemenid names continued in use in Persis, and if Manuchihr is the correct reading, this is both a popular name in the epic literature of Iran, and also it appears as the name of a local king in Persis who was conquered by Ardashir, founder of the Sasanian dynasty.[6] One feature of the middle group of coins is the different forms of altars on reverses, a continuation of the enigmatic structure or large altar of the earliest coins of the dynasty. This prominence, as well as the interpretation of the word *frataraka* as *fradadāra* 'fire protector,' gave rise to the belief that pre-Sasanian Persis was ruled by priest-kings. Certainly religion must have been important in Persis, and shrines, possibly built on Achaemenid sites, probably flourished, but a 'priest-dynasty' is unattested. Another feature of the later coins of Persis is the change in alphabet from the usual Aramaic to a form which can be called the prototype of the later Sasanian epigraphical alphabet with rounded *-m-* and distinctive forms of other letters such as *-š-*, with *r* and *w* already falling together. Ardashir's coins are a continuation of those of Persis. Beyond these few remarks there is little to say about Persis before the Sasanians, except to credit the unanimous reports of later authors that the province was divided into a number of principalities, the most important of which was probably the one that issued coins at Istakhr near Persepolis, where vague memories of the imperial glory of the Achaemenids lingered in folk tales and in the physical presence of the ruins of Persepolis nearby, and this is

[3] Hill, *op. cit.* [ch. 5, n 104], plate XXXI nos. 14 and 15. The publication by J. de Morgan, *op. cit.* [ch. 5, n. 103], 270–88, is less reliable.

[4] A copper coin, probably of Darius II, the only copper of the Persis series extant in collections, was found at the excavations of Tepe Malyan in Fars; see J. M. Balcer, "Parthian and Sasanian Coins and Burials (1976)," *Iran*, 16 (1978), 86–88.

[5] Hill, *op. cit.* [ch. 5, n. 104], 216–44 and plates XXXIII–XXXVII. The legends, in an uncertain Aramaic alphabet, are difficult to decipher and J. de Morgan, *Numismatique de la Perse Antique*, in the series ed. by E. Babelon, *Traité Monnaies Grecques et Romaines* (Paris, 1927), 342–419, does not inspire confidence in some of his readings. The existence of kings called 'Mtri' (Mıhr) and *prwtš* (Piruz) is questionable. On the other hand, the bibliography in the book of de Morgan is very useful. The coinage, it should be noted, was local, for no coins of Persis were found among the thousands excavated at Susa over decades, and the coins are rare.

[6] In Ṭabari's history, ed. by M. J. de Goeje, 1 (Leiden, 1879–), 815.

where the Sasanian dynasty had its roots. According to Ṭabari (I, 814–5) the ruler of Istakhr was called Gochihr of the family of Bāzrangi, and he was overthrown by Papak, but this is the later story of the Sasanians.

ELYMAÏS

This region included the highlands of present Khuzistan–Luristan, where the oil fields of Masjid-e-Sulaiman and others are located, and whereas the coins of Persis early show a use of Aramaic masks in the Middle Persian or Pahlavi system of writing, the coins of Elymais are written in a distinctive alphabet and the language seems to be an Aramaic dialect. Fortunately, we have several inscriptions in the language of Elymais as well as archaeological remains to assist in reconstructing a history of this region. At once the question of the Elamites arises; what happened to them in the course of history? The Elamites, of which Elymais is a Greek form of the name of the land, were non-Semitic, and their name probably was a Mesopotamian designation, possibly originally meaning 'mountaineers.' By Iranians they were called Khuzi whence modern Khuzistan, but in the period we are discussing they had become greatly Semiticized, especially on the plains. About 140 B.C. the Parthians took Susa from a local ruler called Kamnaskires, the first of his line who threw off Parthian rule for a short period, but then apparently the Parthians regained their control and a ruler called Okkonapses appears for a few years, if his coin legends are correctly read, while he, in turn, was followed by Tigraios who ruled c. 137–132 B.C.[7] One should distinguish between Susa and surrounding regions on the plains and the mountain area to the east and; while it was relatively easy for the Parthians to reassert their control on the plains, the mountains always remained difficult to rule and more often Parthian hegemony was not recognized there. The kings of Elymais, the mountain regions, are known from their coinage and from stray notices of them in Classical sources, down to the time of the Sasanians, and sometimes they ruled Susa, but more often the Parthians directly ruled the city, as we infer from inscriptions. We hear of kings of Elymais, without any names in Plutarch's life of Pompey (36), and in Tacitus (*Annals*, VI, 44), only indications of their independence from Parthian rule. Sometimes it seems the rulers of Susa, and/or the mountains of Elymais, fought incursions from Characene to the west, but from the coins one may infer a Parthian control of Susa and environs for most of the period until about A.D. 45 when Elymais extended its rule over Susa.[8] The use of Greek continued as shown by an inscription which is a letter of King Artabanus relating to the election of a certain Hestiaios to a municipal post in December A.D. 21, dated in the Seleucid era, an indication of the continuation of Greek traditions in Susa.[9] Probably in the first century of our era the use of the distinctive Aramaic alphabet of Elymais superseded Greek, for later coins

[7] G. Le Rider, "Deux nouveaux tétradrachmes frappés à Suse," *RN*, 6 series, 20 (1978), 33–37. For the best history of Elymais see Le Rider, *Suse* [ch. 6, n. 25], 353–435. Coins with Greek legends 'Kamnaskires' and 'Orodes' exist and with the name *wrwd* (Orodes) in the Aramaic alphabet of Elymais.

[8] Le Rider, *op. cit.* [ch. 6, n. 25], 408–27, where the change in coinage from copper to debased silver, and the end of Parthian rule in Susa are discussed.

[9] *Ibid.*, 35–36, and 421–22, with further references.

with the names of later rulers called Kamnaskires and Orodes (*wrwd*) continue down to the Sasanian conquest. It is extremely difficult to sort the rare and usually poorly preserved copper coins of Elymais into a sequence of rulers. Whether the theory of Kahrstedt that under Artabanus III Parthian princes, usually his sons, were installed in Persis, Elymais and elsewhere as part of a scheme for Parthian domination of all the small principalities is valid or not, it is not supported by the coins, at least in the case of Elymais.[10] The second century, as everywhere in the east, is a blank, and we only learn of a king Nirofar, King of Ahwaz (Khuzistan) whom Ardashir fought, according to Ṭabari (I, 818), but this name is found nowhere else.

Elymais is richer than Persis in inscriptions and rock reliefs, as well as a complex of places and temples at the present sites of Bard-e Nishandeh and Masjid-e Sulaiman, and both sites have provided rich material for the art and culture of Elymais.[11] The art might be characterized as 'provincial Parthian,' and its closest connections seem to be with the art of Hatra. Not only features of costume, hair style, head gear, and the like, correspond to the Parthian age, but frontality and symbolism are characteristic of the art of Elymais as elsewhere in the general Parthian cultural realm. From the statues of Herakles found in the excavations of a structure at Masjid-e Sulaiman, and elsewhere in Elymais, Ghirshman concluded he had found a temple dedicated to Herakles, who would have been identified with Verethragna, a war deity in the Iranian pantheon, but just as likely is an identification with Rustam in the Iranian national epic, who has many traits similar to Herakles.[12] Undoubtedly Herakles was revered by Greek colonists in Iran in Seleucid times, with a certain amount of syncretism and mixture with local beliefs and traditions; for statues of Herakles have been found elsewhere in Iran from this period. But to go beyond to propose a special and widespread Dionysian cult with various overtones in Parthian Iran is not warranted by the evidence of art and archaeology. Since Susa was strongly Hellenized, and the written language of Elymais was Aramaic, 'western' influences should be stronger here than on the plateau, and, as mentioned, the material remains, especially sculpture, show affinities with Hatra and Mesopotamia more than with the finds on the Iranian plateau, although it must be emphasized that we have nothing from the plateau to match finds in Elymais such as at Bard-e Nishandeh, Masjid-e Sulaiman, Tang-e Sarvak, Tang-e Butan, Khung-e Nauruzi, and other sites of rock reliefs.[13] The abundance of rock reliefs, some with inscriptions, including the names Kamnaskires and Orodes, indicates both the wealth and the pretensions to culture by

[10] Kahrstedt, *op. cit.* [ch. 8, n. 119], 46–47. His fancy, like that of Tarn, [ch. 1, n. 23], is fascinating but not to be accepted as history.

[11] R. Ghirshman, *Terrasses sacrées*, 1 [*supra*, *Literature*], 13–51 and 103–32.

[12] *Ibid.*, 1, 100; and 2, plates 70, 71, 86 and 130, plus drawings 23–24.

[13] For Tang-e Sarvak see W. Henning, "The Monuments and Inscriptions of Tang-i Sarvak," *AM*, 2 (1952), 151–78; for Tang-e Butan: A. D. H Bivar and S. Shaked, "The inscriptions at Shimbar," *BSOAS*, 37 (1964), 265–90. (The valley in which the gorge of Butan is located is called Shimbar.) M. Sznycer, in "Les inscriptions araméennes de Tang-i Butan," *JA* (1965), 1–9, disputes the readings of the inscriptions by Bivar and Shaked, logically proposing place-names for difficult words which should be in the position of place-names, but unfortunately none can be identified. For other sites see L. Vanden Berghe, "Le relief parthe de Ḫung-i Naurūzī," *IA*, 3 (1963), 155–68, and the following article by W. Hinz, "Zwei neuentdeckte parthische Felsreliefs," *IA*, 3 (1963), 169–72, and finally E. de Waele, "La sculpture rupestre d'Elymaide, 1. deux fragments inédits d'époque parthe," *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 69 (1975), 61–79, for Khung-e Azhdar near Malamir, with bibliography.

the rulers of Elymais.[14] If we were to judge by such remains alone, one would conclude that the center of culture, if not of power, in Iran of the second century of our era, was located in Elymais rather than in Persis or indeed elsewhere on the Iranian plateau. Archaeological surveys in Khuzistan have revealed that the occupation on the land was considerably denser and more extensive in the late Parthian period than was the case in any of the immediately preceding periods, and also for the late Sasanian period.[15] But an expanding agricultural population on the plains was not enough to bring about the economic and cultural flowering of Elymais in the mountains, and one should look elsewhere for additional reasons for the prosperity of the mountain people. One may hazard a guess that the proximity of Elymais to the trading cities of the lowlands of Mesopotamia gave that principality advantages over counterparts on the plateau, which in this period were more 'agriculturally' or perhaps 'feudally' oriented than Elymais. For there is little evidence for flourishing cities on the plateau at this time, and, since town life expands with trade, the success of Elymais and other kingdoms to the west in promoting trade and commerce may have given them a different character than the 'more feudal' principalities on the plateau more directly under the Parthian system of rule. The state of Characene or Mesene at the head of the Persian Gulf was one of the states which owed its existence, as well as its prosperity, to trade.

CHARACENE AND THE GULF

Strictly speaking, Characene or Mesene (Aramic: Maišān) and the Gulf states are not part of the history of Iran, but, since this area was at times subject to the Parthians and most of the time securely held by the Sasanians, it is proper to at least briefly mention the southern lowlands of Mesopotamia and the commerce in the Gulf. Commerce in the Gulf was very old, but the rise of independent 'caravan' or trading centers in this period, such as the state of the Nabataeans in present-day Jordan, Palmyra in the Syrian desert, Hatra in northern Mesopotamia and Characene at the mouth of the Gulf, indicate a great expansion of trade between the west and east, which furnished luxury goods and spices for the Roman Empire. Undoubtedly the prosperity of the Roman Empire, the discovery of the monsoon winds in the Indian Ocean at the beginning of the Empire, and other factors, all contributed to the expansion of what might be called entrepreneurial commercial activity in the Near East. The trade between the Roman Empire and India has been much investigated and is not our concern, but the Parthians, and especially their 'client states' in Mesopotamia, were drawn into the network of international commerce.[16] In spite of wars between the

[14] The possibility that Kamnaskires is an Elamite word meaning 'treasurer' hence a sort of parallel with the *frataraka* of Persis, has been suggested by Henning, *op. cit.* [n. 13], 165. He also raises the possibility that the population of the highlands may have spoken a neo-Elamite dialect, while those on the plains spoke an Aramaic dialect.

[15] See R. J. Wenke, "Imperial Investments and Agricultural Developments in Parthian and Sasanian Khuzestan, 150 B.C. to A.D. 640," *Mesopotamia*, 10–11 (Florence, 1975–76), 98–99, 115, 124, 133.

[16] A classic work on the caravan cities is by M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities: Petra, Jerash, Palmyra, Dura* (Oxford, 1932). On Roman trade with the east, see the classic E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India* (Cambridge, 1928).

Romans and Parthians, merchants continued to ply their wares, a pattern which appeared many times in the long history of the Near East.

Characene was a kingdom founded by a governor of Antiochus IV the Seleucid king, called Spaosines son of Sagdodonacus by Pliny (VI, 139), who gives a short history of the town of Charax, founded originally by Alexander the Great. Although some scholars considered Spaosines, or in the full form Hyspaosines, an Iranian, more likely it is an Arabic or at least a non-Iranian derivation of his name as well as that of his father.[17] Coins of Hyspaosines overstuck by Mithradates II of Parthia indicate that the independence of Characene was short-lived and Parthian overlordship replaced Seleucid allegiances. The Greek name Charax meant a camp, presumably with stakes or a palisade around it, while Maišān or Mesene seems to have been the local name for the same area as Characene. The geographical site of the town called Spasinou Charax, as well as a good survey of problems of rivers and canalization, has been determined by Hansman at a site called Naisan, on the Shatt al-Arab waterway to the north of present Khurramshahr, where the Karkhah River in ancient times joined the Tigris–Euphrates.[18] Just how great the influence of Palmyra, and its merchants, was in the second century in Characene and in trade to India is unknown, but the wide spread of Palmyrene inscriptions, the Palmyrene style of tombs and sculptures, from Merv in Central Asia to Hungary, to the island of Kharg in the Gulf, all show evidence of the great trade connections of the Palmyrenes.[19] The international associations of merchants in the east bringing luxury goods such as pearls from the Gulf, frankincense from Arabia, spices from India and silk from China, elude us, but they surely existed and were more sophisticated than hitherto imagined. Dates and palm trees from southern Mesopotamia were also exported, but they were neither as much in demand nor as profitable as trade in luxury goods.

The political history of Characene has been sketched by Nodelman, superseding earlier writings, but some of his suppositions of changes in dynasty and fluctuating allegiances to Parthia, plus the episode of Trajan's trip to the head of the Gulf to visit his ally, the king of Characene, are mostly based on coin types or enigmatic passages in Classical sources, and must be regarded as hypothetical.[20] Late in the first century silver coinage gives way to bronze, and shortly thereafter Greek inscriptions are replaced by Aramaic, in the distinctive alphabet of Characene. Undoubtedly there were changes in the ruling family of Characene over the years, but we can only observe the change in style of coinage, where everywhere in the second century of our era the Parthian style predominates. The alphabet on the coins seems to have

[17] See E. Merkel, "Erste Festsetzungen im fruchtbaren Halbmond," in Altheim/Stiehl, *op. cit.* [*supra, Die Araber*], 1, 279, 342.

[18] J. Hansman, "Charax and the Karkheh," *IA*, 7 (1967), 35–45. He also plausibly determines the site of the second city of the kingdom Forat or Perat de Maishan (in Syriac), renamed Bahman Ardashir by the first Sasanian king, 46–53.

[19] J. B. Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre* (Paris, 1922), 142–43; R. Ghirshman, *The Island of Kharg* (Tehran, 1960), 8–9, as well as a summary of past writings and archaeological surveys in Jalāl-Al Aḥmad, *Jazīra-ye Khārg* (Tehran, 1339/1961), 61–62, 112–38. See also D. Schlumberger, "Palmyre et la Mésène," *Syria*, 38 (1961), 256–60, for inscriptional evidence of connections.

[20] S. A. Nodelman, "A Preliminary History of Characene," *Berytus*, 13 (1959–60), 82–121, superseding M. J. Saint-Martin, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Mésène* (Paris, 1838) and M. Reinaud, *Mémoire sur le commencement et la fin du royaume de la Mésène* (Paris, 1861). On the coins see G. Le Rider, "Monnaies de Characene," *Syria*, 36 (1959), 229–53, with further references.

more affinities with Palmyrene or Syriac, or even Nabataean, rather than with the script of Elymais seen in slight variations on the various rock inscriptions of Tang-e Sarvak and Tang-e Butan (or Shimbar).[21] The list of kings of Characene given by Nodelman and Le Rider may be accepted as approximately correct in order and dates, although one ruler may be earlier or later than proposed. Dates are based on coins dated in the Seleucid era.

Hyspaosines c. 140–122 B.C.
Apodakos c. 109–105 B.C.
Tiraios I c. 91–89 B.C.
Tiraios II c. 79–49 B.C.
Artabazos c. 48 B.C. (perhaps the same as Orabzes)
Attambelos I c. 47–28 B.C.
Theonesios I c. 21–19 B.C.
Attambelos II c. 18 B.C.–A.D. 8
Abinerglos I c. A.D. 10–12 (Abinergaos on some coins)
Attambelos III c. A.D. 37–43
Theonesios II c. A.D. 45–46
Theonesios III c. A.D. 51 (coin type different from II)
Attambelos IV c. A.D. 53–63
Attambelos V c. A.D. 73 (coin type different from IV)
gap
Attambelos VI c. A.D. 102–104
Theonesikos IV c. A.D. 110–111
Phobas c. A.D. 117
Meredates c. A.D. 131
Artabazos II c. A.D. 150 (or Orabzes)
Abinerglos II c. A.D. 165
Attambelos VII c. A.D. 180
Magha c. 195 A.D.
Abinerglos III c. A.D. 210

Before turning to the north, it is useful to summarize the general historical information provided by the coinages of the southern principalities of Persis, Elymais and Characene. First, one should note that a regular independent coinage apparently existed only in these three southern principalities and not in northern Mesopotamia or in Iran where standard Parthian coinage held sway. This would indicate more independence for the south, or at least more local control over their trade and economy. Second, Persis coins were only minted in silver, seemingly a continuation of satrapal Achaemenid issues, although the silver became debased in time. As noted, not one Persis coin has been found among the thousands of coins found in the excavations of Susa, and they are extremely rare outside of Persis. One might conclude that the coinage of Persis was an indigenous coinage, based on the satrapal

[21] P. W. Coxon, "Script Analysis and Mandaean Origins," *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 15 (1970) 16–30, esp. 29. All of the scripts, of course, are closely related, but they cannot prove the existence of the Mandaeans or of their script in southern Mesopotamia at this time.

issues of the Achaemenids rather than Seleucid coinage, and it enjoyed local 'prestige' circulation rather than being used in trade and commerce. The coinage of Elymais, on the other hand, began as a copy of Seleucid coinage in silver, presumably with a fairly wide circulation, and by the first century A.D. it changed to local, copper issues for local use. The coinage of Characene was also in silver, and only by the second century A.D. did copper predominate.

Second, the languages and alphabets used on the coinages of the three principalities reveal a development parallel to the increasing use of copper instead of silver. In Persis, no Greek was ever used on the coins; at the beginning we find 'Reichs-' (or imperial) Aramaic, which changes to Parthian, or a local Middle Iranian form of writing with Semitic ideograms possibly by the first century of our era, and finally we find at the end of the Persis dynasty a transition to a Middle Persian cursive form of writing, the immediate predecessor of the Sasanian alphabet used on coins. In Elymais the Greek legends degenerate until replaced by a local alphabet of Elymais in block letters, without an 'imperial' Aramaic stage. Thus Elymais went directly from a Greek to a local language and alphabet, probably in the first century A.D., without the stage of Achaemenid satrapal or 'imperial' Aramaic stage of the coins of the *frataraka* of Persis. In Susa, however, Greek continued to be used much longer than in the hills of Elymais. In Characene Greek legends lasted longer than in Elymais, testimony of the more 'international' character of the trade of that principality. The local language and alphabet seem to have come into use only in the second century of our era, with no 'imperial' Aramaic intermediate phase.

The styles of all of the coinages became influenced by Parthian issues, probably beginning in the first century of our era, but this does not necessarily mean greater central Parthian political control. Rather, economic factors, including the wishes of merchants engaged in international commerce with India and elsewhere in the east, may have been the most important factor in an attempt at some kind of standardization. Ardashir, founder of the Sasanian dynasty, probably understood the financial power of the states on the Gulf, as well as their easy willingness to shift obedience from Parthian to Sasanian allegiance, and this determined his first extensive conquests outside of Persis. The north, especially in Mesopotamia, it seems, had grievances against the Parthians, and the inhabitants of these areas also submitted to the Sasanians, but trade and commerce does not appear to have played as important a role in Adiabene and similar states as in the south. The central part of Mesopotamia, with the winter capital of Ctesiphon, was part of the central or imperial Parthian domains. To the north, however, the existence of a number of client kingdoms is attested in our sources.

ADIABENE AND NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

The two areas to the east of the Tigris River which had local dynasties were Garamaea, the inhabitants of which were called Garamaioi by Ptolemy (VI, 1, 2), perhaps descendants of the ancient Guti. The Syriac Christian writers knew the area as Beth Garmai with its capital Karkha de Beth Slok or modern Kirkuk. The Seleucid political divisions of Chalonitis (around modern Hulwan), Apolloniatis on the Diyala River and Sittacene more to the south but at times including Appoloniatis, all had

been placed under direct Parthian rule, in spite of their changing boundaries. By the last century of Parthian rule B. Garmai had its own king, but how long the area had been ruled by a local dynasty is impossible to determine.[22] Presumably this area was parallel to Adiabene (Syriac: Hadhyab) ancient Assyria, whose royal house was converted to Judaism at the beginning of our era.[23] At the time of Trajan's invasion of the east a certain Mebarsapes is named as king of Adiabene by Cassius Dio (68, 22), who retreated before the Romans, but under Hadrian he may have returned and recovered his territory. In any case, Adiabene had its own dynasty, even though we do not know what happened there during the Roman invasion of Avidius Cassius in 165, although later in the invasion of Septimius Severus in 195 the people of Adiabene fought against the Romans (Cassius Dio 75, 1), and the Roman emperor took the title Adiabenicus, implying a victory. According to the *Chronicle of Arbela*, the king of Adiabene Narseh had not supported the Parthian king in suppressing a rebellion and consequently was punished by being drowned in the greater Zab river, while his land was plundered by the Parthians.[24] Apparently Adiabene was ravaged by the forces of Caracalla about 216, but the fate of the land and its rulers is unknown. The next information, if it is reliable, comes from the Syriac chronicle (p. 60) which says that Sharat, king of Adiabene together with the king of Kirkuk joined Ardashir and defeated the Parthians bringing their rule to an end. By the time of Shapur (SKZ, Greek line 60), however, we hear of an Ardashir as king of Adiabene, which implies a replacement of the local dynast by a Sasanian prince, not unexpected for Sasanian rule.

We have suggested that the boundaries of Adiabene varied over time, but its greatest expansion seems to have occurred under Izates when, after supporting Artabanus III, the latter rewarded the ruler of Adiabene by adding the territory of Nisibis, formerly part of the mountainous area of Gordyene to the north, and this remained part of Adiabene until Trajan's invasion.[25] After the retreat of the Romans, relations between the Parthians and the ruler of Adiabene were strained, as mentioned above, and possibly at this time this frontier area of Nisibis between the Romans and

[22] At the beginning of Sasanian rule the ruler of the Kirkuk area was called Domitianus according to Mših Zkha, author of *Die Chronik von Arbela*, transl. by E. Sachau [ch. 8, n. 100], 60. For an assessment of the reliability of this Syriac chronicle, with references, see J. M. Fiey, *Assyrie Chrétienne* 1 (Beirut, 1965), 41–42. There is no apparent reason for doubting this incidental remark about Kirkuk in the chronicle, since it is not germane to the general narrative.

[23] The Parthian name for Adiabene was *ntwn'šry'* on coins and on an inscription from Hatra, or *ntwšrkn*, reflecting Sasanian nomenclature, on SKZ. The Sasanians then changed the name to Nōt-Ardashīrākān, after the name of the first king, but older Natunia is puzzling. It is more likely Semitic in origin (perhaps from *ntn* 'give' > 'dedicated'?) than Iranian as supposed by J. T. Milik, "A propos d'un atelier monétaire d'Adiabène: Natounia," in *RN*, 4 (1962), 51–58. The legend on the coin is Greek and the style is similar to that of Tigranes the Great of Armenia. The identification of the word *'ylw* on a statue of a king of Adiabene found at Hatra with Iranian *azad* 'noble, free,' by J. Teixidor in "The Kingdom of Adiabene and Hatra," *Berytus*, 17 (Copenhagen, 1967–68), 3, is unlikely, since an Arabic root meaning 'noble in origin' is questionable. More likely it is merely a proper name with no clear etymology.

[24] Sachau, *Die Chronik*, [ch. 8, n. 100], 58. If we follow Josephus and the Chronicle, Izates was followed on the throne by his brother Monobazus and later a Parthian governor called Raqbakt ruled the land, followed by Narseh and finally Sharat. Lengths of rule are impossible to determine, but the picture of a local dynasty sometimes independent, and at times more subordinate to Parthian overlordship, emerges.

[25] For a summary see Kahrstedt, *op. cit.* [ch. 8, n. 119], 58–60.

Parthians acquired the name Beth Nuhadra. The Parthian title *nohodar* (Armenian *naxarar*) was a high rank in the Parthian organization, perhaps originally a military or court title 'holder of first rank,' and then generalized to mean a member of the top nobility. In any case, this important frontier area was a military district against the Romans, first under the Parthians and then the Sasanians, thus most likely under direct central, military rule.

Hatra and the desert between the Tigris and Euphrates became a province of the Parthian domains called Arbaya or land of the Arabs. Thanks to archaeological excavations and the recovery of inscriptions, we know more about the fortified caravan city in the desert than about more fertile lands to the east. Probably founded in the first century B.C. by Arab nomads, the city became rich as a fortified trade station in late Parthian times. It is uncertain whether the first king was called Sanatruq, but later rulers bore this name, and the site became known as Hatra of Sanatruq.[26] Trajan and Septimius Severus both failed to capture the city, but with the fall of the Parthians and the rise of the Sasanians, Hatra changed its policy and became allied with Rome. It was finally conquered by Ardashir in 239 at the end of his reign and was then abandoned. The second century of our era was the period of greatest prosperity for Hatra as it was for other caravan cities such as Palmyra and towns in Characene, and the culture of all of these cities was similar with strong Parthian influences regardless of political allegiances. The seeming multiplicity of cults at excavated sites such as Hatra and Warka in Mesopotamia, as well as Palmyra in Syria, has produced almost as large a literature as the statues and art objects, testimony of the cosmopolitan nature of the caravan sites.[27] At Hatra, in addition to the goddess Allat and other deities, a triad of deities *mrn* 'our lord,' *mrtn* 'our lady' and *brmryn* 'son of our lords,' was especially worshipped, and these three have been identified as the equivalents of Shamash or Helios, Atargatis or Ishtar and Sin, the moon god.[28] Whether these identifications are valid or not, one may characterize all of the cults at Hatra as Arab or Mesopotamian, and no traces of Iranian influence in religion can be found. Over three hundred inscriptions have been found at Hatra and many fascinating philological puzzles in titles, onomastica and uncertain words have stimulated the efforts of many scholars. From the inscriptions, Fuad Safar has been able to reconstruct a tentative chronology of the reigns of the rulers of Hatra as follows:[29]

[26] On the origins of Hatra see Altheim/Stiehl, *op. cit.*, 1 [*supra*, *Die Araber*], 1, 275–77, with further references. On the rare coins of Hatra with Aramaic legends, see J. Walker, "The Coins of Hatra," *NC*, sixth series, 18 (1958), 167–72.

[27] For deities and cults see H. Ingholt, *Parthian Sculptures from Hatra* (New Haven, 1954), 10–46, with references, and for art in particular see D. Homès-Frédéricq, *Hatra et ses sculptures parthes* (Istanbul, 1963); and Ann Perkins, *The Art of Dura Europos* (Oxford, 1973).

[28] See Wathiq al-Salihi, "New Light on the Identity of the Triad of Hatra," *Sumer*, 31 (1975), 75–80. On the inscriptions from Hatra see successive articles by F. Safar in *Sumer* and the same by A. Caquot in *Syria*.

[29] F. Safar, "A Chronological List of the Rulers and Kings of Hatra," (in Arabic), *Sumer*, 28 (1972), 3–17, and in revised form in English, "The Lords and Kings of Hatra," *Sumer*, 29 (1973), 87–98. See also A. Maricq, "Hatra de Sanatrouq," *Syria*, 32 (1955), 273–78, and Altheim/Stiehl, *op. cit.*, 4 [*supra*, *Die Araber*], 1, 263–70.

Nasharyahab c. A.D. 85–105
Worod the lord (*mariya*) c. 105–115
Nasru the lord c. 115–135
Nasharyahab the lord c. 136–145
Ma'nu the lord c. 146–154
Walgash the lord c. 155–158, and with the title of 'king of the Arabs' from c. 158–165
Sanatruq the lord c. 166–7, and with the title 'king' c. 167–190
Abd Samia, king c. 190–200
Sanatruq II, king c. 200–239

Inscriptions in Greek and other languages from Dura Europos, a fortified Roman frontier town, supplement the information we have from Hatra, and one may suggest that the ruler of Hatra at earlier times held the title of Arab *arkhēs*, or 'chief of the Arabs' under Parthian suzerainty, but later the rulers of Hatra assumed the title of 'king' and became independent.[30] Titles and ranks proliferated among the petty rulers on the frontier, whose favor was sought by both Parthians and Romans, and we may suppose that ranks or honorifics as well as titles were arranged according to a sort of list or *Notitia dignitatum*, where office, social rank and honorific would be listed according to an order defining the position of a person. An example of different 'titles' would be the loan contract in Greek from Dura of the year 121 in which a certain Manesus son of Phraates held the office of governor (*stratēgos*) of Mesopotamia and Parapotamia as well as 'chief of the Arabs,' and he belonged to the order of high nobility called *batēsa*. As we have seen in a previous chapter, a witness, Metolbaessa, held the office of garrison commander, but he belonged to the order of 'first and greatly-honoured (appellative) order of friends and bodyguards (of the king)'.[31] On the Roman side of the frontier, grants of titles and honorifics also occurred but perhaps not so lavishly as on the Parthian side. In any case, the client kingdoms of the Mesopotamian frontier on the Parthian side were more often independent than in a 'vassal' relationship to Parthia, except one may suppose that Parthian coinage was legal tender in all of them. The 'forward' policy of Trajan, followed by the Antonine emperors, swung the balance of power to the Romans in the last century of Parthian rule, and undoubtedly many people in the land between the two rivers at times supported the Romans, or used them as a foil to Parthian overlordship. While the small kingdoms flourished, the Parthians on the whole did not, and the final internecine struggles between the last Artabanus and his rival Vologeses weakened the Parthians, so they were unable to suppress the uprising of the ruler of Persis, Ardashir.

[30] For the titles, see C. B. Welles, *The Parchments and Papyri, The Excavations of Dura-Europos* (New Haven, 1959), 110–15, and articles by J. Teixidor, "Notes Hatréennes," *Syria*, 43 (1966), 91–93.

[31] Welles, *op. cit.*, 116. The protocol and parallel between office, rank and appellative or honorific was misunderstood by Altheim and also by Szemerényi, whose etymologies, however, make sense; cf. his "Iranica V" [ch. 4, n. 63], 371, with reference to Altheim. The *batēsa* is probably the same as Syriac *peṭaḥšâ* and the *pdḥš'* of Hatra (cf. A. Caquot, "Nouvelles Inscriptions Aramaéennes de Hatra (VI)," *Syria*, 41 [1964], 256, no. 127), and all are possibly variant forms of *bitaxš*, Latin *vitaxa*, etc.

To summarize the position of the small states of Mesopotamia, only the most important of which we have mentioned here, the prime importance of trade for all of them impresses one. While central Parthian political hegenomy was greatly weakened by the second century, a kind of cultural unity among the peoples nominally under Parthian rule existed. Even beyond the political frontiers of the Parthian Empire, in Palmyra, in Roman outposts such as Dura, among the Nabataeans, and others, Parthian modes of dress and art styles were popular.[32] Later Arabic histories characterize the pre-Sasanian period of the history of the Near East as the time of 'tribal kings,' with an implied derogatory sense. But we have seen how agriculture as well as commerce flourished in Mesopotamia more than in previous or later periods. While great empires attract historians, one may raise the question whether the common folk had more prosperity living under rulers of small units or in great empires. Certainly the evidence we have, small though it is, seems to favor the common prosperity of all more in the time of the 'tribal kings' than later, especially in Mesopotamia, but what of the plateau of western Iran?

THE IRANIAN PLATEAU

At the end of Parthian rule Azerbaijan seems to have been an integral part of central Parthian domains, while members of the Arsacid family ruled in Armenia, the southern frontiers of which probably extended to the shores of Lake Urmia. According to Cassius Dio (79, 1) the Romans under Caracalla invaded Media in 216 but nothing is known about the success of Roman arms. In this war of the Romans against the Parthians the Armenian king, Tiridates II son of Chosroes, first supported the Romans but after the death of the emperor changed sides. Previously, in the Roman–Parthian war of 197–200 king Chosroes had supported the Romans, but may have lost his life in prison when Caracalla invited him for a visit and then imprisoned him according to Dio (12, 1), although the fate of Chosroes is unknown. Even though Arsacids ruled Armenia, it was an independent kingdom, as was Georgia or Iberia. In Armenia the Greek language had replaced older Aramaic, represented only by a few inscriptions on 'milestones' of King Artashēs (c. 189–160 B.C.), but use of Aramaic seems to have died out, and it was fully replaced by Greek.[33] If we can assume that the court and society of Armenia was a copy of Parthia, where we do not have the detailed information of Armenian sources such as Agathangelos, then we may conclude that the protocols of feudal lords were fixed and respected by the entire 'feudal' society.[34] Just how Armenian feudal lords ranked at the central court of the Arsacids of Parthia or vice versa cannot be determined, but it would seem that books of protocol also were concerned with such problems.

[32] For Parthian influences on the Nabataeans see Nelson Glueck, *Deities and Dolphins* (N.Y., 1965), esp. 248–50. Southern Mesopotamia flourished in this period compared to later Sasanian times, according to E. J. Keall, "Parthian Nippur and Vologases' Southern Strategy," *JAOS*, 95 (1975), 631–32.

[33] For the inscriptions, see the bibliography in A. Perikhanian, "Les inscriptions" [ch. 8, n. 38], 169, and for a new inscription, similar to the others, see G. A. Tiratsyan, "Estche odna Arameiskaya nadpis Artashesa I, Tsarya Armenii," *VDI*, no. 4 (1980), 99–104. The language can be characterized as poor or debased Aramaic.

[34] On the *gahnamak* or 'order of ranks' in Armenia see M.-L. Chaumont, "L'ordre" [ch. 8, n. 63], 471–97. Some of the titles were really honorifics or appellatives.

The kingdom of Iberia or Georgia, to the north of Armenia, was even more in the Roman sphere of influence than Armenia, but the Georgians seem to have developed their own, native form of the Aramaic alphabet used in an ideographic fashion as Parthian and Middle Persian. This alphabet has been found on several inscriptions, probably from the time of King Parsman, who visited Rome in the days of Antoninus Pius (138–161), located in the ancient capital of Armazi.[35] In the Parthian period, unfortunately, little is known of Georgia except through its relations with the Roman Empire which is beyond our concern here. The archaeological finds, in any case, reveal much stronger Hellenistic and Roman influences than Parthian. Questions of the origins of the Caucasian Albanian and the Armenian and Georgian alphabets belong to a later period, while the history of Caucasian Albania is bound to that of Georgia, and only in the Sasanian period do we find more information about the kingdoms of the Caucasus.

Although we have only a few indications of 'coats of arms' or family insignia from the Parthian period, if we interpolate back from the Sasanians, the local noble families did have some of the similar paraphernalia, such as 'coats of arms' as much later in mediaeval Europe. On the coins of the Parthian kings we find special signs as well as on those of Elymais, Characene, Persis, not to mention the Kushans in the east, or on Sarmatian tombstones and art objects from South Russia. Although many of these signs have been described as tribal 'brand marks' or *tamghas*, it seems clear that in the non-nomadic societies of the Parthians, and the small kingdoms around the central domains, such signs were more likely family crests.[36] From such signs, from art forms and clothes, and from rare notices in Classical sources one may conclude that on the Iranian plateau a feudal form of society prevailed with large landowners and many personal followers, whereas on the Mesopotamian lowlands the more urban culture of caravan cities flourished. Not that the two were completely separated, but the two characteristic forms of society were each suited to the two areas.

To the east we are in the dark. What was the political status of the Caspian provinces, of Hyrcania, modern Gurgan, and farther east, the lowland of Seistan? From the middle of the first century we begin to hear of ambassadors from Hyrcania to the Romans (Tacitus XIV, 25), but at no time is a king of Hyrcania mentioned, nor are any coins from this area identifiable. Kahrstedt's view that in the second century Hyrcania was at times either an independent kingdom or on other occasions under Kushan rather than Parthian rule is unsupported by any evidence, since no Kushan coins have been found in excavations in Gurgan, and there is no evidence that Nisa,

[35] On the Armazi inscriptions see Frye, "Pahlevi Heterography in Ancient Georgia?" in G. C. Miles, ed., *Archaeologica Orientalia in memoriam Ernst Herzfeld* (N.Y., 1952), 91; and M. H. Bogolyubov, "Po povodu *bry* i *brty* v Arameiskoi versii Armazskoi bilingvy," in A. H. Kononov, *Issledovaniya po Filologii Stran Azii i Afriki* (Leningrad, 1966), 21–24, with further references. The chief publication of the excavations at Mtshketa is by A. M. Apakidze, *Mtskheta* (Tiflis, 1958). Parthian and Roman coins were found, no local coins.

[36] See H. Jänichen, *Bildzeichen der königlichen Hoheit bei den iranischen Völkern* (Bonn, 1956), esp. 13–27; and E. I. Solomonik, *Sarmatskie Znaki Severnogo Prichernomorya* (Kiev, 1959), esp. 16–21. While one should not confuse these signs with those of stone masons, the relationship between the two could be explained as a common origin of family identification. Cf. W. Andrae, *Hatra*, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 9 (Leipzig, 1908), 29.

the old capital of the Parthians to the northeast, was ever in Kushan hands, and areas to the west were even more unlikely to have been part of the Kushan Empire even at its greatest extent.[37] The independence of feudal lords in all parts of the Parthian Empire was proverbial, and at times in certain areas this independence was greater, while at other times less, but the establishment of an independent state would have been followed by the issuance of coins and other signs of complete separation from the Parthian Empire, which does not seem to have been the case in Hyrcania.

Seistan, the land of the Sakas, at the end of the Parthian period is also enigmatic, and as an example of the equivocal bits of information we have everywhere in the second century, Seistan is a good example of the paucity and ambiguity of even the few tidbits we have. The first fragmentary notice is in the Arabic history of Ṭabari (I, 682) that the center of the family of Suren was in Seistan, which was the basis for a highly conjectural essay on the 'house of Suren of Sakastan' by Herzfeld which, however, tells us little about Seistan.[38] Then we have copper Indo-Parthian type coins from this area with the name Arda Mitra, but on some of them Hormizd in Sasanian Middle Persian characters, but these coins are so enigmatic that they cannot be used to postulate a local ruler of Seistan who became a vassal of the early Sasanians, as has been suggested.[39] There is no reason to doubt the provenance of the Suren feudal family from the east, but the whole question of the relation of the Suren to the Indo-Parthian dynasty of Gondophares, or to the Sakas, who gave their name to the province, is obscure. Even more curious is the legendary connection of the Sasanians to the east which we may briefly examine here.

Indo-Parthian coins with the Kharoshthi legend Sasasa, or in Greek Sasou (gen.), the name of a ruler whose name has been identified as 'Sasan,' have been mentioned. There is really little reason to connect the two, especially since the Scythian name Sasas is found on inscriptions from South Russia.[40] More intriguing, however, is the legend of Sasan the ancestor of Ardashir, said to have lived in exile in India after Alexander the Great, found in the Pahlavi *Kār nāmak* of Ardashir, in Firdosi's book of kings and in other books of the Islamic period. The fictitious pedigree of the Sasanians, to connect their family with the Achaemenids or the mythical Kayanid dynasty, was undoubtedly a late creation, but with the discovery of Parthian documents from Nisa and elsewhere we gain a new insight into the name 'Sasan.'

Livshits has collected all instances of the name 'Sasan' in Parthian, with combinations such as Sasandat 'given by Sasan,' Sasanbokht 'saved by Sasan,' and

[37] Kahrstedt, *op. cit* [ch. 8, n. 119], 37, 83. No doubt the Hyrcanians, and others under Parthian rule, revolted many times from central control, but one must not forget the feudal character of Parthian rule, and envoys coming to Rome indicate this independence of action, but not necessarily the creation of independent states as Kahrstedt believes.

[38] E. Herzfeld, "Sakastān" [ch. 7, n. 28], 70–85, with many interesting observations to be used with utmost care.

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comes to the conclusion that Sasan was a minor deity in the homeland of the Parthians.[41] This might help to explain why the dynasty is called Sasanian rather than Papakian, and why the figure of Sasan is important in the founding story of the dynasty. One might guess that Sasan was an important prince of an Indo-Parthian dynasty who came to Persis and became attached to a local dynast called Papak, and together a basis was forged for a successful revolt against central Parthian rule, and then an ancestry was proclaimed which secured the support of many noble families and local rulers who accepted the right of Ardashir to rule as justified by good family credentials. In the story or legend of the rise of Ardashir, reference to Sasan as an outsider, coming from the east, may contain a kernel of truth, for one would have expected the local rulers of Persis to have preserved some kind of a connection with the Achaemenid family. That they did not, regarding themselves as the issue of satraps, seems credible, and the outside connection was needed to launch the rise to power of the Sasanians. The story of this rise begins the chapter on the Sasanians.

[41] V. A. Livshits, "Parfyanskii teonim Sasan," in *Pismennye Pamyatniki i Problemy Istorii Kultury Narodov Vostoka*, Akad, Nauk Int. Vostokovedenie (Moscow, 1977), 93–97. The examples given by Livshits leave little doubt that Sasan was a popular deity of some sort in Parthia.

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CHAPTER XI

THE SASANIANS

Literature: The basic textbook on the Sasanians is the comprehensive book of A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1944). All subsequent work, including the present chapter, is based on it and our survey of sources proceeds from Christensen.

The Classical sources, of prime importance for earlier periods, assume a far less significant role for the Sasanians, giving place to Arabic and even New Persian literature which, even though written long after the fall of the Sasanian Empire, provide by far the most information about it. New groups of sources appear, Armenian and Syriac works, the Babylonian Talmud and works in Middle Persian or Pahlavi, the language of the Sasanians, but which are less valuable for the history of Sasanian Iran than one might expect. Chinese and Indian books offer virtually nothing for the reconstruction of the history of Sasanian Iran. Inscriptions in Middle Persian (with Parthian and Greek versions of those of Ardashir and Shapur I), as well as later cursive inscriptions on seals, coins and ostraca, are very important as contemporary sources, while art and archaeology also contribute to our understanding of Sasanian Iran.

We should remember that Greek and Latin writings are enemy sources, not inclined to enhance but rather to detract from the picture of the Sasanians which they give. Furthermore, for the most part they are secondary sources themselves, pretending to be good literature and only in rare cases are they eye witness accounts. As literary productions, many draw heavily on past writings to interpret their own times, such as Ammianus Marcellinus on Herodotus and others, as shown by K. Rosen, *Studien zur Darstellungskunst und Glaubwürdigkeit des Ammianus Marcellinus* (Bonn, 1970), esp. 18–19. Also some writers, such as Libanius or Orosius, write for didactic purposes and for their contemporaries rather than attempting to present objectively events for posterity. Nonetheless, the Classical tradition of historical writing, with a sense of the importance of chronology, is matched, or possibly exceeded, only by the later histories in Arabic. Geographical and other compilations of the Byzantine period, though composed in a Christian milieu with its religious world view, do provide some items of information on the Sasanians. Writers contemporary with the rise of the Sasanians, on the whole, give little information beyond mere acknowledgment of the rise of the new dynasty in the east. The early historians in chronological order are Cassius Dio, Herodian, fragments in Dexippus (*Frg. Hist.*, II A, no. 100), the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, (esp. under Gordian, Valerian by Trebellius Pollio, and later emperors by Flavius Vopiscus), all concerned with Roman wars and relations with the Sasanians. Later sources such as Lactantius' *Ecclesiastical History*, the chronicle of Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, ed. by R. Helm (Berlin, 1956), and the chronicle of the Caesars by S. Aurelius Victor, the fragments of Petrus Patricius (*FHG* IV, 184–86) add a few details here and there to the early history of the Sasanians.[1] At the end of the sixth century Agathias, ed. by R. Keydell (Berlin, 1967), is especially important, since he probably had access to Sasanian archives in Ctesiphon, as well as the opportunity to hear local stories.

Some later authors are more detailed, especially about Roman-Sasanian relations, such as Ammianus Marcellinus who took part in the wars against Shapur II. Eunapius (*FHG* IV, 7) adds little and Eutropius the same. Such writers as the rhetorician Libanius, and some Christian authors as Theodore of Mopsuestia, contain references to the Persians, but it is impossible to cite all authors who mention the Sasanians, except Procopius, who is valuable for his eye witness account of later wars of the Byzantines against Kavad and Chosroes.

For later periods of Sasanian history, the works of Byzantine historians are especially valuable beginning with Sozomenus, then Zosimus followed by Priscus, Evagrius, Malalas, Syncellus, Theophanes, and especially Menander Protector and Theophylactus Simocatta, the *Chronicon Paschale*, and even later

[1] Editions are found in the Teubner series of Classical texts (Leipzig and Stuttgart) or in the Loeb Classical Series (London and Cambridge, Mass.) or fragments in *FHG* or *Frg. Hist.* Later editions are noted in the text. The text of Lactantius is found in the *Corpus Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum*, ed. by S. Brandt (Vienna, 1897). Almost all of these sources, and others, are noted by A. Christensen in *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1944), 74–77.

historians such as Nicephorus, Cedrenus, and Zonaras. Other than histories, the *Ethnika* of Stephan of Byzantium, ed. by A. Meineke (Berlin, 1849), the *Suidae Lexicon*, by H. Adler and even the *Lexicon* of Hesychius of Alexandria, ed. by K. Latte (Copenhagen, 1953–66), give random information about the Persians, although in all much refers to a more ancient period. Geographies too retain old names, and the anonymous *Cosmographia* and the work of Paulus Orosius in A Riese, *Geographi Latini Minores* (Heilbronn, 1878), the *Anonymous Geography of Ravenna*, ed. by M. Pinder and G. Parthey (Berlin, 1860), the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, ed. by K. Miller (Stuttgart, 1916), with studies by J. Schnetz on those geographical works, and his translation of the Ravenna book (Uppsala, 1951), all should be mentioned among the Greek and Latin sources relating to the east

Armenian sources are all Christian and give information about the Sasanians in a religious and an Armenian context, sometimes polemical and apologetic. The earliest, the history of Agathangelos, preserved in a Greek as well as an Armenian version, is typical of the Christian nature of the Armenian histories, all of which proclaim the glories of religion more than recording facts.[2] Faustus of Byzantium gives an account of the period from 320–385 but is in many places confused and unreliable. His work is continued by Lazar of P'arp until the year 485, while the later period to 591 is covered by the history of Sebeos, and after a gap he continues down to the Arab conquest. A history of the years 439–451 by Elise Vardapet is highly unreliable but gives a feeling of Armenian national sentiments. The book 'Against the Sects' by Eznik of Kołb is valuable for information about Zoroastrianism, while the general history of Armenia by Moses of Chorene has much information about the Sasanians, but it too is a controversial source. Later works in Armenian add little to Sasanian history, but the Armenian geography of a pseudo-Moses of Chorene is important for the historical geography of the empire.[3] Other Armenian books are frequently full of fancy and are not important for the history of the Sasanians.

Syriac sources, though similar, are more important for our topic than the Armenian books. Chronicles are especially rich in details, especially the controversial Chronicle of Arbela dealing with Adiabene until c. 550, while the Chronicle of Edessa covers the same period for the city of Edessa (*hodie* Urfa).[4] Two other chronicles, one of Joshua the Stylite (or pseudo-Joshua) covers the years 494–506, while another anonymous one, edited by M. Guidi, tells of events after 590 to the Arab invasion, and both are valuable sources. Other, later, world chronicles, such as that of Michael the Syrian written in the twelfth century and Bar Hebraeus (Abu'l-Farāj) written in the following century, as well as the eleventh century chronology of Elias of Nisibis, although containing random details, are all less important for us. More valuable are the acts of the martyrs where many items are found which relate not only to religion but also to legal matters, territorial divisions and similar matters. Among the writers on religious subjects, Theodore bar Khonai is especially important, while the ecclesiastical-legal volumes, although concentrating on internal matters, do occasionally mention items of value to an understanding of local affairs in this period.[5]

Two Christian chronicles preserved in Arabic should be mentioned as having interesting material on Sasanian affairs, the thirteenth century anonymous Nestorian Chronicle of Seert, ed. by A. Scher *PO* vols. 4, 5, 7, 13 (Paris, 1908–19) and the chronicle of Eutychius or Sa'īd b. Batrīq, patriarch of Alexandria, who died in 940, ed. by L. Cheikho (Beirut, 1906–09).

The only Jewish source which gives details of life under Sasanian rule is the Babylonian Talmud, in

[2] The editions and translations of the Armenian sources are given by Christensen, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 77–79. To be added are two English translations by R. Thomson of Agathangelos (Albany, 1976) and Moses of Chorene (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), and F. C. Dowsett, *The History of the Caucasian Albanians by Movsēs Dasxuranci* (London, 1961). Summary translations of relevant texts were made by K. Patkanian, "Essai d'une histoire de la dynastie des Sassanides," *JA* (1866), 101–244.

[3] Ed. and trans by Marquart, *Ērānshahr* [ch. 3, n. 37].

[4] For the texts and translations of the Syriac texts see Christensen, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 80–83. Only those Syriac texts not mentioned by or known to Christensen will be mentioned. On the martyrologies, see G. Wiessner, *Zur Märtyrerüberlieferung aus der Christenverfolgung Schapurs II* in *Abh. GWG*, 67 (Göttingen, 1967).

[5] The most useful of the ecclesiastical-legal compilations is the *Synhadus* or book of synods of the Nestorian church, ed. and trans. by J.-B. Chabot [ch. 1, n. 12], and trans. by O. Braun, *Das Buch der Synhados* (Stuttgart–Vienna, 1900). The law books such as those of Jesu Bokht, Simeon and Mār Abhā, ed. by E. Sachau, *Syrische Rechtsbücher*, 3 (Berlin, 1914), should be noted; even though they provide little historical information, they do give information on legal matters.

many editions, and translated into English, ed. by I. Epstein, 35 vols. (London, 1935–48). This source has been utilized by J. Neusner in his five-volume *History of the Jews in Babylonia* (Leiden, 1969–70). It must be remembered that the Talmud is internal, community-centered and legalistic with only chance references to general Sasanian practices or customs.

Middle Persian works, which have passed through priestly strainers reflecting priestly interests, are more in the domain of folklore or epic rather than history, but the *Kārnāmak* of Ardashir, which could be classified as a romance, does give much information about the first ruler of the dynasty, but it must be used with great care. It does provide much the same information as the *Shāhnāme* of Firdosi and other later texts.[6] A historical geography of the provincial capitals of Iran gives historical items of information as well as legendary stories, and it has been translated with a valuable commentary by Markwart.[7] Other small texts such as *Khusrō ī kavātān ud rēdak* 'Chosroes son of Kavad and his Page,' various books of *andarz* or counsel to rulers, the genre called 'Mirrors for Princes,' as well as religious works, all may be consulted for words, customs or the like, but they tell us little about historical events.[8]

Arabic and New Persian works, though much later in date than the preceding sources and essentially translation literature, do preserve accounts of Sasanian rulers, customs and practices not preserved elsewhere, but their importance lies in their utilization of official Sasanian records, especially the notorious *Xwadāy* or *Khūdāī nāmak*, the predecessor of the epic of Firdosi. So much has been written about this prototype of all Islamic information about the Sasanian dynasty that it is superfluous to add more to the literature except to emphasize that many other sources, including oral reports, must have existed to supplement or parallel the presumed written 'official' history of the Sasanaian court.[9] Text criticism has not progressed to standards comparable to those we find in Classical studies, and many problems of the transmission of texts remain with Arabic and New Persian sources for the Sasanians. Although Muslim authors are less polemical or apologetic than the Christian writers, they do adapt the information they have to Islamic conceptions of the past, and they do rationalize to understand and interpret the stories or information which they pass on to readers of their own time. In the attempt to be orderly and understood, they do change passages in older texts which they did not understand, as Ṭabari's confusion of the first capture of Antioch by Shapur I with the capture of Valerian, confusion of the deeds of the two Shapurs and others. As Christensen (p. 62) remarked, traces of two Middle Persian books, the *Ayēn* or *ewēnnāmak* or 'book of rules' and the *Gāhnāmak* 'book of ranks,' left traces in several later Arabic works such as the *Kitāb al-ṭāj* of Jāḥiẓ and in the works of Mas'ūdī. Also valuable as a source for the institutions of the Sasanians is the letter of 'Tansar to the king of Tabaristān,' preserved in New Persian but translated from an Arabic translation from a Middle Persian original.[10] The chief historical work in Arabic is the great history of Ṭabarī, with a Persian translation by Bal'amī which adds to or departs from the original in some passages.[11] Earlier histories are less concerned with pre-Islamic Iran, but those of Ya'qūbī, Ibn Qutaiba, and Dīnawarī do have materials not found in Ṭabarī. Other writers, later than Ṭabarī, have information not found in earlier works; especially noteworthy are Mas'ūdī in his *Murūj al-dhahab* and his *Kitāb al-tanbih* and Ḥamza Isfahānī's *Ta'rīkh sinī mulūk*, ed. by Irānī Tabrīzī (Berlin, 1921) and ed. by J. Sha'ār (Tehran, 1968). An anonymous literary text called *Nihāyat al-arab fī akhbār al-furs wa'l-'arab*, although a fanciful literary work, contains details different from Ṭabarī and must be recognized as a different source on the Sasanians.[12] Bīrūnī is an excellent source for chronology and holidays, all in

[6] For editions and translations of relevant MP texts, see Christensen, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 50–59.

[7] Markwart, *Catalogue* [ch. 3, n. 45].

[8] For a list of all MP writings see J. C. Tavadia, *Die mittelpersische Sprache und Literatur der Zarathustrier* (Leipzig, 1956), 141 pp. and M. Boyce, "Middle Persian Literature," in *HO*, 4 Iranistik (Leiden, 1968), 31–66, and her "The Manichaean Literature in Middle Iranian" in the same volume, 67–76. The *andarz* literature is ancient in origin and not to be dated only to the end of the Sasanian Empire.

[9] Other than the remarks in Christensen, *op. cit.* [n. 1], 59–62, consult A. Pagliaro, "Les sources en langue pahlavi du 'Livre des Rois' de Firdausi," in I. Sadiq, ed., *Firdausi Millennium* (Tehran, 1944), 72–75, and for a bibliography consult I. Afshār, *Kitābshināsī Firdōsī* (Tehran, 1347/1969).

[10] For text and translation see *Nāme-ye Tansar* ed. M. Minovi, and M. Boyce, *The Letter of Tansar* (Rome, 1968). The NP text was preserved in the *Ta'rīkh-e Ṭabaristān* by Ibn Isfandiyār.

[11] The standard edition of the Arabic is ed. by M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1901) and in Persian for the Sasanian period see M. J. Mashkur, *Tarjuma-ye Ta'rīkh-e Ṭabarī* (Tehran 1337/1959).

[12] This Arabic work was described by E. G. Browne in *JRAS* (1900), 195–259. Cf. Bregel, *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 18], 716–17.

systematic tables.[13] Other writers such as Ibn al-Athīr and Abu 'l-Fidā add virtually nothing to our knowledge of the Sasanians. Literary works, however, give much information but frequently they are idealized, romantic or at least didactic in nature.

The epic history of Iran, Firdosi's *Shāhnāme*, belongs in this category more than as a chronicle of events, as does the *Ghurar akhbār mulūk al-furs* of Tha'ālibī.[14] The various 'testament' literatures, or advice given to Sasanian princes by their fathers, such as the testimony of Ardashir, give interesting details of Sasanian society or court life not found in stories in the books of *andarz*, such as the *Siyāsat nāme* of Niẓām al-mulk, the *Qābūs nāme* and others which have collections of stories about Sasanian kings or sages.[15] Such stories must be used with great caution as sources for Sasanian times, however, since their purpose is didactic and written for their own times.

Finally a host of geography books give us information about pre-Islamic administrative divisions and practices as well as local information. The most important of these are the general Arabic geographies of Ibn Khurdādbih Iṣṭakhrī (in Persian as well as Arabic) Ibn Ḥauqal, Ya'qūbī, Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamadānī, al-Muqaddasī, Ibn Rustah, the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, with the Persian geography of Fars province of Ibn al-Balkhī especially important for that area.[16] Such works as the *Mafātih al-'ulūm* of al-Khwārazmī and the *Kitāb al-wuzarā' wa'l-kuttāb* of al-Jahshiyārī also contain information in passing about Sasanian administration and taxation.[17] Finally, the category of local histories, such as the *Ta'rīkh-e Qom*, *Ta'rīkh-e Sīstān*, *Ta'rīkh-e Ṭabaristān* frequently contain items of local interest, especially about the end of Sasanian and the beginning of Arab rule in the various areas.[18]

To turn from literature to other sources, here too the number and quantity of inscriptions, papyri or ostraca, coins, seals and art and architectural remains far exceeds earlier periods. It is not possible to give a detailed bibliography of such remains but one may refer to special bibliographies of each category. The Middle Persian and Parthian inscriptions are listed in P. Gignoux, *Glossaire des Inscriptions Pehlevies et Parthes* (London, 1972), 9–19, to which should be added H. Humbach and P. O. Skjaervø, *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli*, 2 parts (Wiesbaden, 1978), and minor inscriptions as reported in the journals *AMI* or *SI*. For seals and sealings which give information on titles and geographical divisions as well as onomastica, the various catalogues are indispensable: Hermitage – A. Borisov and V. G. Lukonin, *Sasanidskie Gemmy* (Leningrad, 1963); British Museum – A. D. H. Bivar, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals in the British Museum, Stamp Seals*, II: *The Sassanian Dynasty* (London, 1969); Paris – Ph. Gignoux, *Catalogue des sceux camées et bulles sasanides de la Bibliothèque nationale et du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1978), as well as relevant volumes of the CII and articles in SI. Coins are covered by R. Göbl, *Sasanidische Numismatik* (Braunschweig, 1968), with a bibliography and H. Simon, " Die Sāsānidischen Münzen des Fundes von Babylon," *AI* 12, Varia 1976, (Leiden, 1977), 149–337, with an extensive bibliography.

The bibliography of the archaeology of Sasanian Iran is covered by L. Vanden Berghe in his *Archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (Leiden, 1959) and his *Bibliographie analytique de l'archéologie de l'Iran ancien* (Leiden, 1979). Especially important for the Sasanian period are the excavations and surveys made at Ctesiphon in Iraq, at Bishapur, Qaṣr-e Abū Naṣr and Firuzabad in Fars, and Takht-e Sulaiman in Azerbaijan.

The art of Sasanian Iran has produced a very large bibliography, but especially significant are the following: A. U. Pope, ed., *Survey of Persian Art* (Oxford, 1938), vols. 1 and 4; K. Erdmann, *Die Kunst*

[13] His most important work for our subject is his *Athār al-bāqiyya* ed. by E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1876), trans. into English (London, 1879), but other books also contain information such as his book on India and others, for which see D. J. Boilot, "L'oeuvre d'al-Beruni: essai bibliographique," *Mélanges de l'institut Dominicain d'études orientales du Caire*, 2 (Cairo, 1955). 161–256.

[14] Ed. and trans. by H. Zotenberg, *Histoire des rois des Perses* (Paris, 1900).

[15] Strictly speaking the 'testaments' are a different genre than the *andarz* literature, but they may be taken together. For a discussion and bibliography of the genre called 'mirror for princes,' see F. R. C. Bagley, trans., *Ghazālī's Book of Counsel for Kings* (London, 1964), ix–xxxviii.

[16] A source book for all of the geographers regarding western Iran with bibliography is Schwarz, *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 14], in 9 parts. For eastern Iran and Central Asia see V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* (London, 1937) and R. Frye, "Islamic Sources for the pre-Islamic History of Central Asia," in Harmatta, ed., *Prolegomena* [ch. 5, n. 139], 221–30.

[17] Khwārāzmī's book was edited by G. van Vloten (Leiden, 1895), and a part relevant to ancient Iran trans. by J. M. Unvala in *JKRCO*, 11 (1928), 76–110; cf. C. E. Bosworth and G. Clauson, "Al-Xwārazmī on the People of Central Asia," *JRAS* (1965), 1–12. The book of al-Jahshiyārī was edited by Mustafā al-Saqfā and M. al-Ḥāfiz Shalabī (Cairo, 1938); Cf. J. Latz, *Das Buch der Wezire und Staatssekretare von al-Ǧahšiyārī* (Bonn, 1958).

[18] On local histories of Iran consult Bregel, *op. cit.*, 2 [ch. 1, n. 18], 1008–1107.

Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden (Berlin, 1943, new ed. Mainz, 1969); R. Ghirshman, *Iran, Parthians and Sassanians* (London, 1962); E. Porada, *Ancient Iran* (London, 1965); V. Lukonin, *Persia II, from the Seleucids to the Sassanids* (London, 1971); K. Schippmann, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtümer* (Berlin, 1971); and for special subjects D. Thompson, *Stucco from Chal-Tarkhan-Eshqabad near Rayy* (London, 1976); I. A. Orbeli and K. V. Trever, *Sasanidskii Metall* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1935); and C H Sawyer, ed., *Sasanian Silver* (The University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor, 1967). Bibliographies in these books and in *SI* (Abstracta Iranica) give references to other articles and books on various artistic subjects.

The Sasanian period thus has a plethora of sources and literature compared to earlier periods of history, and footnotes will further elucidate details. The third volume of the *Cambridge History of Iran* is a basic handbook, not altogether replacing Christensen, which also has selected bibliographies for each chapter.

ARDASHIR AND THE BEGINNINGS

From the Ka'bah inscription of Shapur I, we learn that Ardashir was the son of Papak, and a certain Denak was the mother of Papak, but Sasan is simply called 'the lord,' and is not given any relation to Papak. This is an official record, but many scholars instead have followed Ṭabarī who states that Sasan was the father of Papak and continues the genealogy back to ancient mythical kings of Iran, which in itself makes his statement suspect. The *Bundahishn*, a ninth century Middle Persian religious book says that the mother of Ardashir son of Papak was the daughter of Sasan, who was the son of Vehafrid and continues the genealogy for a few generations.[19] This would make Sasan the father-in-law of Papak, which is more likely than him being his father.The epic story as found in Firdosi, in the *Kārnāmak*, and in a derogatory Greek version by Agathias and elsewhere, has Sasan marry Papak's daughter, who then bore Ardashir, which is also possible, but we cannot determine the truth of one or the other version. Obviously Sasan was important, since he gave his name to the dynasty, and we have seen how the name is found in Parthian times presumably as a minor deity. Perhaps Sasan gave legitimacy to the new dynasty by his presumed connections to the Parthian and possibly the Achaemenid royal families, but in any case Ardashir was legally the son of Papak a local king in Persis who proclaimed his independence from the Parthians, probably at the time of the invasion of Mesopotamia by Septimius Severus.

An inscription on a stone pillar in Bishapur gives a date as follows: '(In the) month of Fravardin (of the) year 58, (of the) fire of Ardashir year 40, (of the) fire of Shapur, which is the king of fires, year 24.'[20] This suggests that fifty-eight years before the

[19] Ch. 35, TD 2 ms. p. 232. B. T. Anklesaria, *Zand Ākāsīh* (Bombay, 1956), 297, translates this passage as 'Ardashir-i Papakan, whose mother was Papak's daughter.' Anklesaria thus follows the epic tradition and Zoroastrian adoption customs, implying that Sasan was the real father of Ardashir, but his father-in-law had the right by adoption to call Ardashir his own son through his daughter. The only problem with this theory is the existence of an older 'brother' of Ardashir called Shapur, known from coins as well as written sources, and the Zoroastrian adoption practice should apply only to the eldest son of the daughter. Other Arabic and Persian sources also call Ardashir the son of Sasan, but the confusion in the sources only indicates that Sasan was not the father of Papak, as Ṭabarī claimed. Long ago Mordtmann in "Persepolitanische Münzen," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 4 (1876), 186, believed that a certain Tiridates, which name he read on a coin, was the father of Papak, and he thought Armenian sources supported his identification, which they do not.

[20] Text and translation in R. Ghirshman, "Inscription du monument de Châpour Ier," *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, 10 (Paris, 1937), 123–29, and by O. Hansen, "Epigraphische Studien," *ZDMG*, 92 (1938), 441–42. V. Lukonin in "Monnaie d'Ardachir I et l'art officiel sassanide," in *IA*, 8 (1968), 106, n. 2, translates this as "The month of Fravardin, the year 58 (of the) fire; Ardashir, year 40 (of the) fire of Shapur; of the 'royal fires,' year 24." I cannot follow this interpretation.

inscription was carved an era was created for the beginning of the Sasanian dynasty, perhaps the year Papak declared his independence from the Parthians, which would be approximately 205–206 for the first date, 224–225 for the second, and 240–241 for the last, and the date of the carving of the inscription would be 263–264, which would not conflict with archaeological data, and each date would represent the lighting of a royal fire in a temple beginning the reign of a new ruler.

The earliest archaeological remains of Ardashir, the real founder of the dynasty, are at Firuzabad, which was called Ardashir Khwarreh 'the glory (or fortune) of Ardashir,' the naming or re-naming cities in such a fashion being a practice which was followed by his successors. Ṭabarī and other sources say that Ardashir was sent to Darabgird where he became governor of that district, but it was at Firuzabad, called Gur, meaning a ditch or excavation and not a grave, according to Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, that Ardashir built his capital.[21] He had to subdue the local lords and forge an allegiance to himself, but he succeeded so well he was able to challenge Artabanus, the Parthian king of kings. Papak was not succeeded by Ardashir, however, but by his (eldest?) son Shapur, mentioned in inscriptions as well as on coins. According to Ṭabarī Ardashir did not wish to recognize Shapur as king, and the latter assembled an army to punish Ardashir, but in Persepolis a piece of the structures fell on him killing him, after which Ardashir assumed the position of successor to Papak. There is no way to confirm this story, but in the inscription of SKZ and Paikuli the legitimate succession of the dynasty is from Papak to Shapur to Ardashir. Many scholars have written about the date of accession of Ardashir to the throne considering this to have taken place after his defeat of his Parthian overlord or even after Ardashir's capture of Ctesiphon. The date of accession more likely would have been the lighting of his 'royal' fire after the death of Shapur, but a later date for a 'coronation,' different from the date of accession causes difficulty in determining the first regnal year of early Sasanian kings.[22] The year 224 seems now to be the most likely date for the accession of Ardashir, when a fire, possibly in a temple in the town of Istakhr, was lighted to begin his reign.

The course of events in the early years of Ardashir is unclear in many details, but the defeat and death of Artabanus was surely the turning point in the rise to power of the Sasanians, yet even afterwards Ardashir had to fight a number of battles, since the Parthian realm was not unified under either Artabanus or Vologeses, both of whom

[21] Ḥamza, ed. (Berlin, 1921), 33. Ibn al-Faqīh, *Kitāb al-buldān*, ed. by M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1885), 198, says Ardashir built Gūr (Jūr) on the model of Darabgird, and even today the plans of two round cities can be observed. Today the fortress Qalā-ye Dukhtār, high above the gorge with the road and river, emphasizes the defensive mentality of Ardashir in protecting his small realm.

[22] It is not possible to list even part of the voluminous writings on the chronology of the early Sasanians. For a summary of different positions see W. B. Henning and S. H. Taqizadeh, "The Dates of Mani's Life," *AM*, 6 (1957), 106–21. Much has been made of joint regency or co-kings in ancient Iran, but there is no evidence for this institution other than the association of the crown prince in rule at the end of the reign of the previous ruler. Cf. M.-L. Chaumont, "Corégence et avènement de Shāhpuhr Ier," in *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*, ed. by Ph. Gignoux (Louvain, 1974), 133–46, and Frye, "Remarks" [ch. 7, n. 65], 78–82.

undoubtedly opposed Ardashir.[23] From coins we cannot determine when Ardashir conquered a certain district or other, for Parthian coins continued to be struck until at least 227 or 228, indicating not a continued rule of the Parthian kings but uncertainty among mint officials as to what to do with coinage. The site of the decisive battle where Artabanus was killed is unknown, but probably it was north of Isfahan, although some scholars place it in the south.[24] Both Cassius Dio (LXXX, 4) and Herodian (VI, 2, 2) say that Ardashir intended to reconquer the lands which once had belonged to the ancient Persians, and there is no reason to doubt this report, for even if a detailed memory of the Achaemenids was not alive under the Sasanians, legends and stories of a great Iranian empire of the past surely were current. Continuing battles with son(s) or relatives of Artabanus ended in victory for Ardashir, whose conquest of the lowlands between the Tigris and Euphrates brought him in conflict with the Romans.[25] For the Roman–Sasanian wars we have many sources.

Herodian (VI, 2, 4–7) gives the most detailed account of Ardashir's invasion of the Roman province of Mesopotamia. He failed to take Hatra about 230 although other places were conquered. In response the Roman emperor Severus Alexander left Rome for Antioch and the east probably in 231 or 232. All diplomatic efforts at peace having failed, preparations for war progressed with road building, repairing of defenses and apparently an agreement with Hatra to accept Roman troops within the walls as allies.[26] Although the biography of the emperor in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (LV) says that Severus Alexander decisively defeated Ardashir and conducted a splendid triumph at Rome, Herodian (VI, 5–6) is probably more accurate when he describes the defeat suffered by one Roman column, while another army led by the emperor retreated because of disease and the climate, although Ardashir suffered too and did not renew his invasion for several years.

Early Sasanian campaigns against the Arsacid king of Armenia are confused, and we do not know the course of events, but one may believe Armenian sources which claim that the Armenians were so successful in defending themselves that the Sasanians had to resort to assassination, but it is unclear whether this happened in the reign of Ardashir or of Shapur I, as also is the identity of the Armenian king, Chosroes II or Tiridates. The sources confuse the names of Tiridates II and III, the latter being son of Chosroes, but it would seem most likely that it was Chosroes who was

[23] Cassius Dio (LXXX, 3) and Agathangelos (Greek text, not Armenian, par. 8) say Ardashir fought three battles against the Parthians. The *Chronicle of Arbela*, trans. by E. Sachau [ch. 8, n. 100], 50, says that the king of Adiabene and the king of Kirkuk (Garamaea) joined the Persians and Medes to overthrow the Parthians.

[24] G. Widengren in a talk in Tehran proposed Gulpaiagan as the place of battle in reconstructing a corrupt name in the *Nihāyat al-arab*, while the anonymous Persian history, *Mujmil al-tawārīkh wa'l qiṣaṣ*, ed. M. Bahar (Tehran, 1940) 61, says Artabanus (Ardavan) was defeated outside of Nihavend which was his residence. Tha'ālibī, *Ghurar akhbār* [n. 14], 480, says the town where Ardavan was besieged and killed was Dujail, presumably near Ahwaz. Ṭabarī and other sources give the plain of Hormizdagān as the site of the battle, otherwise unknown. The killing of Artabanus by Ardashir is depicted on a rock relief near Firuzabad.

[25] On the sons of Artabanus, we have Dio (*loc. cit.*), the *Chronicle of Arbela* [ch. 8, n. 100] and other sources, especially Armenian, which tell of the struggles of Chosroes, king of Armenia, and other Arsacids, against Ardashir.

[26] See the summary of this campaign in D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 2 (Princeton, 1950), 694–96, 1560–61; also for this period see G. Gagé, *La Montée des Sassanides* (Paris, 1964).

murdered probably in the reign of Shapur.[27] Although busy in Armenia and elsewhere in the east over a period of years, about which we have no information, Ardashir at the end of his life undertook another campaign about 237 in the west at the time of troubles in the Roman Empire following the death of Alexander Severus. The most notable result of this campaign, after the conquest of Nisibis and Carrhae, was the capture of Hatra in the year 239–240 about which many legends grew, some attributing the fall of the city to the love of the daughter of the local king for Shapur, such that she betrayed the city to him.[28] What is significant, however, was the abandonment of Hatra, and later Dura Europos, Palmyra and other 'caravan cities,' which meant a decline and then fall of the trade over the desert by oasis entrepreneurs, who in the past had flourished in spite of Parthian–Roman wars. The Sasanians from the outset tried to centralize trade in their hands, but they were neither good traders nor entrepreneurs as were the inhabitants of the oases in the Syrian desert, and all indications point to an economic decline in this period. The wars between Romans and Sasanians were more destructive, severe and restrictive of commerce than wars in previous eras, and the 'Fertile Crescent' suffered greatly as a result.

From coins, and the uncertainty in the sources, it would seem that Ardashir associated Shapur with himself in rule and then retired shortly before his death which may have occurred in 241 or even a short time later.[29] From persons listed in the inscription SKZ as submitted to or belonging to the court of Ardashir, we may gain an idea of the extent of his domains. The first king mentioned is Satarop, king of Abrenakh (in Greek), which is probably Aparshahr or present Khurasan, as a gloss in the *Bundahishn* says, and which was recognized by Sprengling, the first editor and translator of SKZ.[30] How far the domain of this ruler extended is unknown, but it is possible that he had been a vassal of the Kushans who later transferred his allegiance to

[27] On the confusion in Armenian history in this period cf. Chaumont, *Recherches* [ch. 8, n. 135], 56, and C. Toumanoff, "The Third Century Armenian Arsacids," *REA*, 6 (1969), 250–52, who claims it was Tiridates who was killed, and P. Asdourian, *Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Armenien und Rom* (Venice, 1911), 126, who upholds Chosroes. S T. Eremyan, in "K'aaba i Zardusht hūshardzani ardzanagrut'yan vkayūt-'yunner," *Patma-banasirakan handēs* (Historico-philological journal) 2 (33) (Erevan, 1966), 69, gives the following list of rulers: Chosroes, killed 237, Tiridates (245–252), Artavazdes (252–262), Hormizd-Ardashir son of Shapur I (262–272), Narseh (272–293). This reconstruction may be the best we have. The Sasanian rock relief near Salmas has been described as a memento of a Sasanian triumph over the Armenians in the last years of Ardashir's reign. Cf. W. Hinz, *Altiranische Funde und Forschungen* (Berlin, 1969), 135–39.

[28] For references see J. Teixidor, "The Kingdom of Adiabene and Hatra," *Berytus*, 17 (1967–68), 9–11. We now know that Ardashir took Hatra in the last year of his reign; cf A Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Ein griechischer Mani-Codex," *Zeitschrift fur Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 5 (Bonn, 1970), 120. See also A. Maricq, "Les dernières années de Hatra," *Syria*, 34 (1957), 291. The date of 12 April 240 for the fall of Hatra has been suggested by several scholars following the Cologne codex.

[29] Much has been written on the chronology, but we cannot date the death of Ardashir or the accession or coronation (?) of Shapur with certainty. Other than the references in note 22, see Maricq, "Res Gestae Divi Saporis" [ch. 9, n. 48], 344–48. Chronology remains one of the greatest problems of ancient Iranian history, and exact dates are virtually impossible to determine, so the indulgence of the reader is requested for not discussing in detail dates of Sasanian history.

[30] M. Sprengling, "Shahpuhr I, the Great. On the Kaabah of Zoroaster (KZ)," *AJSL*, 57 (Chicago, 1940), 399. The Parthian (*'prynk*) and MP (*'plynk*) forms presume a pronunciation Abarenag 'the upper (lands)' derived from 'the upper satrapies' of the Achaemenids and Seleucids. Word play with the (A)parni is possible but surely secondary.

Ardashir, although this is speculative. Then follow three rulers each with the name Ardashir, the kings of Merv, Kerman and the Sakas (Seistan), but the identities of these rulers are unknown, although the name 'Ardashir' would imply relationship to the family of the Sasanians, and Ṭabarī (I, 817) says after conquering Kerman Ardashir made one of his sons with the same name governor of the province.[31] This policy of placing members of the house of Sasan over various provinces indicates a centralization of authority in the new state. It would seem that the conquests of Ardashir in the east reached the normal and future boundaries of the Sasanian state with Merv the outpost in the northeast, Herat to the east, and Seistan forming the geographical limits to the south. Whether the rulers of the Kushans and Turan submitted to Ardashir, as Ṭabarī says, cannot be proved, but his wars with the Romans should have militated against further exploits in the east, while the Caspian provinces probably remained independent until Shapur's time.

As the veritable founder of the new state, Ardashir became the legendary originator of many later institutions, and the fount of much wisdom literature. The stories extolling the virtues of Ardashir, found in Arabic and Persian books, are on the whole apocryphal, but they follow the earlier pattern of Xenophon extolling the virtues of the founder of a dynasty; little, however, can be extracted from them as history.[32] Other than the stories he left behind, Ardashir also is said to have built a number of cities named after himself, the most noted of which were Ardashir Khwarreh, already noted, Weh Ardashir, one of the cities or suburbs of the capital Ctesiphon, and possibly also the city in Kerman with the same name, Rām or Rāmishn Ardashir in Fars, site unknown but near the coast, Rēw Ardashir or Rīshahr in Khuzistan, Hormizd Ardashir or Ahwaz, Bahman Ardashir or Prat de Maišān (Furat), and other towns less identifiable.[33] As noted the walled cities of Darabgird and Gur were circular and may have provided a prototype for later Baghdad.

In Shapur's inscription SKZ no titles are found in the list of notables of Papak's entourage, an indication of the local and limited nature of his rule, while under Ardashir we find in addition to local rulers and relatives, persons with titles, beginning with a *bidakhsh*, whom we met under the Parthians as a kind of second in command after the ruler. Another high officer, the *hazārbad*, probably was a military commander as his title implies. Then follow the heads of the great Parthian feudal families, the Varaz, Suren, Karen, and the lord of Andegan, probably some territory

[31] The fact that Ardashir, king of Kerman, is mentioned in SKZ in both the court of Ardashir and in that of Shapur, would tend to substantiate the information of Ṭabarī.

[32] See such literary books as the Arabic *Kitāb al-'iqd al-farīd* of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, with *Analytical Indices* by M. Shafī' (Calcutta, 1935), and the Persian *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt* of Muḥammad al-'Aufī, with an *Introduction* and *Indices* by M. Niẓāmu 'd-dīn (London, 1929). There are many stories in the *andarz* books 'mirrors for princes.' On the 'testament' of Ardashir, preserved in Arabic, see M. Grignaschi, "Quelques spécimens de la littérature Sassanide conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Istanbul," *JA* (1966), 1–142.

[33] Budh or Nudh Ardashir, also called Ḥazza, near Mosul, may be a confusion with the name of the province of Adiabene, Natunia, MP *nwtxštrkn* and Parthian *ntwšrkn* in SKZ, as well as of the ruler also called Ardashir in Shapur's time. Pasa Ardashir or Khaṭṭ on the coast opposite the island of Bahrain and Astarabad or Aspabad or Mahishtabad, also in Mesene, are other foundations attributed to Ardashir. The city of Hormizd Ardashir, however, may have received its name from Shapur I according to his inscription SKZ, line 5 of the Greek text. The names of cities changed too, making identifications difficult.

on the Fars side of the Gulf, and other notables including an Abursam, who holds an honorific Ardashir-farr 'glory of Ardashir.'[34] A notable called Geliman from Demavend is followed by another feudal lord of the Spahbad family with other officials such as the chief of the scribes, chief of protocol? (MP *'dnyk*), chief of books or archives? (MP *m'dknpt*), chief of the arsenal, a judge, chief of stables, master of the hunt, chief of provisions, and master of wine. The bureaucracy and the court was obviously in the process of formation under Ardashir and it would be expanded under Shapur.

SHAPUR'S WARS

Since the discovery of Shapur's Middle Persian inscription on the Ka'bah of Zoroaster at Naqsh-e Rustam in 1936, with subsequent finds of the Parthian and Greek versions plus an inscription of the priest Kerdir or Kartir, much has appeared about the early years of Shapur's reign.[35] In the first years of his reign Shapur was busy in his own domains, and it is possible that he subdued the inhabitants of Gilan and even the Khwarazmians before turning to the west, as the Chronicle of Arbela states.[36] The Romans, however, were the instigators of hostilities under the emperor Gordian III, who at first was successful in 243 retaking a number of places, including Nisibis, which had been lost earlier to the Sasanians. After this, the praetorian prefect, Timesitheus, who was the real leader of the army died and was replaced by Philip the Arab. The following year the Roman and Sasanian armies met in a great 'frontal' battle at the site of Massice, later Anbar, north of Ctesiphon, and Shapur claims to have won a great victory where Gordian lost his life, either in battle or through treachery by his own men. Philip was proclaimed emperor, and he shortly made peace with Shapur, paying him a large indemnity, after which the site was renamed Peroz-Shapur 'victorious (is) Shapur.' This was only the first campaign, and Roman sources do not dwell on this Roman defeat, nor on the second campaign mentioned

[34] Most scholars assume this is an honorific giving the current pronunciation of *khwarreh*, but Lukonin in "Zavoevaniya Sasanidov" [ch. 10, n. 39], 24, n. 24, suggest that all of the honorifics are really titles of satraps of cities, with the word 'satrap' omitted. This is unlikely for many reasons; first in the inscriptions titles are not omitted, and second, *-pry* would be written GDH for the city name, while we have no city called *-šnwmy* as proposed by Lukonin. Other problems in this sweeping assumption militate against it.

[35] The first publication was by M. Sprengling, "A New Pahlavi Inscription," *AJSL*, 53 (1937), 126–44, with subsequent articles in the same journal and his final publication *Third Century Iran, Sapor and Kartir* (Chicago, 1953). Also see the publications of Maricq, *op. cit.* [ch. 9, n. 48], 295–360, with references to his previous works and others by W. B. Henning, Frye and others. Esp. to be noted are articles by A. T. Olmstead, "The Mid-Third Century of the Christian Era," *Classical Philology*, 37 (1942), 241–62, and 338–402; J. Gagé, "Les Perses à Antioche," *Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg*, 31 (1953), 301–24; G. Pugliese Carratelli, "Res Gestae Divi Saporis," *La Parola del Passato*, 5 (Naples, 1947), 209–39, and 6 (1947), 356–62; and M. I. Rostovtzeff, "Res Gestae Divi Saporis and Dura," *Berytus*, 8 (1943), 17–60, with an addendum by A. R. Bellinger, "The Numismatic Evidence from Dura," 61–71. For further bibliography see G. Walser and T. Pekary, *Die Krise des römischen Reiches* (Berlin, 1962), and Gagé, *La Montée des Sasanides* [n. 26], 387–96.

[36] Sachau, *op. cit.* [ch. 8, n. 100], 64. Whether a campaign against the Kushans took place in the early years of Shapur's reign or not has been debated, but according to his inscription at least a large part of the Kushan domains had acknowledged his overlordship. We do not have any information about Shapur's campaigns in the east. Cf. M.-L. Chaumont, "Conquêtes Sassanides et Propagande Mazdéenne," *Historia*, 22 (1973), 664–70, for conquests in the west and the Caucasus.

by Shapur, which has caused much dispute on its dating, but the version of the inscription is followed here.

Shapur claimed that the Roman emperor again lied and did harm to Armenia, which gave a *casus belli* for the Persians to attack the Roman Empire, which he did destroying a Roman army of 60,000 at a place called Barbalissos deep in Roman territory on the Euphrates. Then Shapur invaded Syria and ravaged the country capturing many cities and towns including Dura Europos and Antioch. As noted, the date of this campaign has caused great controversy with partisans of 253 as well as those of 256, including some who suggest there were two captures of these sites. No literary source mentions the defeat of the Romans at the hands of Shapur, but we may at least say that Dura and probably also Antioch were both captured by Shapur in 256, while an earlier occupation of both in 253 by Shapur is uncertain.[37] Numismatic evidence, unfortunately, does not resolve the problem, even though in 253 the mint at Antioch seems to have ceased activity for a short time, and the mint apparently was transferred to Emesa. Whether this meant a capture of Antioch by Shapur cannot be determined, but the entire period of Valerian's reign was filled with fighting in the east. Unfortunately we do not know when Valerian came to Antioch, or even when he was captured by Shapur in the latter's third campaign. Several numismatists have reconstructed events in a different manner, concluding from the coins that Valerian came to the east in 256 and restored Antioch, which had been taken by Shapur in 254 or 255, while his capture by Shapur, who says in his inscription that he was besieging Edessa and Harran (Carrhae) when Valerian advanced against him with an army of 70,000 and in the battle he took Valerian prisoner with many of his chief officers, is to be dated at the end of 257 or 258.[38] Again, we have no definite information about the date of the third campaign and the capture of Valerian by Shapur but proposed dates have varied from 257 to 261, although 258 or 259 is more likely. In any case, when Shapur says he captured Valerian with his own hands, as well as the praetorian prefect, senators and others, he in effect admits that he took them by deceit which several authors (as Zosimus, I, 36) suggest. After this victory Shapur says he devastated Cappadocia as well as Syria. He took Antioch again and thirty-five other places, including Edessa, Caesarea and Konya, far into Anatolia.[39] Shapur was not able to hold his conquests, however, for the last of the 'caravan' cities, rich and powerful Palmyra, a client state of the Romans, took up arms against Shapur and not only made his retreat difficult, but the Palmyrene ruler Odainath even recaptured Nisibis and Harran (*Scriptores Hist. Aug.*, *sub* Valerian 4, Gallienus, 10; Agathias IV, 24, etc.). So

[37] I first proposed this in a review of W. Ensslin, *Zu den Kriegen des Sassaniden Schapur I* in *BO*, 8 (1951), 103–06, for Antioch, based on the tenure of Demetrianus, who succeeded to the patriarchate of Antioch in 253 and was led into captivity by Shapur to Khuzistan in the fourth year of his office. This position of 256 was strengthened by Honigmann/Maricq in *op. cit.* [ch. 9, n. 49], 131–42, who survey the sources and the different theories with the conclusion that Antioch was probably taken once in 256 and not in 253. See also long ago E. Sachau, "Vom Christentum in der Persis," *Sb.PAW*, 39 (1916), 6–7. Shapur in his inscription only mentions two captures of Antioch, this one and after the capture of Valerian.

[38] H. Mattingly, "The Palmyrene Princes," *NC* (1936), 91, 105; and K. J. Elks, "The Eastern Mints of Valerian and Gallienus," *NC* (1975), 96–7. According to Elks coins of Valerian continued to be minted until news of his death reached the Roman Empire. The dates are uncertain.

[39] On the identifications of the cities captured by Shapur in his campaigns, cf. Maricq, "Res Gestae" [ch. 9, n. 48], 80–85.

the heirs of the collapse of Roman rule in the east were not the Sasanians but the Palmyrenes, at least for a few years.

The campaigns of Shapur had delivered many captives into his hands and he settled them in Khuzistan and Fars provinces where traces of their activities exist to the present, such as the Band-e Kaisar or 'Caesar's dam' on the Karun River at Shustar, attributed to the war prisoners of Shapur by Ṭabarī (I, 827), while mosaics found in a palace at Bishapur also have been attributed to Roman prisoners.[40] The origins of Christianity in the southern part of Iran have been traced primarily to these war prisoners brought and settled by Shapur from his last two campaigns, and the town of Weh Antiok Shapur 'the better Antioch of Shapur,' later Gundeshapur, was settled almost exclusively by war prisoners.

The extent of Shapur's empire, as described in his inscription, has been the subject of much discussion, especially the eastern frontiers. Merv already has been mentioned under Ardashir, but there is no mention of Khwarazm or lands north of the Oxus in regard to his domains. Herat and all of the higher lands (presumably in the mountains to the east), plus Turan, Makran, Paradene and Sind are included in the empire, but the boundaries of these lands are not established. Turan is probably the same as Medieval Ṭūrān with its center in the Kalat area of Baluchistan, while Makran (with variant pronunciations) is the southern land to the sea. Paradene may be the land around present Quetta, although possibly including Qandahar, but this is quite uncertain since we only have the name mentioned in Ptolemy (VI, 21) and the Ravenna Geography (II, 1), as well as uncertain references to Paradas in Indian sources.[41] How much of the plains of the Indus basin submitted to Shapur is impossible to determine. Shapur wanted readers of his inscription to know how much of the Kushanshahr he included in his domains, for he writes that it included territory up to Peshawar and to Kashgar, Sogdiana and Tashkent, to use a later name. This probably means that the ruler of the western Kushan domains, which covered the mountains of Afghanistan and Bactria (north and south), submitted to Shapur. Whether Shapur himself campaigned in all of these districts is unlikely, since the Kushan ruler, once defeated, would have pledged the allegiance of all of his domain to the Sasanian monarch or paid tribute rather than fighting numerous battles in the heart of his kingdom. Who this ruler was is unknown.

In the Caucasus region other than the three principal lands of Armenia, Georgia and Albania (later Arran), Shapur mentioned Makhelonia or the modern land of Mingrelia, which was the land on the eastern corner of the Black Sea, and the easternmost land bordering the Caspian Sea, called Balasagan, extending north to the pass of Derbend. In the south, across the Gulf, Oman had submitted to Shapur. While it is not possible to determine whether some of these lands had submitted or paid tribute first to Ardashir, the fact that the former is called 'King of Kings of Iran' while his son carries the title 'King of Kings of Iran and An-Iran (non-Iran),' indicates that most of the outlying territories had submitted to Shapur. Just what was included in

[40] R. Ghirshman, *Bîchâpour, Les mosaiques sassanides*, 2 (Paris, 1956), 96, 101, 147. Many legends existed about the constructions of Roman prisoners.

[41] See references in B. N. Mukherjee, *The Pāradas* (Calcutta, 1972), esp. 46–48. Some of his identifications are most uncertain. There is little to add to the detailed comments of Maricq on the lands of Shapur's empire and the reader is referred to his publications.

Iran and in non-Iran, in the eyes of the Sasanians, is not easy to determine, for it was not a linguistic or ethnic criterion which determined which lands were part of Iran, although a religious one may apply to the inscriptions of Kerdir, at least in his eyes – where Zoroastrianism should be the dominant faith.[42] Although borders were to change in both west and east, the boundaries of the Sasanian Empire reached their maximum permanent expansion under Shapur and later changes or expansions were not lasting.

The court of Shapur was much larger with more of a bureaucracy than that of his father, and he placed his sons as rulers in various parts of the empire. The eldest, Hormizd-Ardashir, was made great king of Armenia; another son also called Shapur was king of Mesene; Narseh was named 'King of Sind, Seistan and Turan to the edge of the sea,' which meant the vast southeastern part of the empire extending over oases in a desolate area of few inhabitants with hardly much control from the center. Another son Bahram (MP: V/W Wahrahran) was king of Gilan. In addition, Ardashir the king of Kerman under his father continued in his post under Shapur, and another Ardashir, perhaps a brother of Shapur, ruled in Adiabene. New are the rulers of an outlying region – Hamazasp king of Georgia, and the satraps of the important oases of western Iran, another Ardashir satrap of the district and town of Qom (Godman), Varzin satrap of Isfahan (Gay), Tiyanik, satrap of Hamadan, Ardashir, satrap of Neriz, and Narseh, satrap of Rind, an unidentified site on the plateau. In the Mesopotamian lowlands we find the names of Friyek, satrap of Gundeshapur and Rastak, satrap of Weh Ardashir. These satraps obviously were not the only satraps in the empire, but probably only those who had close connections with Shapur either by relationship, by marriage, or by the importance of their family, rank or status. The position of the satrap had declined since Achaemenid times, but the title still meant one in authority in a district. We also see a continuation of the Parthian noble families and an empire welded together by the personalities of the first two Sasanian rulers, with their close relatives installed in various posts, rather than a more organized empire which we find at the time of the Arab conquest.

The inclusion of two persons with the title *bidakhsh* under Shapur may seem an anomaly, but we may suppose either a division of functions and authority in two persons at this time, or more likely one who had retired but continued to bear his title. Many new titles appear and several persons whom one might not expect to be listed together with the great lords of the realm, such as two eunuchs and Kerdir the *herbad* (*magus* in the Greek version). In the inscription then we find a mélange of individuals, some present because of their families, others because of their posts, while still others, such as the eunuchs and Kerdir, included presumably because of their closeness to Shapur or his immediate family. Further we find persons with honorifics, such as Ardashir-Shnum, Shapur-Shnum, 'Joy of-A. (or S.),' and Nev Shapur 'Brave-Shapur,' who may have received special honors because of feats of arms or some special service to the ruler.

Shapur, like his father, founded or renamed cities, and we can see an example of

[42] See Ph. Gignoux, "La liste des provinces de l'Erān dans les inscriptions de Šābuhr et de Kirdēr," *AHH*, 19 (1971), 84. He does not suggest a religious reason for the division between Iran and non-Iran, although this may have been one of the factors in such a division. Cultural and even strategic grounds may have existed in the minds of some Iranians for such a division.

both in his inscription – Gundeshapur and Peroz Shapur, while other towns mentioned by Arabic or Persian authors may be attributed to either Shapur I or II, such as Nishapur in Khurasan. Other cities were Shad Shapur 'Joyful is Shapur' or 'Ubulla in southern Iraq, Shapur Khwast near Khurramabad, Wuzurg Shapur or 'Ukbara in Iraq, as well as others, but none in the eastern part of the empire. These cities, like Darabgird and Gur in Fars, were surrounded with walls and were presumably well fortified, a feature of Sasanian city planning.

In his inscription, Shapur claims to serve and worship the gods and because he was the 'creature' or 'instrument' of the gods he was rewarded with his conquests and made famous and powerful. Whereas Darius only mentioned the aid of Ahura Mazdā in his inscriptions, Shapur speaks only of 'the gods,' and even Kerdir in his inscriptions refers to 'Ahura Mazdā and the gods,' indicating a belief of both Shapur and Kerdir probably in henotheism rather than polytheism, a continuation of the ancient world. But at this time great changes were at work in this part of the world. Christianity was in formation, soon to become the state religion of the Roman Empire; Judaism was also in the process of organization with the Babylonian Talmud, and a new religion, Manichaeism, was spreading in the east. Mani had a special relation with Shapur, who received and listened to him on several occasions.

According to Manichaean writings Shapur was impressed with Mani and aided him to spread his teachings in the empire, while the prophet followed Shapur for some time in his retinue.[43] Further, according to Manichaean sources, Mani converted a brother of Shapur called Mihrshah, governor of Mesene (presumably before another relative also called Shapur became king of Mesene) and then also Peroz, another brother of Shapur (or possibly the son of the king of Mesene according to Greek SKZ line 51), who became ruler of Khurasan or Aparshahr.[44] The new religion of Manichaeism apparently made great strides in the Sasanian Empire under Shapur, who did nothing to hinder its missionary activities. Fortunately much has been preserved of the writings of this gnostic religion in Arabic, Greek, Coptic, Parthian, Middle Persian and even in Chinese, so we have a better idea of the tenets and writings of this faith than of many others. Because of the eclecticism of this gnostic religion, its fundamental dualistic nature sometimes has been forgotten. Since Mani dedicated one of his principal writings, the *Shapurakan* (pronounced *Shābuhragān*), to the ruler, we may speculate that Shapur saw in Mani's faith a possible religion for a great empire which included Christians and even Buddhists as well as Zoroastrians. The patronage which Shapur extended to Mani is attested and we may presume some motive in the ruler's mind other than idle interest. The religious situation, however, was to change with the death of Shapur.

[43] H. Polotsky and A. Böhlig, *Kephalaia*, 1 (Stuttgart, 1940), 15 Mani says he left Babylonia to preach in India in the time of Ardashir, but he returned when the latter died and Shapur became king. On the whole, there is no reason to doubt information about Mani's encounters, as related in Manichaean sources. Claims of conversion of royal princes to Manichaeism, however, may be exaggerated.

[44] See L. J. Ort, *Mani* (Leiden, 1967), 68–69, for reference, and W. B. Henning, "Neue Materialen zur Geschichte des Manichäismus," *ZDMG* 90 (1935), 386, as well as G. Widengren, *Mani und der Manichaismus* (Stuttgart, 1961), 36. Arabic and Persian sources on Mani have been collected by A. Afshār Shīrāzī, *Mānī va Dīn-e Ō* (Tehran, 1335/1957), with a bibliography. See also the fine article by K. Rudolph, "Mani," in *Enzyklopadie: Die Großen der Weltgeschichte*, 2 (Zürich, 1972), 545–64, with an extensive bibliography.

By the time of the Sasanians religions in the Near East had ceased to be local, tribal or even ethnic matters, but pretensions to universality prevailed in those which flourished. Whereas Christianity and Manichaeism knew no ethnic boundaries, both Judaism and Zoroastrianism continued the ancient pattern of the Near East and became restricted to their respective peoples. Missionary efforts of Zoroastrians, such as the establishment of fire temples, mentioned by Kerdir in his inscriptions, were intended to bring Iranians back into the fold, or to build an 'orthodox' Zoroastrianism or 'state church' being created by Kerdir and his successors. Kerdir, however, flourished under the sons and grandson of Shapur, as we shall see.

Shapur's capture of Valerian was too great an event to go unrecorded for his subjects, so in addition to the inscription, the Sasanian monarch had a number of rock reliefs carved to commemorate this also in his homeland of Fars, three in the river gorge by the city of Bishapur and one at Naqsh-e Rustam.[45] The rock-carved reliefs were intended to preserve for posterity the great feats of Shapur, and they continued the stone carving tradition of the Achaemenids, also in Fars. The identification of the Roman figures on the reliefs has caused great controversies as has the attribution of other damaged rock reliefs of investiture scenes, but the intention of the victory reliefs is the same in all – to show in a symbolic form the successes of Shapur against the Romans with the crowning achievement, unique in history, the capture of the emperor Valerian, who died in captivity. There is no echo in either the reliefs or in Iranian sources of any defeats at the hands of the Palmyrenes, for the expeditions of Shapur to the west reaped only fame and booty without either permanent or even prolonged conquest of lands in Syria or Asia Minor, as Zosimus (I, 27) says. If the Romans needed any further proof that they were now dealing with a new and dynamic rival in the east, the unprecedented capture of Valerian assured them of many struggles to come. It is difficult if not impossible to assess the ambitions of Shapur, if they were to re-establish a great Iranian empire extending to the Mediterranean, but his actions indicate he was more concerned to impress his enemies, as well as his subjects, and to obtain booty rather than to reconstruct anything similar to the Achaemenid Empire. Yet the use of Greek as one language on his victory inscription of SKZ and his use of war prisoners not only in his engineering and building projects, but in artistic creations, such as the floor mosaics in his palace at Bishapur, his interest in Mani, and other items, indicate a cosmopolitan if not an oecumenical outlook of the ruler.[46] After his capture of Valerian Shapur ruled for

[45] For photographs of the three Bishapur reliefs see G. Herrmann, *The Sasanian Rock Reliefs at Bishapur*, Iranische Denkmäler 9 and foll. (Berlin, 1980). The interpretation of the figures in various reliefs has varied from symbolic representations to exact identifications. For example, the standing Roman receiving a wreath from Shapur on a relief at Bishapur and on the relief at Naqsh-e Rustam has been identified with a Syrian called Mariades or Cyriades who supposedly delivered Antioch to Shapur and was rewarded by being proclaimed emperor by Shapur. For literature see B. C. Macdermot, "Roman Emperors in the Sassanian Reliefs," *Journal of Roman Studies*, 44 (1954), 76–80, and R. Göbl, *Der Triumph des Sasaniden Šahpuhr über die Kaiser Gordianus, Philippus und Valerianus, Österreichische Akad. d. Wiss.*, Denkschriften 116 (Vienna, 1974), 7–31. The relief at Darabgird was carved earlier than the Valerian reliefs.

[46] On the Bishapur mosaics see Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, 2 [n. 40], 89–148 and 177–183. The *Dēnkart* says that Shapur collected scientific texts from everywhere to add to the Avesta, which is not to be taken literally, but indicates the ruler's interest in knowledge; trans. in Zaehner, *op. cit.* [ch. 3, n. 40], 8 (with text).

more than a decade, but nothing is known about the last years of his life, while the date of his death is just as controversial as his year of accession, and the year of death varies from 270 to 273, but more likely is the former year.[47] The principle of primogeniture in succession was followed here and Hormizd-Ardashir the eldest son of Shapur became ruler although at the beginning of the Sasanian period father–eldest son succession seems to have been valid only if the son was an adult and able to command respect. With the sons of Shapur, however, the question of succession was contested as we shall see.

In passing it should be noted that numismatics, which played such an important role in the reconstruction of the history of the east from Alexander to the Sasanians, is much less vital for our knowledge of Sasanian history, and numismatists have concentrated more on mint sites as determined by Middle Persian abbreviations on coins, or iconographic features such as the crowns of the rulers. The significance or symbolism of various crowns worn by the Sasanian rulers on coins, reliefs, seals, or silver plates has generated a prodigious literature and many controversies, but it seems clear now that special crowns, or crowns for investiture and other purposes, complicate the traditional assumption of one crown per ruler by which he was invariably identified.[48] Shortly after Ardashir became ruler of all of Iran, he changed his silver coinage from the thick 'Parthian' and 'Persis' type to a new flat *drachm* which remained the model for all later Sasanian coins. A reduction in weight also took place, and from the earliest coins of Ardashir, with his bust facing the left, all succeeding coins of Sasanian kings have the busts of the ruler facing to the right except some comparatively rare issues showing a bust *en face*, notably Chosroes II, while several issues of Hormizd II have the bust facing left, an enigma since most numismatists have considered the bust facing left a sign of a vassal relationship to a greater ruler.[49] In any case, Sasanian *drachms* are distinctive in their flatness with a weight generally of about four grams, while towards the end of the dynasty the mean weight drops to three and a half or even less, such that generally speaking the weight value of the *drachm* was more under Ardashir than under Chosroes II, while in the Islamic period the weight drops further.

The quality or fineness of the silver in the Sasanian issues remained high, and periods of debasement were few and short-lived. A cogent theory for the maintenance of a high standard over such a long period has been proposed that the Sasanians always had an adequate supply of silver and they upheld the value of their silver currency as an international currency, especially for the steppes of South Russia

[47] In the west Shapur apparently was unsuccessful against the Palmyrenes if we place credence in the titles assumed by Wahballat son of Zenobia, including *Adiabenicus maximus*; cf. Ensslin, *op. cit* [n. 37], 88. F. Müller, *Studien über Zenobia und Palmyra* (Kirchhain N.-L., 1902), 61 pp. examines Arabic sources on Zenobia, but throws no light on the Persians.

[48] The classical account for crowns is K. Erdmann, "Die Entwicklung der sāsānischen Krone," *Ars Islamica*, 15–16 (Ann Arbor, 1951), 87–123. Cf. Göbl, *op. cit.* [n. 45], 33–38, with other bibliography. On crowns and coins see also V. Lukonin, *Iran v epokhu pervykh Sasanidov* (Leningrad, 1961) and his *Kultura Sasanidskogo Irana* (Moscow, 1969).

[49] Cf. in Göbl, *Sasanidische Numismatik* [*supra*, Literature], and H. Simon, "Die sāsānidischen Münzen des Fundes von Babylon," *IA* Varia 1976, 12 (1977), 149–337, and for the mints esp. M Mitchener, "The Mint Organization of the Sassanian Empire," *Numismatic Circular*, 86 (London, 1978), 3 parts.

and Central Asia, for Sasanian trade with the north was important.[50] Although a few series are notably debased, as in a short period of the reign of Shapur I, the debasement may have been the result of military operations or special crises, and the continuous high quality of the coinage reflects an economic stability in the Sasanian Empire. Copper or local coins unfortunately have been little studied, usually because they are much more defaced than silver coins found in excavations and few if any people collect them, so the museums of the world have very few. Because they are local they could give us perhaps more information than more standardized silver coins. Needless to say, the Sasanians, as the Parthians, only minted silver, and the rare gold coins were commemorative issues of a few rulers not meant to circulate. More on economic matters will be discussed below.

THE SUCCESSORS OF SHAPUR

The eldest son of Shapur, Hormizd-Ardashir, ruled about a year, and we know nothing of his reign except that he founded the city of Ram Hormizd or Ramuz and a brief note in Tha'ālibī that he fought against the Hephthalites or Sogdiana, which is a temporal anomaly, hence hardly to be accepted. He in turn was succeeded by his brother Varahran or Bahram I, who had been king of Gilan under his father.

With the accession of Bahram at least one change occurred in the religious policy of the empire, and this seems to have been a new intolerance towards religions other than Zoroastrianism, for it was in the reign of Bahram that Kerdir (Kartir) became powerful, and Mani was executed, probably at the end of the king's reign rather than the beginning, c. 276. Kerdir had been granted a new title by Hormizd-Ardashir which continued to exist after the death of Kerdir, and this was '*mobad* of Ahura Mazdā,' probably more an honorific than an office, at least at the beginning. In the time of Bahram I Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, was defeated by the emperor Aurelian and brought to Rome in captivity. This not only ended Palmyra but was the final twilight of the caravan cities of the desert to the Gulf. Henceforth both Romans and Sasanians exercised central control over their frontiers. Bahram I was not honored as were the two other sons of Shapur, Hormizd I and Narseh, with a fire established in his name, as stated in the inscription SKZ, and this may indicate that Bahram's mother was a lesser queen and not the mother of Hormizd-Ardashir and Narseh, but we do not know. Lukonin has reconstructed the course of succession after Hormizd-Ardashir as the result of the intrigues of Kerdir.[51] According to him Bahram I was older than Narseh, but the latter considered himself more eligible for the throne, but the party of Kerdir was successful in placing their candidate on the throne. Further, he suggests that the future Bahram II was not yet born when Shapur made his SKZ inscription, since he is not mentioned in the inscription. Bahram II then was still

[50] See J. L. Bachrach and A. A. Gordus, "The purity of Sasanian silver coins: an introduction," *JAOS*, 92 (1972), 283, with bibliography and R. Frye, "Byzantine and Sasanian Trade Relations with Northeastern Russia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26 (Washington, DC, 1972), 265–69.

[51] V. G. Lukonin, "Varakhran i Narse," *VDI*, 1 (1964), 48–63, and again in *Iran v III veke* (Moscow, 1979), 59–73, with a long English summary and a survey of the rock reliefs. I am not sure whether Lukonin is correct in saying that 'Zoroastrian law' favored the rights of Narseh to the throne after Hormizd-Ardashir.

young in his teens when his father died in 276. He was married, however, to Shapurdukhtak, daughter of Shapur king of Mesene and shortly before his father's death Bahram II was made king of Seistan and the lands to the east, while Narseh, who had held this position, was moved to Armenia. Kerdir became even more powerful as the mentor of the young Bahram II, and as he says in his inscriptions, he received the title 'soul savior of Bahram' from the king and further honors, the rank of noble (*wuzurg*), supreme judge of the empire and overlord of the dynastic shrine at Istakhr, master of rituals at the Anahita temple.[52]

Kerdir had carved the story of his career in four places, two full texts of the inscription on Naqsh-e Rustam and at Sar Meshhed, the former to the right of Shapur's Valerian relief and the latter above a relief showing Bahram II killing a lion with a sword. The other two are a long abbreviation of the inscription, an *apologia pro vita sua*, on KKZ and an even shorter version at Naqsh-e Rajab in Fars, beside his bust. Kerdir did not surpass his protegé, for Bahram II had reliefs showing himself alone at Guyum and at Barm-e Dilak or with courtiers at Naqsh-e Rustam, Naqsh-e Bahram at the village of Sarab Bahram near Fahliyan in Fars, and a victory relief at Bishapur. In addition two other contemporary reliefs, one also at Barm-e Dilak and the other at Tang-e Qandil near Bishapur, seemingly portray nobles instead of a ruler, for the only time in Sasanian history.[53] The proliferation of rock reliefs and the known influence of Kerdir would tend to indicate an attempt by the nobility and clergy to justify changes in policies from the reigns of Shapur and Hormizd-Ardashir. These changes were a strengthening of local forces and the consolidation of the power of the church, the details of both of which escape us.[54] A symptom of the loss by the ruler of power or prestige in the court was the revolt in the east by Hormizd, either a brother of Bahram II as Classical sources claim, or much more likely his cousin. Hormizd may well have been the son of the late king Shapur of Mesene and his wife Shapurdukhtak, while he must have replaced Narseh as ruler of Seistan and lands to the east and south.[55] An analysis of coins from the reign of Bahram II has revealed that Hormizd struck coins in his own name in the eastern part of the empire when he revolted against Bahram, the end date of which rebellion is at the end of Bahram's reign c.

[52] See M.-L. Chaumont, "Le culte d'Anāhītā à Stakhr et les premiers Sassanides," *RHR* (1958), 154–75.

[53] For a bibliography of the reliefs see L. Vanden Berghe, *Bibliographie analytique* [*supra*, index], under the relevant names. Lukonin, *op. cit.* [n. 51], 28–34, suggests that both the main relief at Barm-e Dilak and that at Tang-e Qandil show Shapurdukhtak widow of Bahram II investing Ardashir *hazarbad* with authority to rule as regent for young Bahram III in an interval between the death of Bahram II and the accession of his son. His reading of the inscription (4 lines, not 2) as *ptkly ZNH 'rthštr p'pkn ḥzlpty* W *b'mbyšn'* [*n*] 'This is the figure of Ardashir son of Papak the *hazārbad* (chiliarch) and the queen of queens,' is a dubious reconstruction of the last words not conforming to the traces on the stone. The name of the queen normally also would not be omitted. G. Gropp's reconstruction as Ardashir-Anahid, or as *'n'wld* the *nlpty'* only shows the refusal to admit that the traces on the stone are obliterated, and fantasy then becomes unbridled in the reconstruction.

[54] Mas'ūdī, *Les prairies d'or*, trans. by C. Pellat, 1 (Paris, 1962), 222, says that Bahram II was pleasure-loving and left affairs to his subordinates. An echo of Kerdir is also found in the *mobad* who gave counsel to the king to change his ways, which he did. A similar account is found in Tha'ālibī, ed. by Zotenberg, *op. cit.* [n. 14], 504–06. These stories may reflect the lack of authority in Bahram II.

[55] Lukonin, *op. cit.* [n. 51], 59. Mamertinus, *Panegyrici* (XI, 17, 2), calls Hormizd the younger brother of Bahram. On this see W. Ensslin, "Zur Ostpolitik des Kaisers Diokletian," *Sb. der Bayer. Akad. der Wiss.* (Munich, 1942), 9.

290–291.[56] The revolt in the east, however, may have lasted a number of years if we examine Classical sources, for Agathias (IV, 24, 8) tells of Bahram's war against the people of Seistan while Zonaras (XII, 30) and Vopiscus (*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Carus, VIII, 2) suggest that the military success of the Romans under emperor Carus in advancing to the gates of Ctesiphon in 283 was the result of problems which Bahram had in the east, presumably already the revolt of Hormizd.[57] Only the death of Carus brought the retreat of the Romans and a respite to Bahram. Events are unclear, but the Sasanians seem to have reoccupied territory in Mesopotamia which the Romans had occupied, but whether they added any land to the realm of Bahram is unknown. The situation changed, however, with the accession of Diocletian as Roman emperor, and again the Romans took the initiative.

Bahram with a revolt in the east apparently was in no position to face the Romans, so he sent an embassy with presents to Diocletian and peace was arranged.[58] Just how far a rectification of frontiers went we do not know, but Diocletian was determined to build a stable frontier in the east by extending and completing the system of *limes*, together with a settlement in Armenia, and it is probably at this time that an Arsacid prince called Tiridates was taken from his Roman exile and placed on the throne of western Armenia, while Narseh ruled in the eastern part of Armenia, but the dates and events of the history of Armenia in this period are most uncertain.[59] In Iran after the defeat of Hormizd in the east and most probably his execution, Bahram made his own young son king of Seistan in place of Hormizd. This event apparently took place only a few years before Bahram's death, and one may assume that he wished to have his young son succeed him on the throne, as could be inferred from some of the coins struck by Bahram II with the bust of his son on them together with the king. Shapur I, it is conceivable, may have intended that Narseh should succeed to the throne after Hormizd-Ardashir. As it happened, the latter had only a short reign and without a mature son. In his inscription SKZ Shapur mentions especially the fires endowed for his daughter, and for his sons Hormizd-Ardashir, Shapur king of Mesene, and Narseh king of Seistan, but not for Bahram (M.P. lines 18–20), although later Bahram king of Gilan is mentioned as one of those in whose name sacrifices to the fires are made. Narseh must have blamed Bahram I for the usurpation of the throne which was his right, for Narseh put his name in the place of the name of Bahram I on an inscription and relief of Bahram I at Bishapur, although he acquiesced in the rule of Bahram I and II. For an account of succeeding events we rely on the largest Sasanian inscription in

[56] Lukonin, *op. cit.* [n. 51], 53; Claudius Mamertinus (*Panegyr.* III, 17) in Collection G. Budé (Paris, 1949), 65, says the Gils, Bactrians (Kushans) and Sakas supported the revolt of Hormizd against his brother. That Bahram II had other troubles is suggested by the Chronicle of Arbela, trans. by Sachau, *op. cit.* [ch. 8, n. 100], 66, that the *mobad* of Adiabene revolted against the king and maintained his independence for a long period.

[57] Lukonin, *op. cit.* [n. 51], 59–60, suggests that there were two revolts, an early revolt of Shapur the king of Mesene, possibly in collaboration with the Romans, and then a later revolt of Hormizd, son of the king of Mesene in the east. He bases this on a rock relief of Bahram II at Bishapur showing Arabs (a people of Mesene) bringing tribute. This is an interesting hypothesis but no more.

[58] Reported in Mamertinus; cf. Ensslin, *op. cit.* [n. 55], 9, and regarding Armenia see Toumanoff, *op. cit.* [n. 27], 259–63; and Chaumont, *Recherches* [ch. 8, n. 135], 94–111.

[59] The confused succession in Armenia at this period is discussed by Toumanoff, *op. cit.* [n. 27], 202–08; and by Chaumont, *op. cit.* [ch. 8, n. 135], 110–29. One problem is either one King Tiridates or two, unresolved.

two languages, Middle Persian and Parthian, carved by Narseh at Paikuli, a site on a road from Armenia to Ctesiphon, north of present-day Khanaqin, where the foothills of the Iranian plateau meet the plains of Iraq. Sadly the inscription has many lacunae.[60]

Narseh tells us he erected this monument (*plky*) where the nobles and officials of the empire met him coming from Armenia to proclaim him ruler. Then he proceeds in great detail, and unfortunately with many gaps, to describe how one of the nobles called Vahunam had seized the crown (*dydymy*) without authorization and had given it to Bahram III, king of Seistan. Other nobles objected; some were killed, and they decided to revolt and sent a message to Narseh to come from Armenia to Babylonia (Asuristan) to be acclaimed. A long list of the notables who met Narseh is interesting for some of the leading officials such as Shapur the collector of taxes (MP *ḥlgwpt*, Parth, *hrkpty*), Papak the *bidakhsh*, Ardashir the *hazārbad* and Rakhsh the army chief joined with members of great feudal families, and even Kerdir the priest to support Narseh. Such a delegation, including Kerdir who had been the 'soul-savior' of Bahram II, implies that Vahunam had really usurped power and only turned to Bahram, king of Seistan, for legitimacy, probably intending to use him as a puppet. This usurpation offended the officials and noble families. Narseh came from Armenia to Iranshahr, an indication that Armenia was not at this time considered part of Iran. There was a face to face battle which only separated the two opposing sides now prepared for war. Apparently the actions of Vahunam had offended many including Kerdir, who had been the '*eminence gris*' of Bahram II, but who now came with others to offer allegiance to Narseh. The king of Mesene Aturfarnbag and forces in Khuzistan opposed Narseh, but the details of messages sent and the movement of forces are unclear because of large gaps in the inscription. Finally Narseh was victorious, and Vahunam was captured and cruelly executed and presumably Bahram, the king of Seistan, as well, although it is not expressly stated. Then Narseh justifies his actions, and in an obscure passage with many lacunae, he recalls how his grandfather Ardashir succeeded his brother Shapur to the rule, presumably a parallel to Narseh's right to rule. Reference to the rule given to the family of the Sasanians by the gods implies that Vahunam's action was seen as a threat to the dynasty. Finally Narseh mentions the various petty rulers on the frontiers and in Iraq who acknowledged his right to the throne and came or sent ambassadors, which seems to be the explanation of the last mutilated passages rather than a list of rulers who submitted to him or paid him fealty, which has been the usual interpretation of the end of the inscription.[61] The

[60] The many stone blocks of the site called Paikuli were first visited by H. Rawlinson in 1836, and the first attempted decipherment was made by E. Thomas, in "Sassanian Inscriptions," *JRAS*, 3 (1868), 241–96, with a note on the site by Rawlinson, 296–300. The sumptuous edition of E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1924) was incomplete, for he found new blocks on succeeding visits to the site. Other articles include R. Frye, "Remarks on the Paikuli and Sar Mašhad Inscriptions," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 20 (1957), 202–08, with further references to the valuable article of W. Henning and others. The new edition of Paikuli by H. Humbach and P. O. Skjaervø (Wiesbaden, 1978–) in 2 vols is a definitive edition, but some of the readings are questionable. I had been commissioned by the late Fuad Safar and the Department of Antiquities of Iraq to go to Paikuli, to make latex squeezes of all the blocks and report on the possibility of reconstructing the monument. Kurdish rebellions and other difficulties made this project unrealizable.

[61] In the reconstruction of the inscription by Humbach and Skjaervø, *op. cit.* [n. 60], 14–15, the

inscription thus is not a paeon of praise to Narseh, enumerating the lands he ruled and the rulers subject to him or the members of his court, as was the inscription SKZ, but it is an apologia for his actions which led to his assumption of the throne. The kings and 'lords' who sent ambassadors, gifts, or came to his court are a motley group, some of whom cannot be identified, but others are outlying kings in the east such as the Kushan king, unfortunately unnamed but indicating though not proving the absence of a royal Sasanian governor of the Kushan realm. The king of the Khwarazmians too was hardly a subject of Narseh, and one wonders if the kings of Paradene (the Quetta area?), Turan and Makran had not loosened the bonds which had attached their realms to Shapur's empire. Some kings are mentioned by personal name rather than by the realm they ruled, and a Tirdat king may be the Armenian king of this time whom the Romans had restored, while ʿAmr king of the Lakhmids is the earliest mention of those Arabs; previously their early dating was only surmised.[62] Many of the kings and 'lords' in the north and west cannot be read or identified, but what conclusion may one draw from the inscription as to the state of the empire?

First, the empire had been centralized as far as the core of the Iranian plateau and the area around Ctesiphon were concerned, but the control or domination of lands of non-Iran by the Sasanians, claimed by Shapur in SKZ, had relaxed considerably because of the strength of the local rulers and the weakness of the Bahrams. Second, the internal allegiance to Narseh was not united or overly strong, which probably made the task of ruling for the aged son of Shapur more difficult than for a younger, more vigorous ruler. Finally, to conciliate some of his subjects Narseh had to follow policies of tolerance in religious as well as political realms. The Manichaeans, it seems, were not only tolerated but even heard as in the time of Shapur, and if we may credit Manichaean Coptic sources, one of the local kings, called ʿAmr in the Paikuli inscription, was a patron of the Manichaeans who introduced a leader of the Manichaean community Innaios to King Narseh, who then gave freedom from persecution to adherents of the religion.[63] This return to policies of Shapur was not a sign of strength, although Narseh sought to enlarge his domains and recover lands lost

bottom of row F of blocks of the MP version and F' of the Parthian is shown as an ornamental band or indentation on the monument. Actually, the lower parts of the stones of these rows are uninscribed, thus indicating a gap in the inscription equivalent to several lines. I had originally postulated two inscriptions by Narseh, the upper giving an account of events and the lower a justification of his actions plus the list of lords who acknowledged his accession. Actually, the contents of the two inscriptions, upper and lower, are much the same, so the reason for the break is enigmatic. Lukonin's reconstruction of the central part of the inscription (*op. cit.* [n. 51], 65–67) takes liberties with the text but in the general sense is correct, though one must be careful in details to distinguish between what is on the stone and what is in Lukonin's imagination, even though the latter be convincing. The inscription contains many problems but the general sense is clear.

[62] By T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber* (Ṭabarī), 25, n. 1. The ʿAmr, king of Apgarids in the inscription, is probably a descendant of the Abgar kings of Edessa who fled from Edessa after the Romans made it part of their provincial system in 244. Further information is lacking. Whether the ʿAmr King of the Lakhmids of the inscription is the same as ʿAmr b. ʿAdī son of the founder of al-Hira, chief city of the Lakhmids, is unknown.

[63] The Coptic work is unpublished and may have been lost in World War II. Cf. C. Schmidt und H. J. Polotsky, "Ein Mani-Fund aus Ägypten," *SbPAW* (Berlin, 1933), 28, and W. Seston, "Le roi Narsès, les Arabes et le Manichéisme," *Syria*, 19 (1939), 229. On King ʿAmr see A. Dietrich, "Geschichte Arabiens vor dem Islam," in *Orientalische Geschichte von Kyros bis Mohammed*, *HO* (1966), 321–22.

by his predecessors. Armenia, ruled by an Arsacid king, became the first object of his arms and at first the Sasanians were successful, but Galerius Caesar under the Augustus Diocletian, after initial reverses, not only defeated Narseh but captured many of his family as well as much booty, according to Zonaras (XII, 31), Eutropius (IX, 25) and others. Affairs in Mesopotamia likewise, while at first favorable to Iran, then went against Narseh who sued for peace. The peace treaty of Nisibis in 298 reported by one author, Petrus Patricius (frgs. 13–14), gives details, and the territorial result was a loss by Iran, the Tigris becoming the border between the two empires, while Armenia gained territory in Media, and the united country passed from the Iranian to the Roman sphere of influence with the conversion of King Tirdat (probably IV) to Christianity about 303. Armenia remained tied to the Romans, especially after Constantine.[64]

It is difficult to believe some of the stories of aphorisms told about Sasanian kings in various Arabic books, in Firdosi's epic and other Persian works, but sometimes, usually dimly in them, one may suspect kernels of truth. For example, one source Tha'ālibī (*Histoire*, 510) says that Narseh did not visit fire temples during his reign, perhaps an indication of his tolerance of religions, as opposed to the Bahrams. Narseh was succeeded by his son Hormizd II (302–309), about whose reign nothing is known except that he had several sons, but the nobility was sufficiently powerful to decide who his successor should be. At the death of Hormizd it seems one of his sons called Adurnarseh ascended the throne, but quickly lost it. Although events are obscure, we hear of one son Hormizd (called Hormisda by Zosimus [II, 27]), who fled to the Romans and later took part in their campaigns against the Sasanians, as well as another son Shapur who became king of Seistan according to an inscription, with perhaps another son called Ardashir, king of Adiabene, all of which leads one to ask why one of them did not ascend the throne.[65] The power of the local nobility and clergy had been increasing probably since the time of Bahram II, and it culminated in a decision to give the crown to an unborn child who became Shapur II, but who as an adult revived the spirit of Shapur I and instituted changes in the empire.[66]

SHAPUR II AND A SASANIAN REVIVAL

The long reign of Shapur may be divided into the sixteen or so years of his childhood, and the rest of his long reign during which he spent his energy in consolidating central power and in wars in both east and west. We are better informed about the activities of Shapur II than of other rulers because of his wars with the Romans, reported by Ammianus Marcellinus, Zosimus, and Sozomenus, as well as Arabic and

[64] On the Roman war and the peace see W Ensslin, "Zur Ostpolitik des Kaisers Diokletian," *op. cit.* [n 55], 35–54. The *limes* perfected by Diocletian provided a strong deterrent to Sasanian aggression.

[65] On the sources for the equivocal accounts of events see T. Nöldeke's translation of Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, 69, note 2; and for the inscription in Persepolis see R. Frye, "The Persepolis Middle Persian Inscriptions from the time of Shapur II," *Acta Orientalia*, 30 (Copenhagen, 1966), 83–93. On Ardashir, brother of Shapur II, and king of Adiabene, see G. Wiessner, *Zur Martyrerüberlieferung aus der Christenverfolgung Schapurs II* (Göttingen, 1967), 206.

[66] On the story of placing the royal diadem on the womb of his mother before Shapur II was born, see Agathias (IV, 26), Ṭabarī and others.

Persian accounts, and a new group of sources, the Syriac acts of the Christian martyrs, yet all of them contain only fragmentary information about internal events in Iran in the time of Shapur II. From the early period of his youth we hear nothing save echoes of raids of Arab bedouin into Sasanian territory. Unfortunately in many Arabic and Persian accounts exploits of the first and second Shapur are mixed or repeated making the establishment of any facts very difficult. There is no reason, however, to doubt the report of the Tha'ālibī, Mas'ūdī, Ṭabarī and other later authors that Shapur's early campaigns were against the Arabs who had invaded Iraq, followed by a campaign by sea, probably with a fleet which set out from the area of Islamic Siraf on the east side of the Gulf, across the water to Bahrain, which was the mainland opposite the island of the present name.[67] Probably as a result of the expeditions against the Arabs, Shapur began the construction of long walls along the western cultivated areas of Iraq as a defense against the marauding bedouin, and the model for them may have come from the Roman *limes* on the other side of the Syrian desert.[68] In any event, the Sasanian forces were successful against the Arabs, but no information exists about the establishment or continuation of Sasanian rule in Arabia at this period.

The adoption of Christianity as the state religion in the Roman Empire and the transfer of the capital from Rome to Constantinople did not have immediate repercussions or changes in the Sasanian realm, for one may presume some persecution of Christians already during the reign of Bahram II, if we may believe the inscriptions of Kerdir.[69] We do not hear of systematic persecutions of Christians early in the Sasanian Empire, but the Christian church organization had not been centralized, and no centrally dictated pogroms were reported in any sources. With the election of a certain Papa as bishop of Seleucia-Ctesiphon, the first time we learn of this post, about the time of Shapur's birth, the Christians of the Sasanian Empire acquired a chief and a much more centralized organization than previously. Contacts between Christian clerics in the east and west increased, which cannot have passed unnoticed by officials of the government or the Zoroastrian church. The conversion of first the Armenian and then the Roman ruler to Christianity also cannot have quieted Sasanian fears of a possible disloyalty to the crown of their Christian subjects.

[67] Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, 517–21, Tabarī, trans. Noeldeke, 55–58, Mas'ūdī, trans. Pellat, 224–26 The epithet 'piercer of shoulders' (*dhu'l-aktāf*) given him in Arabic sources does seem to refer to his punishment of Arab captives as Christensen, *L'Iran, op. cit*, 235, argued. Archaeologists maintain that the raids of the Arabs were the result of the lowering of the water-table in eastern Arabia rather than the weakness of the Sasanians under a child See D. Whitehouse and A. Williamson, "Sasanian Maritime Trade," *Iran*, 11 (1973), 32

[68] Cf. Frye, "The Sasanian System of Walls for Defense," in M. Rosen-Ayalon, ed., *Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet* (Jerusalem, 1977), 8–11, with references to sources Of interest is the passage in *Bundahishn* (XXXIII, 16) which says, "In the reign of Shapur son of Hormizd, the Arabs (Tajiks) came and seized the banks of the river Karun (Ulay) and remained there many years pillaging and attacking until Shapur became of age and drove away those Arabs and took the land from them. He killed many rulers of the Arabs and scattered many of them."

[69] KKZ, lines 9-5 "And Jews, Buddhists, Hindus, Nazarenes, Christians, Mandaeans (?) and Manichaeans were smitten" (*yhwdy W šmny W blmny W n'zl'y W klstyd'n W mktky W zndyky MḤYTN YḤWWNd*) where śraman and brahmin present no problems, whereas the following words and their identifications do. Cf. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia*, 2nd ed. (London, 1976), 266. My identification of *mktky* as 'Mandaeans' or 'baptists' in Iraq is supported by further arguments in K Rudolph, "Antike Baptisten," *Sb. der Sächsischen Akademie der Wiss.*, 121 (Berlin, 1981), 32, note 42.

Whether the Armenian king and Constantine had concluded a treaty as several Armenian sources report is uncertain, but it would not be unexpected.[70] With the death of Constantine (337) and Tirdat, about the same time, both realms lost strong rulers and a long period of peace ended. Shapur II took advantage of the disarray in both realms, and the opposition of some Armenian nobles to their king, with the adoption of Christianity as their religion, to open hostilities in 337–338 when Constantius succeeded his father, but only as ruler of the eastern part of the Roman Empire. In Armenia, however, the pro-Persian party of the nobility secured the upper hand and Chosroes (Armen. Khosrov), son of Tirdat, fled to Roman territory. In 338–339 as a result, Constantius led a force into Armenia and reinstated Chosroes on the throne. Other actions such as the unsuccessful siege of Nisibis by Shapur and several battles led to no result, but at least peace without a treaty prevailed for a number of years, during which it seems Shapur was busy with conquests in the east. The fortune of the Persians had not fallen in the west, however, for in Armenia pro-Sasanian and anti-Christian nobles were by no means quiet, and the next ruler Tiran, son of Chosroes, who came to the throne about 342, sought to compromise and balance himself between the Romans and Persians. If we follow the orations of Libanius and Julian, we see there was no real peace between the two empires, but constant skirmishing, including another unsuccessful siege of Nisibis by Shapur in 346.

The first large scale and centrally ordered persecution of Christians began after the first rebuff of Shapur at the walls of Nisibis in 338. Probably his initial reason for the persecution was political, but the Zoroastrian clergy seem to have changed the pogrom from political to religious dimensions.[71] The patriarch of the whole church, bishop Simon, successor of Papa at Ctesiphon, fell victim to the persecution, and throughout the reign of Shapur there was no relaxation of the persecutions, related in the acts of the martyrs. The persecutions in Iran probably strengthened the resolve of anti-Christian Armenians, and in both kingdoms Christians suffered. From the acts of the martyrs interesting details of life in Sasanian Iran may be gathered, but it must be remembered that Christians were a small group at this time in the Sasanian Empire, principally concentrated in Adiabene in northern Iraq and in Khuzistan where war prisoners had been settled by Shapur II. The influence of the persecutions on the larger course of events in Sasanian history was minimal.

In 350 Constantius left the east to meet contenders for the purple in the west, and this induced Shapur to try his luck again before Nisibis, but a spirited defense of the city caused Shapur to abandon the siege after three months. For the first time we hear of troubles or invasions of nomads in the east which may have been a factor in his raising of the siege (Zonaras XIII, 7, Sachau, *Chronicle of Arbela*, 80). About the same time the Armenian king Tiran, who had played a double game between Romans and Persians, was seized by Shapur and lost his life, but Arsaces (Armen. Arshak), who ruled c. 350–367, son of Tiran, was then installed in place of his father ostensibly by Shapur, and while peace lasted for more than five years in Armenia, as well as

[70] See P. Asdourian, *Die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Armenien und Rom*, *op. cit.*, 142, citing Faustus and Moses of Chorene.

[71] For sources see G Wiessner, *Untersuchungen zu einer Gruppe syrischer Martyrerakten aus der Christenverfolgung Schapurs II* (Würzburg, 1962), and his *Zur Martyrerüberlieferung*, *op. cit.*, 67, the last word on the subject.

generally between the Romans and Persians, Shapur was busy in the east. Ammianus in laconic fashion (XIV, 3, 1) gives an indication of continuous wars in the east; in 354 he says that Shapur was involved with his neighbors (XV, 13, 4), he was busy in the far extremes of his empire in 356, in the land of the Euseni (*sic*) and Chionitae (XVI, 9, 4) and the next year he made an alliance with the Chionites and Gils or Sakas (XVII, 5, 1).[72] The Euseni, as generally has been recognized, should be amended to Cuseni or Kushans, while the Chionites probably represent the first wave of Hunnic peoples, undoubtedly greatly mixed with Iranians, to invade the plateau. Shapur was most successful in extending Sasanian sway in the east, and the Sasanian governors of the former Kushan domains have left a series of coins attesting this control, as well as the gold coins struck by Shapur II, and there have been finds of his coins in hoards in the east. Sasanian rule in the east, however, will be discussed in the next chapter.

In the west, the Romans sent envoys to Shapur proposing a treaty of peace and the letter sent to Shapur with his reply are given by Ammianus (XVII, 5, 3) no doubt with embellishments, but the result was not peace but military action, and in 359 Shapur laid siege to Amida (today Diyarbakir). Ammianus (XIX) gives a graphic account of the siege and final capture after seventy-three days. In the siege the son of the king of the Chionites, who had joined Shapur in his war in the west, was killed and the father Grumbates urged the destruction of the city. The following year he captured Singara and other fortified towns, but the war languished until Julian the Apostate became Roman emperor at the end of 361. Julian prepared for a strong expedition against Shapur and called on the support of Arsaces, king of Armenia who now professed a pro-Roman policy. Arsaces, however, did not come to the aid of Julian.

The expedition of Julian to the gates of Ctesiphon must have shocked Shapur who did not meet the Romans in open battle but harassed them constantly, also employing a burnt-earth policy to deny the invaders supplies. In this he was successful, and with the death of Julian in a minor foray the Roman army became disorganized. The successor of Julian sought peace, and Jovian was obliged to cede Nisibis the hitherto unconquered bastion of Roman power in the east, as well as large territories east of the Euphrates, to Shapur, and the Roman protectorate over Armenia was abandoned. Again the Armenians suffered, and their king was lured to the court of Shapur, who imprisoned him until he died about 367. The Persians then not only invaded Armenia but in Georgia Shapur installed a king to his own liking called Aspacures, driving out a Roman protegé, called Sauromaces in Ammianus. The new Roman emperor Valens, however, resolved to reinstate his Georgian and Armenian wards and sent an army for that purpose with each. In Georgia the two native kings divided the country, Aspacures taking that part of Georgia adjoining Sasanian domains while his cousin also called Aspacures, took the western part (Amm. XXVII, 12, 15). In Armenia the son of Arsaces called Pap was restored but did not enjoy universal support. He was accused of treason to the Romans and summoned before Valens in Tarsus, where he was held in protective custody, until he escaped with a band of

[72] J. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, *op cit*, 50, emends *Gelanis* to *Segestani* which is moot. His account of the Chionites is detailed.

followers and regained Armenia where Roman forces, however, were in a number of garrisons. He was invited to a banquet by Roman generals and assassinated in the year 374 (Amm. XXX, 1, 21). In his place the Romans placed a relative called Varazdates, who ruled three years but could not win over the Armenian nobility to his side, especially since Shapur would not recognize him as rightful ruler and sent troops into Armenia. Neither the aged Sasanian king nor Valens, however, was in a position to launch a great campaign against the other. Although we do not know of the specific terms in any peace treaty between the two great powers, from this time Armenia was divided into two parts, a small pro-Roman and a much larger part under Persian tutelage.[73] From an Armenian text we hear that Shapur at the end of his life was engaged in a war against the Kushans in the east, probably meaning Chionites or other nomadic invaders, but the time of these wars is unclear.[74] In any case, Shapur died in 379 after a remarkably long reign of seventy years, only a few months after the defeat and death of Valens at the hands of the Goths.

In such a long reign obviously much happened internally in Iran in the realms of religion, statecraft, society and others. Shapur, like his great-grandfather of the same name, also founded cities such as Nishapur (from Nev Shapur 'good'), and after a revolt of the city of Susa, he had it levelled and trampled by elephants, after which he built a new city and called it *Iran khwarreh Shapur* 'Iran's glory Shapur (built),' according to several Islamic sources.[75] Prisoners from conquests in the west were settled in various parts of his empire, following the example of Shapur I. Exaggerated stories about Shapur, how he went as a spy to Constantinople and others, attest to a strong impression on his subjects made by Shapur II. The *Denkart* (IV, 26–27) tells how the first Shapur collected writings of the (Zoroastrian) religion which were dispersed outside of Iran, both east and west, and added them to the Avesta, whereas Shapur II held a council where all religions were examined and a certain Adurbad son of Mahraspand was victorious in the contest between the faiths and some sort of edict of orthodoxy was issued, and heresy was condemned. Adurbad is well known in Zoroastrian tradition, as recorded in a number of texts, for his successful undergoing an ordeal of molten metal poured on his chest to vindicate his faith.[76] No doubt under the pressures of Christianity and Manichaeism, Zoroastrianism had to re-examine and reformulate its doctrines, but what was the orthodoxy presumably in some way instituted in the reign of Shapur II? Some scholars have proposed that the official religion of the Sasanian Empire was not the dualistic Zoroastrianism known from the Middle Persian books down to the present but a heresy or a form of Zoroastrianism called Zervanism.[77] But Zervanism is really Iranian time speculation, a phenomenon

[73] On this period of Armenian history, see Asdourian, *op. cit.*, 162–64, and J. Marquart, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Eran," *Philologus*, 54 (1896), 212–24.

[74] Faustus of Byzantium's history (Venice, 1933), 210, 242; trans. in V. Langlois, *op. cit.*, 1, 285, 298.

[75] On the cities, including Susa, see Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, 529, Hamza al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, 36; Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, 227, Tabarī, trans. Noeldeke, *op. cit.*, 67. For stories see the same authors.

[76] In addition to the *Denkart* passages, Adurbad is mentioned in the *Škand-Gumānīk Vičār*, trans. P. G. de Menasce (Fribourg, 1945), X, 70–119, in the *Bundahishn*, the *Bahman Yasht*, and elsewhere, but the information is the same in all texts. His name in mutilated form also appears in Ḥamza al-Isfahānī, and in *Ta'rīkh sinī mulūk*, *op. cit.*, 37.

[77] Much controversy still exists about Zervanism, but the basic work on the subject, which surveys previous publications, is R. C. Zaehner, *Zurvan*, [ch. 3, n. 40], esp. 35–52. Mary Boyce,

present in many religions from ancient times down to the present, and it is difficult to believe that a separate religion or sect of Zoroastrianism existed based principally on a myth that 'Time' gave birth to both Ahura Mazdā and Ahriman, which myth is reported in several Armenian and Syriac texts. This is not to deny the existence of persons or even groups of people who exalted time speculation almost to a dogma, or even as a central part of their beliefs, including possibly some of the Sasanian rulers, but one may surmise that the orthodoxy proclaimed by Adurbad, whether a religious or even a political leader, was the Zoroastrianism known to writers of post-Sasanian times who praised Adurbad as a pillar of their religion in his time.

It is not possible here to discuss the tantalizing fragments or details, names such as Zurvandad, and other possible indications of sects and heresies in the Zoroastrian religion which, though they undoubtedly existed and caused great concern to the orthodox, dualistic priesthood, cannot be reconstructed because of a lack of sources. The existence of two major schools of Zoroastrianism, one centered in Parthia and the other in Persis, as suggested by an Armenian author of the fifth century, Elishe, is not improbable, but there is no reason thus to assign Zervanism to the Parthians and dualist Mazdaism to the Sasanians.[78] More likely the process of the formation of Zoroastrian orthodoxy was advanced during the reign of Shapur, and since the Syriac sources speak of the great *mobad* or chief of *mobads* in the reign of Shapur, we may speculate that the office of *mobadān mobad*, which is not attested earlier, except in post-Sasanian writings which attribute all religious offices and institutions to the time of Ardashir Papakan or even earlier, came into existence in his reign.[79] The *herbads* were

Zoroastrians, Their Religious Beliefs and Practices (London, 1979), 101–144, believes the religion of the Sasanians was Zervanism, and Adurbad was a Zervanite (118), but the Parthians were not, and the ancestors of the Parsis in India came from Khurasan, Parthian territory, which explains why later Zervanism was expunged from Zoroastrian texts In my opinion, this gives far too much credit to Zervanism as a 'religion' opposed to dualistic Zoroastrianism I do not believe that Kronos and time speculation in ancient Greece was a 'religion' opposed to the Olympian pantheon That Adurbad was a heretical Zervanite is also difficult to believe It should also be noted that when a Christian martyr Pusai spoke of a Zervanite doctrine of the brotherhood of Ahura Mazdā and Ahriman before Shapur, the latter became angry, but it does not say that Shapur adhered to these beliefs. Cf O Braun, *Ausgewählte Akten*, *op. cit.*, 67

[78] Elishe, ed by Tēr Minasean (Erevan, 1957), 144 Zaehner, *op cit* [ch 3, n 40], 35, distinguishes three 'religions' in Sasanian Iran, Mazdaism, Zervanism, and sorcery or 'devil worship' and follows von Wesendonk in postulating periods when Zervanism was dominant and periods of time when dualist Mazdaism prevailed, presumably based on the reigns of the rulers. Mithraic sects, or rather cults, also may have existed, but until now no Roman type mithraeum has been found on Sasanian territory, and it is unlikely that a shrine of that popular cult of the Roman army would be found. Zaehner, *op cit*, 77, claims that dissident schools of Zervanism existed, and undoubtedly many opinions on fate and time flourished, but we may be speaking of philosophical bents or even schools rather than sects of a religion or separate religions. If we follow Syriac and Armenian Christian authors hostile to Zoroastrianism, we would surely conclude that the latter was a religion only of the worship of the elements, fire, water, and sun, moon, etc

[79] The [illegible] appearance of the *mobadān mobad* is hotly debated, from S. Wikander, *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran* (Lund, 1946), 51, 125, who placed the creation of the title in the time of Bahram Gōr (421–39) to Bīrūnī, who in his *Athār al-bāqiya* says that Shapur II made the descendants of Adurbad son of Maraspand, *mobadān mobads*; see J. W Fück, ed., *Documenta Islamica Inedita* (Berlin, 1952), 76. Cf the discussion in Wiessner, *op. cit.* [n. 4], 169–74, on the various titles in the Syriac acts. The title is not found in the Syriac acts until the time of Mar Abha in the sixth century, but the office or an equivalent would seem to have existed earlier. The name of a *mobadān mobad* in the time of Shapur II, mentioned in the *Bundahishn*, XXXV, 1, may be a later interpolation, or it may reflect a true situation.

priests concerned with the ritual or teaching of the religion and the late title *herbadān herbad* may have been merely an honorific modelled on the titles 'king of kings' and 'mobad of mobads.' Likewise the expansion of influence of the Zoroastrian clergy in affairs of government, law and commerce is evident as Agathias (II, 26) relates. As one might have expected from the long reign as a child of Shapur, the clergy probably consolidated their position and influence more in that period than at any other time. The question of cults, rather than sects, which existed under Sasanian 'orthodoxy' is even more obscure than such philosophical, though popular, movements as Zervanism, but if one examines the names of deities given to the days of the month, one may well believe that many local and even 'national' cults or shrines to various deities existed in Sasanian Iran, not to mention sacred springs, trees, stones or other sites where spirits or deities were worshipped. Since the shrine of Anahita at Istakhr probably was a local temple patronized by the house of Sasan, hence a kind of dynastic shrine, undoubtedly elsewhere there were shrines or temples dedicated to Mithra, Adur, or others. Since Zoroastrianism is predominantly a religion of rituals and sacrifices, we may presume that the process of standardization of the rites of the religion was accelerated in Shapur II's time. Although some scholars have proposed that the Avestan alphabet was invented during the reign of Shapur, it is more likely to have been a later development, perhaps in the time of Chosroes I. Likewise the hierarchy of fire temples and local fires probably did not receive its final form until later than the time of Shapur.

Various titles of religious offices give us an idea of the extent of influence of the religion in daily life, especially in the legal realm where at least some of the priests seem to have functioned much as their later Islamic counterparts, about whom we naturally know much more than about offices in Sasanian times. From the acts of Christian martyrs and Islamic sources we infer that the head of the judiciary in Sasanian Iran was the king of kings who decided many appeals from lower jurisdictions and possibly, as later Islamic books state, held regular sessions to which any plaintiff might come and appeal to the king directly. As in the Achaemenid Empire, law and justice were fostered and well developed under the Sasanians, who, if anything, in this were much more centralized than in previous times. The religious establishment seems to have been separate from the legal one, although the same persons at times performed both legal and religious or ritual duties. Under the king, the chief of the religious hierarchy held court, in religious matters, such as complaints against Christians, especially bishops or prominent church officials, as, towards the end of Shapur's reign, one Adarshapur, great *mobad* (ἀρχιμάγος) of 'all the lands of the east (or the Persians),' presided over the persecution of Christians who were accused of treason or *lèse-majesté* in regard to King Shapur.[80] But the chief function of the chief *mobad* was to oversee Zoroastrian religious matters, and the existence of a chief judge in the time of Shapur II is implied by the office of the *shahrdadvar* (*d 'twbl*) in the acts of the martyrs. Since the latter was appointed to his office by the ruler and

[80] See Braun, *Ausgewahlte Akten* [ch 1, n. 12], 123, and H. Delehaye, *Les versions grecques des actes des martyres persans sous Sapor II, Patrologia Orientalis* II, 4 (Paris, 1905), 494. Apostacy from Zoroastrianism, as later from Islam, was theoretically punishable by death, but we hear of many conversions, especially in later years of the Sasanian Empire.

sent from the court to assist the chief *mobad* in his trial of Christians, we may suppose he was the chief legal official attached to the court, and not necessarily a priest, but a predecessor of the later *shahr dadvaran davar* attested in a late law book.[81] Under him were the many judges (*dadvar*) throughout the empire, while the office of *rat* or *rad* (from Avestan *ratav*) is unclear, although he seems to have been more of an executive officer, including perhaps police functions in his duties, than simply a judge. In later sources we find the title *yatakgov* or 'counsel (for defense),' but a mixture of legal functions in one person is implied by seals or clay sealings bearing the title *dlgwš'n y'tkgwby w d'twbly* 'counsel for the poor and judge,' implying a conflict of interest.[82] Other later titles such as the *andarzbad* of the Magi or 'counsellor of the priests' is nowhere explained, and one can only guess the functions he performed. Other titles do appear in various sources, but many were temporary or *ad hoc* titles given to special commissioners for individual cases of law. What is apparent is the importance of laws and the legal organization in the Sasanian Empire, mostly in the hands of the religious establishment, but with secular inputs from the royal court or from provincial government centers.

The Christians and especially the Jews had their own courts to deal with disputes between co-religionists, and presumably when Zoroastrians were involved the state courts and Iranian laws took precedence.

The ecclesiastical organization of the state church was not identical with the legal structure, and the theory of the religious hierarchy was not always evident in reality. In the later Sasanian Empire three all-empire fire temples were supposed to be the religious centers for the three castes of society, the Adur Gushnasp or the temple of the warriors, at the site today called Takht-e Sulaiman in Azerbaijan, Adur Farnbag, temple of the priests, somewhere in Fars province, in tradition in the village of Kariyan, and Adur Burzen Mihr, temple of the peasants and common folk in Khurasan.[83] In addition there were provincial fire temples, town and village temples and finally niches for fires in the home, a veritable network and hierarchy of fires, but this is later. In the time of Shapur II we find only the beginnings of the complex religious organization, although in the sources we already find references to priests placed over provinces and towns, and we may assume that some sort of religious organization existed.

Just as the clergy had assumed an important role in society and had made

[81] G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, *op. cit.*, 65, and in the *Mātigān ē hazār dātastān* (110, 5–6), transl. A. G. Perikhanian (Erevan, 1973), 314. The creation of titles modelled on that of 'king of kings' may be exaggerated, but one may presume there was a chief judge, chief scribe, or the like, and people may have given them titles on the basis of analogy.

[82] On the unclear functions of the *rat* see T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, *op. cit.*, 447, Perikhanian, *loc. cit.*, 517, and J. P. de Menasce, "Le protecteur des pauvres dans l'Iran sassanide," *Mélanges Henri Massé* (Tehran, 1963), 282–87, and W. B. Henning, "Mitteliranisch," *HO, Iranistik* (1958), 46. Such titles as *var sardār* 'chief of ordeals' found in the *Mātigān* show the importance of oaths and tests by ordeals in Sasanian Iran as in medieval Europe.

[83] For identification of localities of the fires see the compilation of sources in K. Schippmann, *Die iranischen Feuerheiligtumer* (Berlin, 1971), 23–30, 86–94, and 309–57. On Jewish courts see J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia*, 3, (1968), 29, 45, 273 and 4 (1969), 131. For the Christians see E. Sachau, "Von den rechtlichen Verhältnissen der Christen im Sasanidenreich," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*, 10 (Berlin, 1907), 1–27.

Zoroastrianism the religion of the state, so also the nobility was organized in degrees, and the bureaucracy too assumed larger dimensions, all classes or castes working in support of the dynasty. The caste system was by no means as rigid as in India, for persons could be elevated, or even depressed, from one level to another by authority of the monarch, although such movement was rare. The ancient Achaemenid tradition, if not fiction, of seven great noble families (*vaspuhrān*) in Iran seems to have survived through the Parthian into the Sasanian era. Several of the great families continued from Parthian times to maintain influence under the Sasanians, and these were the Suren, with origins probably in Seistan, the Karen family in Media or more particularly in Nihavend, the Spandiyad (or Isfandarmad) family in Rhages (Rayy), the Aspahbad family in Gurgan, and somehow connected with them the Mihran family perhaps from Qumis or somewhere in eastern Media, and a family called Zek seemingly from Azerbaijan.[84] This was a feudal, landed nobility rather than one of the robe, but we hear of other great lords in the empire, the lord of Andegan, mentioned in SKZ and elsewhere, perhaps from Fars or the Persian Gulf area, and at the end of the Sasanian Empire, the Varz or Waraz from eastern Khurasan, perhaps by origin an Hephthalite family, as well as others. Unfortunately we have no information about these families from Middle Persian sources, and the western sources (Greek, Armenian and Syriac) confuse names with honorifics and titles or positions. The great nobles, after the top families, were called the *wuzurgān* 'great ones,' and they were primarily the ruling officers of the realm, in the court, in the bureaucracy, in the army and even in religion, if we remember that Kerdir was elevated to the rank of a noble by Bahram II. The smaller nobility, the *azadān* lit. 'freemen,' mentioned in inscriptions were the less important feudal families who owned villages in one area and had a limited following. Finally, we find the lower bureaucracy, the *dibirān* or 'scribes,' who in the state hierarchy paralleled the *azadān*, the former the large number of privileged bureaucracy and the latter the large number of privileged landowners in the social hierarchy. Thus in theory the *wuzurgān* were over the *dibirān*, as the *vaspuhrān* were over the *azadān*, although the two lines became mixed in the course of Sasanian rule. We shall examine the court and the central government organization as well as provincial organization after the reforms of Chosroes I, but the time of Shapur II was one of the organization and consolidation of both society and government under the Sasanian king.

Ardashir II, successor to Shapur II, is enigmatic, since both Arabic and Persian sources and Agathias (IV, 26) say he was the brother of Shapur which would have made him most elderly. Noeldeke supposed he was the former king of Adiabene mentioned in the acts of the martyrs, while Lukonin more plausibly suggested he was the brother of Shapur, king of the land of the Sakas mentioned in an inscription at Persepolis.[85] Another, and even more likely, possibility, however, is that Ardashir II

[84] See the discussion with commentary in A. Christensen, *L'Iran*, *op. cit.*, 104–06. The great feudal families undoubtedly changed throughout time as their fortunes rose or fell. After Chosroes I the influence of all the great families declined.

[85] Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, *op. cit.*, 70, and V. Lukonin, in private conversations. It should be noted that several Armenian authors and Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, 37, consider Ardashir II to have been the son of Shapur II, while K. Stock, "Yazdan-Frīy-Šapur," *SI*, 7 (1978), 176, says Ardashir was the brother-in-law of Shapur II but gives no sources.

was a son of Shapur II and brother of Shapur III and authors confused the two Shapurs. We then would have another similarity between Shapur I and Shapur II; both were succeeded by a series of their sons rather than the rule passing through successive generations. In any case, the short rule of Ardashir and that of Shapur III, son of Shapur II according to a Middle Persian inscription at Taq-e Bustan, was uneventful; but the reports in Islamic sources that Ardashir was killed in a revolt of the nobles may indicate a reaction to the heavy hand of Shapur II in his long rule. Another observation is the shift of attention of the rulers from Fars province to the more important central part of the country, ancient Media on the east–west trade route, and this is indicated by the rock reliefs, the last of which in Fars was carved by Narseh. Taq-e Bustan near Kermanshah became the site of new rock reliefs, the first one showing Ardashir II receiving a diadem, presumably from Ahura Mazdā, while Mithra stands on the other side of the king, and under the feet of the king and Ahura Mazdā lies a slain enemy. The identifications of the ruler and the enemy have provoked controversy, but the change from Fars to the north at this time is more significant.[86] Another relief in a small grotto causes no problems of identification, since both Shapur II and Shapur III are represented standing facing one another with inscriptions identifying them. The events leading to the accession of Ardashir II followed by Shapur III elude us, but one may presume some kind of power struggle between factions supporting one or another son of Shapur II, perhaps from different mothers.[87] In Islamic sources Shapur III is praised as being well disposed towards the nobility and in general benevolent in his conduct, while his position in regard to Christians was much milder than his predecessors. In his reign (383–388) the existing division of Armenia between a small Roman and a large Sasanian-oriented part was sealed by a treaty between the two great powers. In the Caucasus region and in the east nomadic peoples were in motion because of pressure from the Huns in Central Asia, but the results of this unrest did not become acute in the Sasanian Empire until the reign of Bahram IV (388–399) who was either another son of Shapur II or possibly of Shapur III.

In the reign of Bahram two events in foreign relations are significant. At the death of Chosroes, king of the large and Persian part of Armenia, Bahram appointed his brother Bahram-Shapur (Armenian: Vramshapuh) to the throne about 391, while the Roman part of Armenia had been absorbed into the Roman Empire and there were no longer two kings of Armenia. In the Persian part there was a flowering of

[86] K. Erdmann in *Die Kunst Irans*, *op. cit.*, 69, suggested that the lying enemy was Julian the Apostate but the Sasanian king was Ardashir. L. Trümpelmann, in "Triumph über Julian Apostata," *Jahrbuch fur Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*, 25 (Zürich, 1975), 107–11, maintains that the Sasanian king is in fact Shapur II while the enemy is Julian. His arguments about the crown and decorations, however, are not convincing. For close-up photographs of the scene see S. Fukai and K. Horiuchi, *Taq-i Bustan*, 2 (Tokyo, 1972), plates 74–92. A later date also has been suggested for this rock carving on the basis of style

[87] Since the epic tradition (in Firdosi and elsewhere) speaks of an agreement that Ardashir II hold the throne until Shapur III, son of Shapur II, came of age (most unlikely), and since Mithra, deity of contracts and oaths, is represented on the relief at Taq-e Bustan, I tentatively suggested the existence of some agreement giving Ardashir II precedence over Shapur III in "Mithra in Iranian Archaeology," *Études Mithraiques*, AI (Leiden, 1978), 209. Shapur II did have several brothers according to Syriac sources, but their ages present problems.

literature with the use of the new Armenian alphabet invented by a priest called Mesrop and sponsored by the catholicos, or head of the Armenian church, Sahag. At the same time the first invasion of the Huns from north of the Caucasus into the Near East took place, and in 395, we hear from Syriac and Greek sources, they came as far as Mesopotamia, but they were driven back by a Sasanian army.[88] In the east too the Sasanians experienced difficulties which we will examine in the next chapter.

The violent ends of the rulers Ardashir II and Bahram IV, probably both the result of plots by the nobility, show the strength of the feudal lords in imposing their will on the central government and the failure of the long rule of Shapur II to establish a stable and powerful central authority. The succeeding rulers were not noted either for their martial abilities or their dominant personalities. Yazdagird I is said to have been either the son or the brother of Bahram IV, but all Islamic sources characterize him as a 'sinner,' harsh, proud, a tyrant or other negative appellations, while Christian (Syriac or Greek) sources speak well of the ruler, some suggesting that Yazdagird was converted, which is hardly true. During his reign, peace was maintained with the Romans or Byzantines, and perhaps it was the reported friendship between Yazdagird and Marutha the bishop of Maipherkat, who was sent by the emperor Arcadius on several embassies to Iran, which gave rise to the rumor that Yazdagird had converted to Christianity. Some sources say that Marutha gained the confidence of the Sasanian ruler by his fame as a doctor, but whatever his relationship with Yazdagird the lot of Christians in the Sasanian Empire at first improved during his reign.[89] The synod of 410 which was convened in the city of Seleucia under the patronage of Yazdagird was not only a landmark in the history of eastern Christianity, establishing rules, beliefs and the church organization in the Sasanian Empire, but it also regularized relations between church and state on the basis of that system which in later Islamic times came to be called the *millet* system. This meant that the Christians were recognized as a legally allowed minority entitled to state protection of their rights, but also that the Sasanian state, which meant the ruler, had the right of appointing the head of the Christian church in the empire and to uphold that head in his authority. A certain Isaac, bishop of Seleucia, became the head of the church, and quarrels and dissensions ceased because now the church had state support behind it. The importance of this synod for Iran was great, for the way was now made open for a Christian church of Iran separate from western Christians, and the future dominance of Nestorian or 'diophysite' Christianity as the Iranian sect of Christianity was prepared by this synod, the articles of which are reproduced in the *Synhadus*, the book of councils of the Nestorian church. According to the synod the persecutions and martyrdoms were to cease, but this did not prevent some overzealous Christians, in their new-found freedom, from attacking some Zoroastrian priests and destroying fire temples, which provoked the wrath of Yazdagird and unleashed a new attack on Christians, some of

[88] For the sources see O. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley, 1973), 52–57.

[89] On the sources for Marutha's life see R. Marcus, "The Armenian Life of Marutha of Maipherkat," *Harvard Theological Review*, 35 (1932), 47–73. See also A. Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* (Louvain, 1958), 260–82. For a possible edict of toleration for Christians promulgated already by Shapur III, see M.-L. Chaumont, "A propos d'un édit de paix religieuse d'époque Sassanide," *Mélange d'Histoire des Religions offerts à H. C. Puech* (Paris, 1974), 71–80.

whom suffered martyrdom towards the end of the reign of Yazdagird.[90] At the same time we may suppose that relations with the Jews were placed on a similar basis, although the exilarchate had existed long before Yazdagird, and it perhaps served as a model for the state's relationship with the Christians.[91] The story that Yazdagird married a daughter of the patriarch of the Jews in the empire, the *resh galutha*, as well as the story that the king was killed by a strange horse, are both probably folk tales.

In the *Synhadus*, the section on the council of 410, we find for the first time mention of the (Syriac) *hrmdr' RB'* or (MP) *wuzurg framadar*, the 'great commander' or prime minister called Chosroes Yazdagird, together with *mhyr šbwr* Mihr Shapur of the house of the *argbad*, who is not to be identified with Mihr Narseh prime minister during the reign of Bahram V.[92] The position of prime minister may have existed earlier, but afterwards he became very important, the representative of the ruler, and the prototype for the Islamic *vezier*.

An interesting episode of the request by the Byzantine emperor Arcadius that Yazdagird act as a guardian for his young son Theodosius II, may be apocryphal, but it presaged future practices. It is claimed that Yazdagird took his charge seriously and sent a eunuch called Antiochus to Byzantium to advise and care for the young emperor after the death of Arcadius.[93] The sons of Yazdagird, however, were sent away from court, one Shapur was sent to Armenia to become king of that land after the death of Vramshapuh in 414; another son Bahram was sent to Mundhir, king of the Lakhmid Arabs at his capital al-Hira to be raised on the edge of the desert, while a third son called Narseh is only hinted at in the sources. When Yazdagird died mysteriously in one of his eastern provinces, Shapur, who had ruled Armenia, trying without much success to integrate it further into the Sasanian Empire, left for the court to succeed his father, but he was murdered, presumably by some nobles who raised a Sasanian prince called Chosroes only distantly related to Yazdagrid to the throne. Bahram, however, did not acquiesce and, supported by the Lakhmids with an army, he disputed the throne and apparently won the support of the Iranian nobles, and Chosroes retired from the field so that Bahram could become ruler. So many stories are told about Bahram V Gōr 'the wild ass (hunter)' in the *Shāhnāme* and elsewhere that one may say Bahram became a prototype of the heroic king, militant, a great hunter, pleasure loving and in general leaving affairs in the hands of his ministers, especially the prime minister Mihr Narseh, well known to Armenian

[90] On the synod see Chabot, *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 12], 254–62, and for the persecutions at the end of Yazdagird's reign see Braun, *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 12], 139–41. The edict of Yazdagird in creating the synod has been called the 'edict of Milan of the east.'

[91] Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia op. cit* [n. 83], 5, 3–18. It should be noted that Zoroastrians did continue to live in the eastern parts of the Byzantine Empire and pagans were to be found in both empires.

[92] Chabot, *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 12], 21, 260. The *argbad* at first seems to have been the important official in charge of tribute, taxes, corvée and such matters, but later the office probably included military functions as well according to Ṭabarī (Noeldeke, *op. cit.*, 111). This title may have become confused with another *argbad* 'fortress lord,' or the latter may have been created as a popular etymology.

[93] For the Greek sources see G. Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, 1 (New York, 1882), 272–74. On events leading to the short war of 421–422 see K. G. Holum, "Pulcheria's Crusade A.D. 421–422," in *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*, 18 (Durham, North Carolina, 1977), esp. 162–72 On the practice of adoption in Iran see T. D. Chkheidza, *Sistema vospitaniya v Sasanidskom Irane* (Tiflis, 1979).

sources as the arch-enemy of Christians. We know something about this prime minister of Bahram and his son Yazdagird II, and possibly also of the final years of Yazdagird I, that he came from the Firuzabad district of Fars where he left an inscription on the cliff by a bridge he had built, and we know the names of his sons, Zurvandad, who became chief *herbad* under Bahram, while the second Mahgushnasp became chief of taxes and the third Kardar became chief general of the army.[94] He also dedicated four fire temples in Fars to himself and his three sons, traces of which still exist. Bahram had to fight many battles in the east against either the Chionites or against new nomadic invaders, the Hephthalites, and the few references in Armenian and Islamic sources indicate that he was, on the whole, victorious. He left a legacy of the extent of Sasanian influence, or more likely even direct rule, in the coinage of Bukhara where the later *drachms* of the oasis of Bukhara were copied from the coinage of Bahram, and his portrait, in debased form, continued to be struck on the local coins well into the time of the ʿAbbasid caliphate.[95] After Bahram's reign, however, the fortunes of the Sasanians in the east suffered a decline, and Iran was mostly on the defensive against aggressive Hephthalite rulers.

Probably during Bahram's reign eastern influences became important in the Sasanian Empire, for we find the beginning of the popularity of mythical names in the empire, names such as Jamshid, Kaus, Kavad and others, as well as the title *kay* (*kdy*) from ancient *kavi*, which although found on some coins of Shapur II becomes widespread under Yazdagird II and later.[96] This antiquarian revival may have been the result of Sasanian conquests in the east, where legends and songs of the ancient prehistory of the Iranian peoples were borrowed from Iranian nomads or even settled folk who preserved such lays better than in western Iran, where the successive central government organizations and urban life had caused in Iranians a forgetfulness of their roots.

In the west the Byzantine Empire was occupied with various barbarian invasions and, after a short inconclusive war between Byzantium and Iran at the beginning of Bahram's reign, peace was made in 422 and was maintained. In Armenia Bahram restored the native dynasty by appointing Artaxias (or Armenian: Artashes) son of Vramshapuh as king, but the new ruler offended some of the Armenian nobility, who requested Bahram to remove their king, which he did in 428 appointing in his place a Persian governor. This pleased some of the nobles, called *nakharars* in Armenian, but much of the clergy, including Sahak the catholicus, the head of the church, wanted an Armenian prince as their sovereign, so the situation in Armenia remained unstable.

In 439 Bahram was succeeded by his son Yazdagird II who began a war with the

[94] For the inscription see W. B. Henning, "The Inscription of Firuzabad," *AM* 4 (1953), 98–102, and for Islamic sources, especially Ṭabarī, see Noeldeke, *op. cit.*, 108–12. The Armenian sources which refer to Mihr Narseh, called the *hazarbad*, are primarily Elishe and Lazar of Pʿarp. For the fire temples see Schippmann, *op. cit.* [n. 83], 123–40, who speaks of five temples. It is difficult to accept the contention that the three sons represented the three castes of Iranian society as found in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte der Spatantike* (Frankfurt/M, 1957), 19.

[95] See R. Frye, *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana ANS* Monographs (New York, 1949), "Additional Notes on the early Coinage of Transoxiana," *ANSMN*, 4 (1950), 105–11, and "Additional Notes II," *ANSMN*, 7 (1955), 231–38. Also V. A. Livshits, *et al.*, "O drevnei Sogdiiskoi pismennosti Bukhary," *VDI* 1 (1954), 150–63.

[96] See Noeldeke, *op. cit.*, 147, n. 1.

Byzantines, but the emperor Theodosius was anxious to make peace, and Yazdagird had to turn his attention to the east, so peace was made between the two empires, again maintaining the status quo. In the east, however, much fighting took place before the Sasanian ruler could return to his homeland where the Armenian question occupied him. Even though the Christians in the empire had affirmed their separation from Byzantine control and had proclaimed the independence of the church of the east in a synod in 421, the Armenians had maintained close contacts with Byzantium, and the Persians were suspicious of their true loyalties. Fortunately we have detailed information in the works of Lazar of P'arp and Ełishe about the attempt of Yazdagird through his prime minister Mihr Narseh to convert the Armenians to Zoroastrianism, or in the eyes of the Sasanians to bring them back from their apostasy from the Mazdaean faith. From the edict of Mihr Narseh sent to the Armenians, as reproduced by Ełishe, and from the contemporary account of Eznik about the Persian religion, one would infer that the myth of Zurvan as the father of both Ahura Mazdā and Ahriman was widespread in Iran at this time and was held by Mihr Narseh as a fundamental tenet of his beliefs, although the extent of such tenets among the Zoroastrians of that time is really unknown.[97] The edict roused the Armenians to the defense of their faith, and a revolt was launched against the Persians, even though some nobles including one of their leaders Vasak, prince of the province of Siunik, upheld Sasanian rule. Request for aid from Theodosius, the Byzantine emperor, went unanswered, and in a fierce battle called Avarair, the Christians led by prince Vardan of the house of Mamikonian were annihilated. Vardan was killed, and many priests and nobles were taken captive. These momentous events in Armenian history are not mentioned in other language sources, which give the impression of a peaceful reign in spite of the fanaticism of the prime minister. The east, however, continued to be unstable, and Yazdagird had to fight battles against nomads there in his last years.

At the death of Yazdagird his two sons contested the throne, and the sources (Islamic) disagree as to who was elder and younger, but Hormizd took power and Peroz attacked him and was able to defeat and kill his brother. During the civil war between the two brothers, the king of Caucasian Albania, who had been forced to accept Zoroastrianism in the time of Yazdagird, revolted and, allied with Hunnic people north of the Caucasus, posed a threat to Peroz, who fought against the Albanian king, but peace was made and Peroz changed the policy of his father and left the Armenian and Albanian Christians in peace.[98] The pass of the Caucasus at Derbend had been penetrated several times by nomads, and the Sasanians had received a subsidy

[97] Ełishe, ed. E. Tēr-Minasean (Erevan, 1957), 24, trans. in Langlois, *op. cit.*, 2, 190. On Eznik see J. M. Schmid, *Wider die Sekten* (Vienna, 1900), 90–93. The edict of Mihr Narseh, as given by Lazar, ed. by Ter-Mkrtzean (Tiflis, 1904), 43–44, is different from the account in Ełishe, but the intent of both is the same. The mention of Mihr-Narseh in the *Mātigān* is not as a sinner or Zoroastrian heretic, contrary to what Zaehner, *op. cit.* [ch. 3, n. 40], 39, or O. Klima, "Iranische Miszellen IV," *AO*, 35 (1967), 52–62, assert. There is no evidence that Zoroastrians who held Zervanite ideas were attacked, or attacked Zoroastrians who did not indulge in time speculation. One can place too much emphasis on the Zervanite myth. Bahram IV, for example, claimed to recognize only one deity, but did that make him a Zervanite or an Ahura Mazdā worshipper? See Hoffmann, *op. cit.* [ch. 1, n. 12], 42. Also Agathias (II, 24) says that the Persians used to worship Zeus and Kronos, as the Greeks, but no more, and this can be interpreted in several ways.

[98] See C. Dowsett, trans. *The History of the Caucasian Albanians, op. cit.*, 9–10.

from the Byzantines to help defray the cost of maintaining a guard both here and at the Darial pass against invasions which would have threatened both empires. Therefore it was in the best interests of the Sasanian government to maintain peace with their subjects in Armenia, Georgia and Albania, who became more and more Christian in religion.

About 469 Peroz was defeated and captured by the Hephthalites which was reported in Byzantine sources such as Procopius (I, 3, 13–19), Syriac such as Joshua the Stylite and in many Islamic works, since it obviously made a great impression on contemporaries. Armenia now broke into a revolt led by Vahan Mamikonian, a nephew of Vardan, but the rebels were defeated, and it seemed as though Sasanian control was secure, but war with the Hephthalites denuded Transcaucasia of Sasanian troops in 482, and two years later Peroz was defeated and killed by his formidable eastern foes. The fifth century, on the whole, was one of a change of front for the Sasanians, since the frontier with the Byzantines remained stable, whereas the east was in flux. Just as walls and forts had been built in the Syrian desert against the west and at Derbend against the Hunnic peoples, so in the east walls were erected extending to Merv, but the main theater of war was in the area of present western Afghanistan.

The Iranian nobility raised the brother of Peroz called Valgash or Balash (Vologeses) to the throne, and peace was made with the Hephthalites to whom tribute was paid, while the Armenian rebels, led by Vahan, achieved the freedom of Christianity without fear of forced conversion to Zoroastrianism for, in the eyes of the later Sasanians, the Armenians were Iranians. Armenia further was to be administered directly by the Sasanian king and not through a governor. At the end of the reign of Peroz or at the beginning of Balash' rule Nestorianism was established as the sole officially recognized sect of Christians in the Sasanian Empire, and this eased relations between the central government and the Christians, although it by no means ended inter-Christian quarrels, especially between Nestorians and Monophysites.

The Armenian nobles, we learn from Armenian sources, had aided Balash against a pretender to the throne called Zarer, either a son or a brother of Peroz, and after his defeat and capture they were well regarded by the new king. According to Islamic sources, such as Thaʿālibī and Ṭabarī, in the reign of Peroz a terrible seven year drought and famine had played havoc with the inhabitants of the Sasanian Empire, and the consequences of this disaster made themselves felt long afterwards. But Balash ruled over a chastened or even destitute realm, humiliated by paying tribute to the Hephthalites, and many sources even neglect to mention his reign. In spite of his good intentions he was deposed by the nobles and clergy in 488, who raised Kavad son of Peroz to the throne, and about his long reign we are much better informed.

Kavad had lived with the Hephthalites as a hostage, according to Islamic sources, and it is possible that they assisted him to gain the throne. Kavad's reign marks a change in Sasanian history, not only because attention shifted from the east back to the west, but mainly because of the social upheaval which occurred during his reign, the movement of the Mazdakites, which, as all such movements in the Near East, was also a religious revolt against Zoroastrian orthodoxy. Much has been written about Mazdak and his followers, but little unanimity has been reached either on his origins or his doctrines. In the entire Near East at this time Christianity, Judaism and Zoroastrianism were striving towards consolidation and orthodoxy as well as

orthopraxy. But pagans still existed and different sects of the above religions also existed, especially in out-of-the-way places, in mountains and oases. In doctrines, as reported in the later Arabic book on religions by Shahristānī, Mazdak seems to have had Manichaean tendencies, although he himself was probably a Persian priest or noble.[99] Whatever his religious teachings, it was the practice of extreme socialism or communism which caused the upheaval in Iran. Just as Mani became the arch-heretic in beliefs, so Mazdak assumed the role of arch-fiend in his social practices, according to the later Islamic sources; for Mazdak is not mentioned by name in Greek, Syriac or Armenian works, some of which speak of Manichaean (= general word for 'heretical') troubles under Kavad. Whatever Mazdak's beliefs, Kavad apparently accepted his teachings that wealth should be shared, and many scholars have surmised that in so doing he really wished to undermine the power and influence of the nobility. If we give credence to the account in the *Shāhnāme*, Mazdak supported the poor and hungry in time of famine and secured the approbation of the ruler in allowing the poor to take what they needed from the rich, as well as from government stores. It seems that the Mazdakites drew much support from the peasants, and certainly the great feudal lords were violently against Madak, and in most sources a common accusation appears, that the Mazdakites preached the breakdown of the family and the freedom of all women to all men. The feudal nobility and clergy reacted and deposed Kavad, imprisoning him rather than killing him, probably because of his popularity among the masses. Kavad escaped and took refuge with the Hephthalites and his brother Zamasp became king in 496, but Kavad was not finished; with the help of the ruler of the Hephthalites he returned to Iran and Zamasp surrendered the throne without a battle. This was probably in 499, when a famine occurred in the empire causing much discontent. As a result of the great social and economic disorder everywhere, Kavad decided to unite everyone in a war against Byzantium, for he needed money to pay his Hephthalite allies and others. The ostensible cause of the war was the refusal of the Byzantine emperor to send money to the Persians to aid in the defense of the Caucasus fortifications mainly at Derbend, which had been a policy in the past. In 502 Theodosiopolis, present Erzurum, was captured, and then Kavad laid siege to Amida, which he captured in January 503. Hostilities continued between the two powers, but the Persians had reaped much booty either by conquest or by the capitulation and paying of tribute by towns in the Byzantine Empire. In 506 peace was made and the Byzantines paid a large sum to Kavad who gave up Amida and other conquests. The Byzantines were not complete losers, however, for they were allowed to retain the fortifications they had erected at Dara and other frontier towns contrary to past treaties between the two powers.

[99] Other than Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, 141–42, with the Excurs, and the classic work by A Christensen, *Le regne du roi Kawādh et le communisme Mazdakite* (Copenhagen, 1925), 1–127, where all the sources are assembled, see also more recent work by O. Klima, *Mazdak* (Prague, 1957), plus many later articles, cf. his *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mazdakismus* (Prague, 1977) F. Altheim believed Mazdak borrowed most of his ideas from the Neoplatonist Porphyrius. See his *Hunnen*, 3 [ch. 5, n. 68], 61–80, and his *Die Araber in der alten Welt*, 5 part 1, (Berlin, 1968), 14–18. Christensen believed Mazdak was a Manichaean while Altheim followed Bīrūnī who claimed he was a *mobadān mobad*. For emphasis on the social and economic consequences of Mazdakism see N. Pigulevskaya, *Les villes de l'état Iranien* (Paris, 1963), 195–230. The precise dates of the Mazdakite movement under Kavad are unknown.

Inside Iran, meanwhile, the Mazdakites continued to exist, although there is no evidence that Kavad in his later years actively supported them, but sufficient disruption had been caused to bring a new tax system and revision of land ownership into being. The lower nobility, the *azadān*, gained in power and importance at the cost of the great feudal lords, who never regained their favored position which they held before the time of Kavad. Pigulevskaya (*Les villes*, 218–221) is surely right in seeing the Mazdakite disturbances as the occasion when Kavad broke the power of the great nobility and tied the lower nobility closer to the throne, for the Mazdakite disturbances were a prelude to the extensive economic and social reforms begun by Kavad and brought to fruition by Chosroes. Mazdak was executed sometime at the end of Kavad's reign, possibly at the instigation of Khusrau or Chosroes his son, and his followers were killed and persecuted. But the name 'Mazdakite' persisted into Islamic times as a common designation for social rebels, evidence of the great impact of the Mazdakites on life in Sasanian Iran. The immediate consequences of the disorders in Iran are difficult to determine, and only by a comparison of the situation before and after the reforms of Kavad and his son can we infer the great changes which took place in Iranian society. This we shall examine in discussing the reforms of Chosroes.

The question of succession occupied Kavad in his last years, for he intended to name his own successor and not leave this matter to be decided by the nobility. In 518 Justin had become emperor in Byzantium and Kavad proposed to him that he adopt his youngest son Chosroes, which would indicate his preference as the heir-apparent for Kavad and Justin's responsibility to support this in the future. Justin at first enthusiastic was dissuaded from this commitment and consequently relations between the two empires cooled considerably. Events in Transcaucasia disturbed the close of Kavad's reign, and the Persians supported an uprising of Georgian nobility against their pro-Byzantine king called Gurgenes, who was forced to flee westward to Lazica on the Black Sea coast in 523 (Procopius, I, 12). A Persian *marzban* 'frontier commander' was installed in the capital Mtskheta, near modern Tiflis, but the war continued with Byzantine support for the exiled king. With the coming to power of Justinian in 527, a competent general Belisarius was sent against the Persians in Mesopotamia, and although at first defeated he then in turn defeated a Sasanian army outside the walls of Dara. The Arab allies of both sides played important roles in the new struggles of the two powers.

As early as 506 the Arab tribe of Kinda had moved into and occupied parts of Iraq, and shortly afterward a tribal kingdom was formed in the heart of north Arabia which became powerful enough for its leader Ḥārith b. ʿAmr to be able to defeat Mundhir III, king of the Lakhmids and a Sasanian protegé, and occupy his capital al-Hira, which occupation however, lasted only a few years, perhaps from 525–528.[100] Mundhir recovered his domains and was supported by Kavad in making a raid into Syria. In a battle at Callinicum in 531 Belisarius was defeated but the Persians and their Arab allies lost many men so they withdrew. Belisarius then was sent to North

[100] See G. Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda* (Lunda, 1927), esp. 58–65, and N. Pigulevskaya, *Araby u granits Vizantii i Irana v IV–VI vv.* (Moscow, 1964), 124–79, with further references.

Africa to fight the Vandals by Justinian, but before Kavad could take advantage of the departure of the Byzantine general he died.

THE REFORMS OF CHOSROES ANUSHIRVAN ('OF THE IMMORTAL SOUL')

Chosroes was the most illustrious of the Sasanian rulers and he gave his name to the common designation of Sasanian rulers by the Arabs, Kisra, much as Caesar gave his name to Roman rulers. His reforms set a stamp on the later Sasanian state and society and much of what we know about the organization of Sasanian Iran dates from his reign and afterwards. Under him the national epic was gathered together; probably at that time the Avesta was reduced to the form of the Avestan alphabet and writing we know at the present time, and his economic reforms also have come down to us in Islamic writings, while stories about the splendor, the justice and flourishing of Iran under him abound in later Islamic writings, where he occupies a place similar to the great Shah ʿAbbas in Safavid times. The tax reform, begun under Kavad, was carried to completion under Chosroes, and the royal court was much strengthened by this and other measures, which changed the face of the empire, making it stronger when a strong ruler ruled but open to disintegration under a weak king. At the outset he had to put down an attempt by a group of nobles to raise his brother to the throne, but he overcame the plotters and dispatched them.

One of his first tasks on ascending the throne was to make peace with the Byzantines, which he did in 532 evacuating several forts in Lazica, and to restore order in society, for as several sources states, children did not know who their fathers were, and questions of inheritance and ownership were unresolved. The aftermath of the Mazdakite troubles not only provided an opportunity to reduce the power of the great feudal lords, who after the time of Chosroes are little mentioned except as officials of the central government, but also to reorganize the clergy, the higher offices of which had been occupied by members of noble families. The basis of wealth and power of the upper classes had to be reorganized first, and this was the tax reform of Chosroes, the results of which lasted into Islamic times.

F. Altheim has studied the tax reforms of Chosroes in detail and is convincing in his conclusions that the great landed nobility previously enjoyed great privileges in exemption from taxation. but as a result of the seizure of lands by common folk during the Mazdakite movement, there was great confusion in claims of land ownership.[101] All land was to be surveyed and taxed in the same way everywhere, while revenues which formerly frequently went to the nobles were to come into the central government treasury. It is possible, as Altheim asserts, that the *indictio* or tax reform of Diocletian, the joining of the Roman *iugatio* and *capitatio* into one tax system collected three times a year, provided the prototype for Chosroes' reforms, but

[101] Altheim/Stiehl, *Finanzgeschichte* [n. 94], esp. 35–53, using Ṭabarī as the main source. I. Hahn, "Sassanidische und spätrömische Besteuerung," *AA*, 7 (1959), 149–60, contrary to Altheim, denies a connection between the Roman and Sasanian systems. Altheim followed N. V. Pigulevskaya, "K voprosu o podatnoi reforme Khosraya Anushervana," *VDI*, 1 (1937), 141–53, in elaborating the thesis of a Sasanian copying of the Roman system. On the Talmudic references to taxation in Sasanian Iran see the articles by Solodukho, trans. in J. Neusner, ed., *Soviet Views of Talmudic Judaism* (Leiden, 1973).

this is inference.[102] It is related in a number of sources that taxes were levied on the produce of land, fruits and grains, but frequently the produce was spoiled before it could be assessed for tax purposes. Under the new system the land was measured, the water rights determined and yearly average rates were set for the land which produced grain, other rates for land which had date palm and olive trees according to the number of the producing trees, and other reforms of which we only have hints.

The tax reform was followed by a reform of the army which was changed from the previous practice of the great feudal lords providing their own equipment and bringing their followers and retainers into the field, to another system with a new force of *dehkans* or 'knights,' paid and equipped by the central government. It is interesting to note that both the number, as well as the die quality, of coins of Chosroes I increases and improves greatly compared to earlier issues, and the iconography of the coins becomes more stereotyped.[103] Also, it should be remarked that the army reorganization under Chosroes was concentrated on organization and on training, rather than any new weapons or technical advances, and as previously the heavily-armed cavalry remained the dominant force with archers less important.[104] The masses, as usual, were still camp followers and little more than a rabble looking for booty, but a new nobility of service was created which became more influential than the landed nobility. Since payment in specie or even in kind did not suffice to recompense the 'knights,' villages were granted to them in fief, and a large class of small landowners came into existence. The ruler also divided the kingdom into four military districts with a *spahbad* or general in charge of forces in each part with the primary task of defending Iran from external foes. Walls and forts were also built on the frontiers, but in this policy Chosroes was only continuing the policy of his predecessors, while new roads, bridges and many buildings have been attributed to Chosroes, whether true or not.

The army was tested in the resumption of hostilities with Byzantium, and fortunately we have a detailed account of the war from Procopius. The reasons for a new war were many, not the least of which were embassies from the Ostrogoths in Italy, who were conquered by Justinian, and pressure from some Armenians and Arabs, both eager for war. So Chosroes broke the peace and invaded Syria in 540 moving south of the usual path of armies. He took several towns and received tribute from others and soon was before the walls of Antioch, which had suffered greatly from several earthquakes in 525–526, and it was poorly defended making conquest easy for the Persians. Chosroes pillaged and burned the city taking many captives,

[102] Altheim/Stiehl, *op. cit.* [n. 94], 41–3. The tax reforms were complicated and encompassed not only land and poll taxes, but others as well, as noted by M. Grignaschi, "La Riforma Tributaria di Ḫosrō I e il feudalismo Sassanide," in *La Persia nel Medioevo*, Acad. dei Lincei, no. 160 (Rome, 1971), 87–131. On the poll-tax see D. M. Goodblatt, "The Poll Tax in Sasanian Babylonia," *JESHO*, 22 (1979), 233–94, with many bibliographical references. He notes that in the Babylonian Talmud the word for 'poll tax' is *krg'* whatever its etymology. He also suggests that Chosroes introduced different rates of poll-tax for different groups in the empire. The Talmudic evidence, however, dates from the fourth century.

[103] Cf. Simon, *supra, Sas. Münzen*, 149–337, and especially the study of a hoard by Farāj al-ʿUsh, *The Silver Hoard of Damascus* (Damascus, 1972), as well as the standard works of R. Göbl, the leading authority on Sasanian numismatics.

[104] On the military reforms see A. D. H. Bivar, "Cavalry Equipment and Tactics on the Euphrates Frontier," *Dumbarton Oak Papers*, 26 (Washington, D.C., 1972), 273–91.

after which peace was made with Justinian who paid the Persians a large indemnity. On his return, however, Chosroes obtained ransom from a number of Byzantine cities on his way. Because of these activities Justinian renounced the truce just concluded and prepared to send Belisarius, who had been successful in Italy and North Africa, against the Sasanians.

After returning, Chosroes built a new city, strictly following the model of Antioch, near Ctesiphon, and he settled his captives from Antioch in it, calling it the presumptious title Weh Antiok Khusrau (Better than Antioch [has] Chosroes [built this]), but it was called Rumagan, 'town of the Greeks' by the local inhabitants, and al-Rūmiyya by the Arabs. He is said to have founded several other towns and erected walls at Derbend. The following year the Sasanians took advantage of the request of emissaries from the king of Lazica to send an army to support him against Byzantine encroachments, and at first they were successful capturing a Byzantine fortress on the Black Sea coast called Petra and establishing a protectorate where Sasanian rule had never before penetrated. Belisarius in Mesopotamia ravaged the country around Nisibis, but no decisive battle was fought, and the Byzantine general was recalled by Justinian and sent to the west. In 543 a Byzantine army suffered defeat in Armenia, and Chosroes was encouraged to again invade Syria, and he besieged Edessa, now more important than Antioch, but he was repulsed and retreated with the payment of a ransom. A five-year truce was then concluded between the two empires and Chosroes received two thousand pounds of gold. In Lazica the inhabitants revolted against Persian control, and a Byzantine force was sent in the fourth year of the truce to aid the local populace to oust the Persians, and as a result the Lazic war continued for a number of years.

Both Procopius and Agathias stress the strategic importance of Lazica, and if we view the Lazic war as a prelude to the ambitious dreams of Chosroes to control the trade of the silk route to China and the sea way to India, as indicated by his interventions later with the Turks and in Yemen, then the Byzantine authors may have correctly discerned the far-reaching plans of the Persians. In the Lazic war Chosroes finally lost, and negotiations were begun with Byzantium in 556 which led to a fifty-year peace treaty signed in 561, by which the Persians evacuated Lazica for an annual payment of gold. The treaty and a description of the sealing of the documents can be found in Menander Protector (frag. 11 M), giving an insight into contemporary diplomatic protocol.

In the east a new force had appeared in Central Asia, the Turks, who attacked the Hephthalites defeating them. Chosroes, taking advantage of the disunity of Hephthalite princes and apparently the absence of a central authority among them, about 557–558 annexed some Hephthalite principalities south of the Oxus River, while the Turks extended their hegemony north of the river. The main Hephthalite domains, however, were not annexed by the Sasanians, for under the son and successor of Chosroes they caused much trouble. The initial cordiality between the Turks and Chosroes soon changed, possibly because of the hope of Chosroes to dominate trade between Central Asia, China and India and the West. Later relations between the Turks and Persians deteriorated, and in 568 a Turkish embassy, recorded by Menander, arrived in Byzantium to make an alliance against the Persians, but nothing came of the proposed two front attack on Sasanian Iran.

The hostilities in the north between the two empires were matched by competition in the Arabian peninsula especially Yemen, where the Ethiopians, who had been converted to Monophysite Christianity, sent an army in 522 against the Himyarites, the dominant power in south Arabia at that time.[105] A local leader Dhu Nuwas defeated the Ethiopians and sought aid from Iran, while the Ethiopians turned to the Byzantines who responded with ships and supplies. The king of Ethiopia led his troops across the Red Sea in 525, defeated and killed Dhu Nuwas and installed an Ethiopian protegé as king of the Himyarites. The success of the Ethiopians led to an embassy to them from Justinian in 531, reported by Procopius (I, 20), who says the Byzantines suggested that the Ethiopians could force the Persians out of the India trade. Nothing came of this, since an Ethiopian general, Abraha, seized power in the Himyarite kingdom sometime between 532 and 535 and established an independent state which he ruled until his death in 569 or 570, the 'year of the elephant' or the year of the birth of the prophet Muḥammad. Several years afterwards Ma'd-Karib, one of the sons of Abraha, fled from his half-brother who had succeeded to the throne, and he secured the support of Chosroes. The latter sent a fleet and a small army under a commander called Vahriz to the area near present Aden and they marched against the capital Ṣan'ā'l which was occupied. Saif, son of Ma'd-Karib, who had accompanied the expedition became king sometime between 575 and 577. Thus the Sasanians were able to establish a base in south Arabia to control the sea trade with the east. Later the south Arabian kingdom renounced Sasanian overlordship and another Persian expedition was sent in 598 which was successful in annexing southern Arabia as a Sasanian province which lasted until the time of troubles after Chosroes II.

In 565 the emperor Justinian died and was succeeded by Justin II, who resolved to stop subsidies to Arab chieftains to restrain them from raiding Byzantine territory in Syria. A year earlier the Sasanian governor of Armenia, of the Suren family, built a fire temple at Dvin near modern Erevan, and he put to death an influential member of the Mamikonian family, which touched off a revolt which led to the massacre of the Persian governor and his guard in 571. Justin II took advantage of the Armenian revolt to stop his yearly payments to Chosroes for the defense of the Caucasus passes. The Armenians were welcomed as allies, and an army was sent into Sasanian territory which besieged Nisibis in 572, but dissension among the Byzantine generals not only led to an abandonment of the siege, but they in turn were besieged in the city of Dara, which was taken by the Persians, who then ravaged Syria and caused Justin to sue for peace.

Justin was succeeded by Tiberius, a high Byzantine officer, in 574 who made a truce with Chosroes, but it was not concluded, and in the following year the Persians invaded Armenia where they were at first successful. Then, as so frequently in the wars between the two empires, fortune changed, and the Byzantines gained many

[105] For a summary of history and a bibliography relating to south Arabia, see A. Dietrich, "Geschichte Arabiens vor dem Islam," in *HO*, *Orientalische Geschichte von Kyros bis Mohammed* (Leiden, 1966), 325–36, esp. 334–34; also S. Smith, "Events in Arabia in the 6th Century A.D.," *BSOAS*, 16 (1954), 425–68, and many articles by I. Shahid in *Arabica* (1956, 58), *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (1957, 1959, 1960), and others. Much interesting material is scattered throughout the seven volumes of F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der Alten Welt* (Berlin, 1964–69), esp. vol. 5, erster Teil (1968), 305–91.

local successes. Attempts to negotiate a peace in 576 failed after a great Sasanian victory over the Byzantines in Armenia. In 578 a new Byzantine commander Maurice captured several Sasanian strongholds, but the Armenian revolt came to an end with a general amnesty from Chosroes, which brought Armenia back into the Sasanian Empire, and peace negotiations between the two great powers were under way when Chosroes died in 579.

It is impossible to do more than summarize the achievements of Chosroes and to list the various developments in political, social and cultural matters during his reign. So much is ascribed to Chosroes in later Islamic writings that it is difficult to determine how much is fact or fable. Certainly much that we find in state organization, taxes and the like, in Islamic times had their origins in the state reforms under Chosroes, or in changes which occurred during his reign, and the tendency of peasants in Iran today to assign any obviously pre-Islamic bridge, caravanserai or other structure to Chosroes 'of the immortal soul' is testimony of the impression he made on his contemporaries. Even foreign writers inimical to Chosroes were somewhat awed by the imposing figure of the Sasanian ruler, cruel and hard but worthy of respect.

Although history, especially in Iran, has been limited to urban, elite groups, the basis of support of an Iranian government or culture was the rural peasantry, and during the Mazdakite upheaval, even the peasantry influenced events. It may be exaggerated to say that Iran was changed from a feudal land into an empire after Chosroes, for castes continued, with the scribes or bureaucracy added to the traditional Indo-Iranian three-caste system of priests, warriors and common folk. In a sense the landowning elite gave way in influence to a bureaucratic elite tied to the crown. The direct taxes levied on the land and on the peasants greatly reduced the 'middle-man' role of the landed nobility between common folk and the court. Although we have no statistics and only fragments of data, one may speculate that in the long run the reforms of Chosroes caused problems for the peasants, because a substantial shift in peasant settlement patterns from old irrigated lands to new dry-farming lands seems to have occurred.[106] The massive irrigation systems of Chosroes on the plains, aided by dams and canals, may have at first aided an expansion of agriculture, but the centralization perhaps robbed the local people of initiative with the result of a decline in population on the plains with a consequent growth of towns. On the plateau we have no information but urban development was certainly much smaller than in Mesopotamia. Also Mesopotamia and Khuzistan were easier to administer by the central government.

The urban development in Khuzistan can be linked to the great expansion of trade under Chosroes I. The state now tended toward monopolistic control of the trade with luxury goods assuming a far greater role in the trade than heretofore, and the great activity in building of ports, caravanserais, bridges, and the like was linked to

[106] This was especially true in Khuzistan acc. to archaeological surveys; cf. R. J. Wenke, "Imperial Investments and Agricultural Developments in Parthian and Sasanian Khuzestan: 150 B.C. to A.D. 640," in *Mesopotamia*, 10–11 (Florence, 1975–76), 31–221, esp. 131–39. On irrigation systems see also R. M. Adams, "Agriculture and Urban Life in early Southwestern Iran," *Science*, 136 (1962), 9.

trade and to urbanization.[107] The Persians dominated international trade, both in the Indian Ocean and in Central Asia and South Russia in the time of Chosroes, although competition with the Byzantines was at times intense. Sasanian settlements in Oman and Yemen testify to the importance of the trade with India, but the silk trade with China, as we shall see, was mainly in the hands of the Sogdians.

For trade or defense reasons Chosroes practiced the ancient transfer of populations from one part of the empire to another as one can see by the addition of bishoprics to the realm of eastern Christianity, as well as by many notices of such shifts in the sources. He also welcomed refugees from the Byzantine Empire such as the philosophers from the school at Athens which had been closed by Justinian in 529. They became homesick, however, and Chosroes negotiated their return in a peace treaty according to Agathias (II, 30), but he still had many medical doctors and sages at his court. On the intellectual side of his court, translations were made into Middle Persian from Greek, Syriac and Sanskrit, and many stories have been preserved in later Arabic and Persian works on the chief minister and sage Buzurjmihr, to give him the Arabic form of his name. The introduction of the game of chess to Iran from India is tied with his name, and although many scholars have considered him to be a fiction, Christensen not only argues his real existence but identifies him with a medical doctor called Burzoe, also at the court of Chosroes.[108] Connected with the name of Chosroes I are many wise sayings in Islamic works and collections of such *andarz* are many, such that it is highly probable that this Sasanian monarch became the origin of many apocryphal stories in later works.[109] In the realm of religion many Middle Persian books are said to have been written in the time of Chosroes, although it should be remembered that just as Shapur I and II are confused in later works, so are Chosroes I and II. The Pahlavi books, as well as Islamic sources, imply that Chosroes I was tolerant of religions other than Zoroastrianism, which he ordered cleared of heresy, and most scholars agree that the final and fixed form of later, dualistic Zoroastrianism traces its origins back to the reign of Chosroes I.[110]

If we turn to the visual arts, again the pomp and glory of the reign of Chosroes strike the observer. Many Sasanian silver objects date from the time of Chosroes,

[107] On trade see R. Adams, "Anthropological Perspectives on Ancient Trade," in *Current Anthropology*, 15 (1974), 239–58; also D Whitehouse and A Williamson, "Sasanian Maritime Trade," *Iran*, 11 (1973), 29–49, esp 29. On Sasanian settlements on the Arab side of the Gulf, see J. C. Wilkinson, "Arab–Persian Land Relationships in late Sāsanid Oman," in *Proceedings of the Sixth Seminar for Arabian Studies* (London, 1973), 40–49 For the Byzantine trade with India, but mostly dealing with an earlier period, see N Pigulevskaya, *Vizantiya na putyakh v Indiyu* (Moscow, 1951), esp. 184–90. Finds of Sasanian coins and silver plates and goblets in Russia indicate that trade increased greatly under Chosroes I.

[108] See A. Christensen, "La légende du sage Buzurjmihr," *Acta Orientalia*, 8 (1930), 104–08, and G. Klinge, "Burzoe, der Leibarzt von Chosrow Anuschirwan," *Die Welt des Islams*, Sonderband (1941), 140–51.

[109] See the examples in M. Grignaschi, "Quelques spécimens de la littérature sassanide," *JA* (1966), 16–45. On the forms and models of Sasanian *andarz* literature, see E. Fichtner, "Untersuchungen über die Mittelpersische Handarz-Literatur," (Ph.D. thesis, Berlin, 1963).

[110] On freedom of Christians during his reign see Christensen, *L'Iran*, [n. 1], 421, with references, and on Zoroastrianism, see Zaehner, *op. cit.* [ch. 3, n. 40], 50–52, with references. On literature see M. Boyce, "Middle Persian Literature" in *HO, Iranistik* (Leiden, 1968), 31–66. Both Sasanian religion and literature are complicated subjects requiring entire books devoted to them.

although dating is frequently exceedingly difficult.[111] One reason for problems in identifying or dating Sasanian art is the lack of a 'Zoroastrian' art and an artistic symbolism matching Christian and Buddhist art, although decoration perhaps predominated in late Sasanian art over representation, and much of the geometric or floral nature of Islamic art seems to have had its origins in Sasanian Iran. Even though one can hardly speak of a 'Zoroastrian' art, all specialists agree that Sasanian art, like its predecessor the art of the Achaemenids, is a royal art with plenty of royal symbolism. Much more than trade and commerce, art was bound to the court and the wishes of the ruler, and it seems that, just like the coinage, the silver plates, textiles, even glassware and pottery, not to mention architecture, all came from royal workshops or related establishments. Whether Sasanian art is primarily derived from Hellenistic art or is more dependent on ancient Iranian and Near Eastern traditions is a matter for art historians and need not concern us here, but whatever the origins, Sasanian motifs, such as the mythical bird, the *senmurv*, are found on art objects from India, China and the western world, evidence of the importance of Sasanian culture in the realm of the arts.[112]

It is not possible here to even mention the many aspects and problems of Sasanian art, except to note several features which exemplify the nature of political power and pomp of the Sasanian rulers. The monumental architecture, such as the Qalā-ye Dukhtār and palace of Ardashir at Firuzabad, the Taq-e Kisra in Ctesiphon, if not built by Chosroes at least enlarged or completed by him, and others, all express the pride and wealth of the Sasanians. The symbolic quality of the representational art of the Sasanians too strikes one, for representation of kingly glory may be seen in many forms, such as the mountain goat with a ribbon around its neck, the head of a wild boar, tulips, winged creatures, or even leaves, all from nature yet not represented in their natural forms but heraldic in nature. In other words, the art objects may not have been made for the royal court but they appear as though they were. This 'centralization' of only a few art motifs repeated many times expresses the ideals of the imperial state and society after Chosroes I. It is interesting that much more has been written about the arts of the Sasanians, and they have been far more studied, than has been the political, social or economic history of Sasanian Iran.

One branch of Sasanian art which was widespread among the populace but which also displayed the royal motifs mentioned above, and has repercussions in other areas, is that of sphragistics, for in antiquity people used seals instead of signatures. On many thousands of Sasanian seals or seal impressions on clay, we find a large repertoire of

[111] See the survey of Sasanian silver, with bibliography, in *Sasanian Silver*, University of Michigan Museum of Art (Ann Arbor, 1967), esp. 23–84, and for a shorter survey Erdmann, *supra*, *Die Kunst Irans*, 90–108. The latter is also a handbook for all of Sasanian art.

[112] For the Hellenistic origin of Sasanian art see J. Sauvaget, "Remarques sur l'art sassanide," *Revue des Études Islamiques*, (1938), 113–31, also in *JA*, 232 (1940), 19–57 and in various writings of E. Herzfeld. The counter view is represented by K. Erdmann, "Die universalgeschichtliche Stellung der sasanidischen Kunst," in *Saeculum*, 1 (1950), 508–34, esp. 518 and 522; and R. Ghirshman, *Iran, Parthians and Sassanians* (London, 1962), 283–339. On the 'heraldic' and 'antiquarian' nature of Sasanian art, see D. Schlumberger, "Sur l'origine et sur la nature de l'art des Sassanides," in *VIII ième Congrès international d'archéologie classique* (Paris, 1965), 567–77; and E. Will, "L'art sassanide et ses prédécesseurs," *Syria*, 39 (1962), 45–63.

motifs including figures or busts, as well as official seals only with writings.[113] For Sasanian onomastica the seals are invaluable, and we find personal names such as Mihr Bokht or Zurvandad, which, however, do not mean that those who held these names were followers of a separate religion of Mithraism or Zervanism, but they were simply Zoroastrians. Others were named after a fire temple, a day of the month, or for many other reasons. Perhaps more important than private seals, which usually give us only a symbol or design but sometimes the name and title of the owner and rarely other information, were the 'official' seals with writing alone which tell us about administrative divisions of provinces as well as titles, and no personal names, since they were seals of offices not of persons. The vast majority of these seals date from the time of Chosroes I or later, and we have an interesting passage from the *Matigān* which substantiates the evidence of the seals and sealings themselves. It goes as follows: "Furthermore, thus, the seal of usage (official seal) of the *mobads* and of the *hamarkar* (official of finances) was first (introduced) by order of Kavad son of Peroz, and that of the judge (*datavar*) first by order of Chosroes son of Kavad. When the seals of the *mobads* of Fars were carved, it was written not the *mobad* in the name of his *mobad* quality, but in the name of the 'advocate of the poor,' and for this reason it was carved on the seal of the *mobad* of Fars in this manner."[114] Seals, of course, were ancient in the Near East and seem to have been the predecessors of writing. In Babylonia the vast majority of clay sealings were economic in nature, and persons responsible for commercial transactions put their seal mark on goods and records of deliveries of goods.[115] Priests participated in transactions and in control over trade, and both sealings and cuneiform tablets relating to trade and legal matters have been found in temples in ancient Mesopotamia. Since the Sasanians were part of a tradition of conservatism it should cause no surprise to find priests acting as witnesses and as judges and custodians of records in various transactions of a village, city or a province in Sasanian Iran. The two storehouses where Sasanian clay sealings have been found, in a room of the fire temple at Takht-e Sulaiman in Azerbaijan and at Qaṣr-e Abū Naṣr or old Shiraz, held records of various transactions in the form of clay sealings, covering a time span of several generations at the end of the Sasanian period. One controversy still unresolved is to what were the clay sealings *originally* attached before they were placed in their archives? One view is that they were attached to rolled documents, while another is that they were attached to goods before being removed to the archives.[116] In the archives these sealings may have had tags or even documents

[113] Much has been written about seals and sealings; cf. with bibliographies, R. Göbl, *Der sāsanidische Siegelkanon* (Braunschweig, 1973) and R. Gyselen, "Une classification des cachets sasanides selon la forme," *SI*, 5 (1976), 139–46, and her "Ateliers monétaires et cachets officiels sasanides," *SI*, 8 (1979), 189–12, as well as my "Sasanian Clay Seal Impressions Again," *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, 3–4 (Shiraz, 1975), 1–8. On names, the Academy of Sciences of Austria is sponsoring a large project on Iranian onomastica under the direction of Prof. M. Mayrhofer.

[114] Text and trans. in Perikhanian, *Mātigān*, note 81, *op. cit.*, 270.

[115] Discussion with Prof. Hans Nissen of Berlin on 17 March 1977; cf. my "The Use of Clay Sealings in Sasanian Iran," *AI*, Varia V (1976), 117–24.

[116] For the 'goods' theory and Qaṣr-e Abū Nāṣr see R. Frye, "Sasanian Seals and Sealings," *Mémorial Jean de Menasce* (Louvain, 1974), 155–61, and R. Frye, ed., *Sasanian Remains from Qasr-i Abu Nasr* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), 3, 42–44. R. Göbl, *Die Tonbullen vom Tacht-e Suleiman* (Berlin, 1976), esp. 9–19, asserts on the contrary that Sasanian clay sealings hung from documents, which according to him is clear from the material, and is not based on assumptions made by V. Lukonin, Frye and

attached to them for identification, but it is difficult to believe that only documents were originally attached to these sometimes large and heavy pieces of clay of so many different forms.

From sealings, as well as from later Arabic sources, one may reconstruct the provincial subdivisions of Sasanian Iran after Chosroes, under the four military divisions. The province (MP *štry* or *nsng*) was subdivided into *kura* (from Greek χώρα?) also called *ostan*, which in turn were divided into *rostak* (Arabic *rustaq*) or *tasug*.[117] This division, as well as the nomenclature, was not at all uniform throughout the empire and over time designations changed, just as the *dehkan*, once a noble, became a peasant today. Likewise, the administration, loyal to the court and central government, was imposed on the landowning caste system, and sometimes the two clashed in the exercise of power and authority. The difficulty of determining provincial subdivisions in Sasanian times, especially in the lowlands of Khuzistan and Mesopotamia, is compounded by changes in boundaries and in names made by various Sasanian rulers at the end of the dynasty. We may assume that the information provided by Arabic sources relates mainly to the situation after Chosroes II Parviz. The division of the empire into four parts, after the points of the compass, by Chosroes I was more for military or defense purposes than for civil administration, although it must be admitted that we are not informed about the civil organization which was formed beside the military governor (*spahbad*) and his assistant (?) (*padgospan*). To go into details on administrative geography would far exceed the limits of this book, and we must restrict ourselves in brief to Iran proper.

Fars province, the Sasanian homeland, was probably a model for the rest of the empire, and we know there were five *kuras*, designated by the major cities in them, Istakhr, Arrajan, Bishapur, Ardashir Khwarreh and Darabgird. The first, where the governor resided, and the largest, extended east to Yazd. Arrajan was called Weh az Amid Kavad 'better than Amida has Kavad (built this)' or Wāmqubād in Arabic or Bizāmqubād on coins. Ardashir Khwarreh was also called Gur, present Firuzabad. The divisions of Khuzistan province are unclear, for different Arabic sources give various provincial subdivisions, but there were at least seven, since Khuzistan, although much smaller than Fars, was richer agriculturally and was more heavily populated. The largest *kura* was Hormizd-Ardashir (called Hormizshahr or Suq al-Ahwaz by the Arabs), present Ahwaz. Other *kuras* were Rustaqubad (in Arabic the area of 'Askar Mukram), Shustar, Susa, Jundeshapur, Ramŭz and Dauraq, but over time changes were many in this province. For other provinces, especially on the plateau, we have much less information which is also confusing.[118] Changing of provincial and local boundaries was made for many reasons, but such changes were more frequent on the plains than on the plateau where geographical features, such as

others. How Göbl would explain traces of linen cloth on the backs of some sealings as well as *crossed* cord marks, as well as various forms of the sealings, escapes me.

[117] On the subdivisions, with references, see R. Frye, *The Golden Age of Persia* (London, 1975), 10–11. Different Arabic authors use different terminology, sometimes *ostān* was used for a province (as today) also *shahr* which was sometimes used in place of *kūra*, thus causing much confusion. *Kūra* was used in Fars, but other provinces may have had other designations for it.

[118] *Ibid.*, 11–15. A detailed discussion of the administrative divisions of late Sasanian Iraq may be found in the Ph.D. thesis of Michael Morony, "Continuity and Change in Early Islamic Iraq" at UCLA, manuscript enlarged in 1981, to be published as a book by Princeton University Press.

mountains and rivers, kept divisions fairly constant, and the administrative subdivisions of Fars province, for example, have remained much the same throughout history although towns in them rose and declined.

Enough has been said to indicate the great significance of the reign of Chosroes I, and even though much has accumulated around his name and reign which should not be attributed to him, nonetheless the achievements of Chosroes were outstanding. Yet in the long run they did not insure lasting loyalty to the dynasty, and they did not rectify the grave defects of the caste system of society. On the contrary, the centralization of power and authority left local officials with little initiative and much resentment, at least in regard to the central power, such that the Islamic invaders, after the defeat of the imperial armies in three great battles in the west, had only local opposition, with little thought of unity to defend the empire. But the weakness of Sasanian Iran at that time was in no small measure the result of both internal and external fighting in the empire and the lack of rulers with the personal influence and power of a Shapur or Chosroes.

THE LAST RULERS

Hormizd IV, son of Chosroes and a Turkish princess given in marriage to the Sasanian monarch to promote good relations between the two states, inherited the war with Byzantium. Attempts by Tiberius to end the war between the two empires failed, mainly because the Persians refused to surrender the city of Dara and also demanded a large annual subsidy. The Byzantine general Maurice was successful against the Persians in Mesopotamia, but in 582 the death of Tiberius caused Maurice to go to the capital to mount the throne, and he was replaced by incompetent generals who were defeated, and the war continued with attacks and counter-attacks. More threatening, however, was an invasion of the Turks into the northeastern part of the Sasanian Empire. Fortunately Iran had a brilliant general of the Mihran family called Bahram Chobin who decisively defeated the Turks at a great battle near Herat in 589, reported in a number of sources.[119] The chronology and events in this period have been studied in detail with few large problems remaining, except the usual details of chronology and verifiability, so unlike most of ancient Iranian history.[120] After his defeat of the Turks Bahram Chobin is reported to have crossed the Oxus and secured much booty, but so much fable is intertwined with the deeds of Bahram that it is difficult to tell fact from fiction, and furthermore stories about Bahram Chobin and Bahram Gōr are exchanged in the tales about both Bahrams. It is unlikely that the ruler killed by Bahram in the east was the king of the Western Turks, but more likely a subordinate ruler. Whether the Turkish attack on Iran was a well-coordinated plan

[119] See L. N. Gumilev, "Voina 589g. i Geratskaya Bitva," *Izvestiya Akad. Nauk Tadzhikskoi SSR*, 23 (1960), 61–73.

[120] On the chronology see M. J. Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice* (Washington, D.C., 1939), esp. 72–73. Cf. P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam* (Paris, 1951), 120–83; N. V. Pigulevskaya, *Vizantiya i Iran, na rubezhe VI: VII vekov* (Moscow, 1946), 84–113; and A. I. Kolesnikov, "Iran v Nachale VII veka," *Palestinskii Sbornik*, 22 (85) (1970), 1–143. Extensive bibliographies may be found in all. Especially interesting for this period are the anonymous Syriac chronicle edited by I. Guidi in *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Louvain, 1955) and the Armenian history of Sebeos.

together with Byzantine and Arab diversions in the west with the aim of ending a Sasanian monopoly on east-west trade is possible but mere surmise.[121] The popular general was then sent to the Caucasus area, and although Theopylactus (III, 6) says that the Persians were the aggressors, the hostilities between the two empires had not been resolved, and Bahram's initial success was a continuation of the struggle. But in a minor engagement Bahram was defeated by the Byzantines, and this led to his revolt in Iran.

Hormizd, according to Ṭabarī (I, 987) Thaʿālibī (637–638) and other Arabic and Persian authors, suppressed the great nobility and protected the weak, which indicates a continued opposition to the policies of Chosroes, and it seems clear that internal affairs in Iran were most unsettled. Bahram's demotion and revolt, attributed to the jealousy of Hormizd in the sources, surely had deeper roots in the unhappiness of the nobility with their ruler, for Bahram was supported by the nobility on all sides. Troops sent to attack Bahram deserted to him, and Bahram marched on Ctesiphon late in the year 589. The aristocracy did not support Hormizd, and the religious leaders also were not happy with the tolerance and even friendship of Hormizd towards Christians and other non-Zoroastrians, so the ruler was abandoned. A palace revolt freed the nobles Hormizd had imprisoned, and the rebels were led by two brothers-in-law of the monarch, called Bindoe and Bistam; Hormizd was seized and blinded. In February 590 Chosroes Abarvez or Parviz 'the victorious' was raised to the throne, and shortly thereafter Hormizd was put to death. Bahram, however, was not reconciled to the son of Hormizd, and hostilities broke out at Hulwan, but Chosroes, seeing that he could not defeat the experienced general, fled to Ctesiphon and then to the Byzantine frontier, and at Circesium in March 590 he was received by the governor who communicated the request of Chosroes for asylum and aid to regain his throne to Emperor Maurice in Constantinople. Chosroes was granted asylum in Hierapolis until a decision about aid to him could be reached. Both Bahram and Chosroes promised the ceding of a number of frontier towns to the Byzantines, if they would support one or the other.

The course of events leading to the restoration of Chosroes II are known from Theophylactus and Theophanes as well as from Arabic sources, and the rule of Bahram lasted only a year. Legitimacy of the house of Sasan played a role in the erosion of support for the usurper Bahram, and Nisibis was the first important city to defect to Chosroes and his Byzantine allies. Bindoe the uncle of Chosroes, who had accompanied him into exile, was sent with an army to Armenia to outflank Bahram, who was defeated in the lowlands and lost Ctesiphon. He retreated to Azerbaijan but was finally defeated and fled to the Turks in Central Asia where he received asylum, until he was assassinated after a year. Thus ended the reign of Bahram who, more than his soverign, captured the emotions of Persian bards and story tellers, but peace did not return to the land.

Chosroes had to cede territory to Byzantium, reward his supporters and punish his enemies, and the last caused trouble, for Chosroes did not known how to treat his

[121] Gumilev, *op. cit* [n. 119], 72. His identification of the leader of the Turks as one Il-Tegin, or Sāve in Islamic sources, is possible.

uncles, who had been instigators of the death of his father. He put to death Bindoe, but Bistam escaped and became a rebel in the Elburz mountains. Gathering former partisans of Bahram Chobin around him, Bistam was able to maintain independence and even expand his authority, striking coins and ruling the northeastern part of Iran. It was not until 601 that the rule of Chosroes was restored over all of the empire which had been greatly weakened by the civil wars.

Peace and good relations were maintained with the Byzantines thoughout the rule of Maurice in spite of raids of the Ghassanid Arab clients of the Byzantines into Sasanian territory in 600, but the murder of the Byzantine emperor and the seizure of the throne in Constantinople by Phokas, an officer, in 602 changed the situation. Chosroes used this as a pretext for opening hostilities and, when an emissary from the new Byzantine emperor arrived, he was imprisoned. Phokas was faced with revolts all over the empire, and Edessa, which had replaced Antioch as the most important city in the general area of northern Syria, was besieged by an army sent by Phokas. Chosroes in 604 sent an army against the forces besieging Edessa who were defeated, and the Persians briefly occupied the city. Dara also fell after a siege in 605, and Chosroes resolved to carry the war into the heart of enemy territory. One army sent into Armenia was completely successful and continued westward invading Cappadocia, while in 607 a renewed Sasanian invasion of the west captured more towns. In 610 Phokas was overthrown and killed, and Heraclius became emperor with the resolve to make peace at once with Chosroes. The latter refused, however, and war continued with more Persian successes. In 613 Damascus was captured and in the following year Jerusalem, where among other booty the true cross was taken to Ctesiphon. In 615 a Persian general marched to Chalcedon opposite Constantinople, while in 617 the king of the Avars appeared before the land walls of the Byzantine capital. Emperor Heraclius almost left the city in despair for north Africa, especially after Egypt, the main source of grain for the empire, was occupied by the Persians in 619.

Although Chosroes had succeeded in extending the frontiers of the Sasanian Empire almost to the limits of the Achaemenid Empire, Heraclius had not been crushed, and indeed he made a number of radical changes in his empire, dividing it into large military zones, the theme system, each under a military officer, and local people rather than mercenaries were enrolled in the armies. A crusade began, supported by the populace as well as by contributions of the church. Since the Byzantines controlled the seas, Heraclius resolved on a bold stroke, and in 622 he sailed into the Black Sea with an expeditionary force which penetrated into Armenia where Sasanian forces were defeated. The Avars were constrained to a peace by payment of a large tribute, but Chosroes still refused to make peace. In the following year Heraclius repeated his previous feat and defeated Sasanian detachments led by Shahin who formerly had reached Chalcedon, and Shahrbaraz, another top general of Chosroes. Heraclius penetrated into Azerbaijan and captured and plundered the Sasanian fire temple and sanctuary Adur Gushnasp at Ganzak or Shiz. Heraclius did not leave Azerbaijan in the winter as expected but retired northwards into winter quarters. Chosroes decided to copy the bold stroke of Heraclius, and outdo the audacity of the Byzantines, by capturing Constantinople with the aid of the Avars. But Byzantine sea power prevented any success of the allies; Heraclius did not return,

and the gamble failed. Heraclius, still on Iran's territory, was not idle but had made an alliance with the Turkish Khazars, who had established a state north of the Caucasus, and in late 627 the Khazars and Byzantines moved south through Azerbaijan reaping booty with little opposition. Heraclius moved farther south to the plains of Mesopotamia, and in desperation Chosroes recalled all of his forces from Anatolia. Before any opposition to Heraclius could be organized, the latter captured Dastagird in 628, east of Ctesiphon, where Chosroes had a large palace complex and much riches. Then Heraclius again withdrew north in Mesopotamia to winter quarters.

Chosroes had failed but whether he sought a scapegoat in Shahrbaraz, who revolted, or whether a large conspiracy dethroned the ruler, the king was imprisoned and killed with the connivance of his son Shiroe at the end of February 628. Shiroe took the name Kavad and ascended the throne as Kavad II. He at once began peace negotiations with Heraclius and the *status quo* before the war was restored with prisoners exchanged, relics and booty restored, and Sasanian troops evacuated from all Byzantine possessions. Kavad's reign had lasted less than a year when he died, probably in an epidemic, to be succeeded by his infant son Ardashir III. Shahrbaraz, head of a large army, decided to seize the throne himself, and he marched on Ctesiphon, defeated forces sent against him and killed the young king. Shahrbaraz himself was murdered after less than two months' rule. Since no son of Chosroes was alive, the nobles raised his daughter Boran to the throne, but she died after ruling little more than a year. A succession of rulers followed, each ruling only a few months, including Azarmedukht, sister of Boran, Peroz II, Hormizd V and Chosroes IV (since a Chosroes III had ruled for a short time in the eastern part of the empire). At the end, the nobles found a grandson of Chosroes alive, a certain Yazdagird son of Shahriyar, in Istakhr in a fire temple. He was to be the last of the Sasanian kings and, ascending the throne in 632, he had little time to rule.

The long reign of Chosroes II was not only known for the internal as well as external strife but also for the luxury, or even decadence, of the court. For example, the throne of Chosroes II was famous in legend for its luxury and the rock carving of a hunting scene of the king at Taq-e Bustan indicates the sumptuousness of even such a mundane affair. His palaces at Dastagird and at Qasr-e Shirin, supposedly named after his queen, are noted in legends for their opulence. The famous musician Barbad lived at his court, and a certain degeneracy appears from accounts of life at the court, and that more than patronage of the arts or philosophers seem to have been the hallmark of Chosroes II.[122]

The revolts of Bahram Chobin and Bistam reveal weaknesses in the system of Chosroes I, since the nobility was basically unwilling to support the throne, although they were still conservative enough to demand a Sasanian prince as ruler rather than a usurper to the throne. One mistake of Chosroes II, which was to have future consequences, was the imprisonment and execution of Nu'man III, king of the Lakhmids of al-Hira about 600, presumably because of the failure of the Arab king to support Chosroes on his flight to the Byzantines. Afterwards the central government took over the defense of the western frontiers to the desert and the buffer state of the

[122] For a detailed description of the luxury of the court of Chosroes II and the various cultural activities during his reign, see Christensen, *op. cit.* [n 1], 453–87.

Lakhmids vanished. Soon the Arabs of the peninsula invaded lower Iraq, and it was only four years after the accession of Yazdagird that his chief general Rustam was decisively defeated and killed at the battle of Qadisiyya near al-Hira. The following year Ctesiphon was taken by the Arabs. Attempts to rally forces on the plateau failed, and in 642 the rest of the imperial Sasanian army was destroyed at the battle of Nihavend. Just as with the last of the Achaemenids, so Yazdagird fled to the east and took refuge with the *marzban* of Merv; the latter, however, resolved to be rid of an unwelcome guest, but Yazdagird fled and hid in a mill where he was murdered in 651. Thus the Sasanian Empire went on the same road as the Achaemenid, and to the outside observer, removed from both by many centuries, the similarities in their final years strike one more than the differences. Details of the fall of the Sasanian Empire, however, belong to the history of Islam and the Arab conquests, of which we have a veritable plethora of sources in comparison with Sasanian history.

The last century of the empire saw an increase in converts to Christianity, and the expansion of bishoprics to the east can be found in the acts of the Nestorian synods. Not only did the richest part of the empire, the lowlands of the Tigris–Euphrates, become predominantly Christian, with Monophysites gaining ground against the Nestorians at the end of the empire, but the plateau too saw an increase in churches. This does not mean, however, that the Sasanian state was becoming Christian just before the Islamic era, as some have suggested. The state religion was still upheld by all of the rulers, even though it had become a faith primarily of rituals and taboos. It had a great disadvantage in comparison to Christianity and Islam in that it was not an oecumenical religion actively seeking converts, and it was bound too closely to the Sasanian state and its fortunes. One might say that in the later years of the Sasanian Empire the state dominated the church, whereas in the west the reverse seems more true, or perhaps one could say 'used' rather than 'dominated' in both cases. The organization of minority religions in the Sasanian Empire served to protect Zoroastrianism after the Arab conquest, when the change from dominant, state religion to one of minority status was made, and this enabled Zoroastrianism to survive to the present. The status of Jews and Christians changed little under Islam, except that the model of an imperial state and religion, which influenced their organizations and outlooks, changed to a 'democratic' model, which the Islamic state under the early caliphs was in comparison. In Judaism the end of the Sasanian Empire meant the decline and fall of the exilarchate and the triumph of the rabbinate, much like the *ʿulamā* of Islam. For Manichaeans the end of the Sasanians gave them a chance to come into the open in Iraq and Iran, until later in the ʿAbbasid Caliphate they fell victims of a persecution. The Nestorian church, on the other hand, experienced a revival with missionaries penetrating to China. Only Zoroastrians soon withdrew into ghettoes, to be followed later by other minority religions in the Islamic world. It was mainly the Zoroastrian clergy which preserved the Middle Persian writings, which explains the loss of so much secular literature. The latter, however, was translated, or paraphrased, into Arabic and later New Persian, but with an Islamic reworking of texts, which makes reconstruction of originals difficult. But in these later, secular writings the heritage of the Sasanians was preserved, and it was a powerful force in the making of Islamic culture.[123]

[123] On this see Frye, *op. cit.* [n. 117].

The last holdout of Sasanian Iran was in the east, and it is to this little studied part of the world, with so few sources, that we finally turn before ending the story of ancient Iranian culture. For the petty states of Central Asia, too, were part of the ancient Iranian world, and their role in bringing Iranian influences to China and to Russia should not be forgotten.

CHAPTER XII

EASTERN IRAN AND CENTRAL ASIA

Literature: We return to numismatics and scattered notices in the same sources mentioned under the Sasanians, and again archaeology and art history assume a much greater importance than for the period of the Sasanians in the west. Fortunately we have two useful books for the sources on Central Asian history in general for the period which parallels that of the Sasanians: *Prolegomena to the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest, 1979) and *Studies in the Sources on the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest, 1979), both edited by J. Harmatta. This makes any further remarks on literary sources here superfluous and the reader is advised to consult these works.

A new group of sources is important for this area and time written in Chinese. The Chinese dynastic histories of the Pei, Wei, Chou, Sui and T'ang dynasties contain interesting accounts of the western regions relative to China, but even more than Classical sources they repeat and copy information and models from past histories such that frequently one does not know whether he is reading about the contemporary scene or events and locales of several centuries before the time they purport to record. For references to the Chinese sources see W. M. McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1939), 454 and 489–92.

The accounts of Chinese Buddhist travellers are also important for information about present day Central Asia and Afghanistan and most have been translated. See especially Fa Hsien (c. 400) and Sung-yün (c. 518), translated by S. Beal into English (London, 1869, reprinted 1964) and also by H. Giles (Cambridge, 1923), and Hsüan Tsang (c. 630), translated by S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, (London, 1884), and by T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, 2 vols. (London, 1904). Also consult "Huei-cha'o's Pilgerreise durch Nordwest-Indien und Zentral-Asien um 726," translated by W. Fuchs in *Sb. PAW*, 30 (1938), 426–69. Russian translations of Chinese sources may be found in the old but useful N. Ya. Bichurin, *Sobranie svedenii o narodakh obitavshikh v Srednei Azii v drevnie vremena*, 3 vols. (Moscow, 1950 – reprinted). It should be noted that here the Wade–Giles system of transcription of Chinese characters is followed which, although archaic, may easily be changed to other systems. It is not possible to mention all of the publications relevant to our subject, but the translation of *Accounts of Western Nations in the History of the Northern Chou Dynasty* by R. A. Miller (Berkeley, 1959), as well as S. Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang* (London, 1911) = Hsüan Tsang, should be mentioned.

Numismatics is of prime importance and fortunately we have two very useful compilations and surveys of the coins of the period in R. Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1967), as well as M. Mitchiner, *The Early Coinage of Central Asia* (London, 1973), as well as his *Oriental Coins and their Values* (London, 1978). For further articles, especially by Göbl and Mitchiner see the annotated bibliographies of *Numismatic Literature* of the ANS. On the Kushano–Sasanian coins see the pioneer work of E. Herzfeld, *Kushano–Sasanian Coins* in the Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 38 (Calcutta, 1930). After Herzfeld we have A. D. H. Bivar, "The Kushano–Sasanian Coin Series," *JNSI*, 18 (1956), 13–52, and V. Lukonin, "Kushano–Sasanidskie Monety," *EV*, 18 (1967), 16–33.

For the Hephthalite coins see R. Göbl, "Die Beziehungen zwischen den Münzgruppen der sogenannten Kušāno–Sasaniden, der Kidariten und der frühen Hephthaliten," in *Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica*, Rome 1961 (Rome, 1965), 469–74, and M. Mitchiner, "Some Late Kushano–Sasanian and Early Hephthalite Silver Coins," *EW*, 25 (1975), 157–66. Bibliographies may be found in all of the above works.

Inscriptions in Bactrian, written in the Greek alphabet, are few and far between, but they last well into the Islamic period of history, and they have been gathered by H. Humbach in *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden, 1966–67), with an extensive review by I. Gershevitch, "Bactrian Inscriptions and Manuscripts," *IF*, 72 (1967), 27–57. See also H. F. Junker, "Die Hephthalitischen Münzinschriften," *Sb. PAW*, 27 (Berlin, 1930), 641–62, as well as O. Hansen, "Die Berliner Hephthaliten Fragmente," *La Nouvelle Clio*, 3 (Brussels, 1951), 41–69, followed by his note "Ein neues Hephthaliten-Fragment," *La Parola del Passato*, 20 (1951), 361–65. Of importance also is the article "Late Bactrian Inscriptions," by J.

Harmatta in *AAH*, 17 (1969), 297–432, as well as other articles by him in the same journal and many by Humbach in *MSS*, in *Die Sprache* and elsewhere.

In art and archaeology we find perhaps more publications than all of the other disciplines together, since finds of material and high culture have been many. Among the excavations in Afghanistan the MDAFA volumes related to our subject are: R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites–Hephtalites*, 13 (Cairo, 1948), R. Curiel et D. Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, 14 (Paris, 1953), and parts of volumes 8 and 11 both of which are collective volumes. Other excavations such as Tilla Tepe by Soviet archaeologists are from earlier periods than the one which is discussed here, but for references to finds and sites see F. R. Allchin and N. Hammond, The *Archaeology of Afghanistan* (London, 1978), 233–99.

Archaeology north of the Oxus for our period has many sites but the most important are: *Kara Tepe* (Old Termez), 4 vols. (Moscow, 1964–75), edited by B. Staviskii, and a short distance to the north of Termez *Balalyk-Tepe* (Tashkent, 1960), ed. L. I. Albaum, while the important sites of Afrasiyab and Panjikant, although dating from the period of the Arab conquests, contain much of interest for earlier periods; cf. G. Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting* (Berkeley, California, 1981), where references to earlier publications may be found. On the paintings at Afrasiyab (old Samarqand) see L. I. Albaum, *Zhivopis Afrasiaba* (Tashkent, 1975). An important Buddhist site of the seventh and eighth centuries is *Adzhina-Tepa* (Moscow, 1971) by B. A. Litvinskii and T. I. Zeimal. For bibliographies on minor archaeological sites see G. Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia, HO*, 3 (Leiden, 1969). Sites in Chinese Turkestan, although of great interest because of manuscript remains in Sogdian, Bactrian, Parthian and Middle Persian, not to mention 'Tokharian', Tibetan, Chinese and Turkish, as well as remains of wall paintings and other Iranian cultural remains, lie outside the scope of this volume. For bibliographies of works from that area see W. Samolin, *East Turkistan to the Twelfth Century* (The Hague, 1964) and B. Rowland, *Zentralasien*, in Kunst der Welt (Baden-Baden, 1970).

Two scholars have made great contributions in details of Central Asian history, one for the early period J. Marquart (later changed to Markwart) and V. Bartold, who covered the Islamic sources in great detail. For a bibliography of the former see H. H. Schaeder in J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), 53–61, to which should be added "Die Sogdiana des Ptolemaios," *Orientalia*, 15 (Rome, 1946), 123–48 and 286–323. The complete works of Bartold (Barthold) have been published with a volume of his bibliography, *Sochineniya*, 9 vols. (Moscow, 1963–77) and I. I. Umnyakov, *Annotirovannaya Bibliografiya Trudov V. V. Bartolda* (Moscow, 1976).

On the art of Central Asia in this period much has been written. In addition to the book of Rowland, mentioned above, and the book of Azarpay on *Sogdian Painting*, for Sinkiang see the comprehensive volume ed. by L. Hambis, *L'Asie Centrale* (Paris, 1977), where extensive bibliographies are given for the various archaeological missions to Sinkiang, 251–56, as well as a good general bibliography, 257–62. Similarly for west Turkestan but more popular is A. Belenitsky, *Central Asia* (London, 1969).

General histories of Central Asia are *Zentralasien*, ed. by G. Hambly in the series *Fischer Weltgeschichte* (Frankfurt/M, 1966), and in English, *Central Asia* (London–N.Y., 1969), the early chapters are by A. D. H. Bivar, which is much better than R. Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970) for our period of history. T. T. Rice, *Ancient Arts of Central Asia* (London, 1965), unfortunately contains may factual errors.

More bibliography has been given for this chapter than for the others, comparatively speaking, for two reasons, first, because this chapter is in the nature of a brief survey, since there is not space to go into detail, and second, less is known about Central Asia than about Persia and further references are necessary for the reader. It is hoped that enough has been given to indicate the importance of the area as well as the great amount of archaeological, numismatic, artistic (history) work that is at present continuing in this general region. A real history cannot be written perhaps for decades.

THE LEGACY OF THE KUSHANS AND THE SASANIANS

Since the chronology of the great Kushan kings is uncertain, unfortunately so is the history of the period after their fall. There are two points of contact with western chronology which should provide some pegs on which to hang the history of eastern Iran and Central Asia, but they are too laconic to give any secure interpretations. The first is the inscription of Shapur I SKZ and the second are the notices in Classical and Syriac sources that Shapur II was busy for many years in the east with enemies,

subduing them. The internal sources are coins, those of local rulers and those of Sasanian governors or rulers and their dates are highly controversial.

The coinage of the great Kushans ends with Vasudeva I, generally dated by most scholars with the rise of the Sasanians. His coins continued to be minted after his passing, and it has been postulated that there were several rulers with the name Vasudeva, who ruled in the third century. It seems clear that there were several series of copies of the coins of Vasudeva and possibly also of Kanishka, to which coins some scholars have assigned a designation – Kanishka III, but one may only agree that there was a period of time between the last of the great Kushans and the earliest of the Sasanian governors of the Kushan domains, but the hotly disputed question is the length of this gap. One group of scholars prefers a very short gap, to start the series of coins of Sasanian governors of the Kushan domains in the time of Shapur I, while others propose almost a century gap, assigning the latter series of coins to the late part of the reign of Shapur II.[1] The coins present a bi-fold problem – spatial and temporal, and without literary or other sources it is very difficult to assign coins to a particular time and area, especially when the legends on the coins in this general period are usually poorly executed, corrupt, or even completely illegible. In general, one can say that those coins or series of coins which are similar in style to Sasanian coins, and especially if they have Middle Persian legends, are to be assigned to the Bactrian area of the old great Kushan empire, while those with thickness and style similar to the Kushan coins are to be assigned to the Kabul–Gandhara area, whereas those with Brahmi inscriptions, or Indian symbols, such as the *triratna* on them, should originate in the Punjab or elsewhere on the plains of India. This general rule of thumb does not help too much in determining time and place of the striking of many coins, but it must be kept in mind, as well as the convenient designation of 'Sasanian' style gold coins in the eastern Iranian area as Sasano–Kushan, whereas the 'Kushan' style of thick gold coins, as opposed to the thin Sasanian types, should be designated as Kushano–Sasanian, as proposed by V. G. Lukonin.[2] Beyond these general guides a rigorous classification of motifs, crowns and other features of the various coins, as made by R. Göbl, is the only help we have in making informed guesses about the provenance and attribution of the coins. Naturally the records of coin hoards or coins found in excavations are very important for reconstruction of rulers and areas ruled by them, but they are by no means unequivocal, and such finds are few. Therefore, one must try to gather all fragments of information given by the coins and their legends and seek to compose a hypothetical reconstruction of events, knowing full well that

[1] A. D. H. Bivar has consistently maintained the earlier chronology in his "The Kushano–Sassanian Coin Series," *JNSI*, 18 (1956), 13–42 and most recently in "The Absolute Chronology of the Kushano–Sasanian Governors in Central Asia," in Harmatta, *Prolegomena* [ch. 5, n. 139], 317–32. V. G. Lukonin, "Kushano–Sasanidskie Monety," *EV*, 18 (1967), 16–33, and in his "Zavoevaniya Sasanidov na Vostoke i Problema Kushanskoi Absolutnoi Khronologii," *VDI*, 2 (1969), 20–44, and elsewhere, maintains a late chronology beginning with the reign of Shapur II. R. Göbl in his voluminous work, *supra*, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der iranischen Hunnen*, 1, 15–21 begins the series of Kushan governors between 356 and 359. Harmatta, "Late Bactrian Inscriptions," *AAH*, 17 (1969), 386, supports the reign of Hormizd II as the date of the beginning of the series, following a late Persian historian who says that Hormizd married the daughter of the king of Kabul. Other scholars fit into one or another of the above theories.

[2] Lukonin, *Kultura Sasanidskogo Irana* (Moscow, 1969), 124–51. This is a good survey of events as he sees them, but his division of the coins is made earlier in his article in *EV*.

future finds might change many of the suggestions. One must also endeavor to follow rigorous logic in interpretation, and this feature is exhibited by J. Harmatta in his reconstruction of events, which recommends his arguments over others, and on the whole, with only a few deviations, his reconstruction is followed here.[3]

One must postulate a number of kingdoms on the Indian sub-continent as well as in the mountains of present Afghanistan which considered themselves heirs of the great Kushans and struck coins modelled after the gold coins of the latter. Whether Kanishka III was descended from the line of Huvishka and Vasudeva I is unknown, but he struck coins in India; just where cannot be determined, while the successors of Vasudeva I, to whom numismatists have given the designations Vasudeva II and III, seem to have struck their coins in the Bactrian homeland of the great Kushans or in one of the cities in the mountains such as Kabul or Kapisa to the north of Kabul. This viewpoint was accepted by most numismatists, who then postulated a division of the Kushan domains between a northern and a southern kingdom. This hypothesis was shaken, however, by the publication of coin hoards found in Tajikistan where coins of Kanishka III were found in large numbers together with copies of Vasudeva I coinage, but later finds revealed an absence of Kanishka III coins with a great abundance of imitations of Vasudeva gold as well as copper issues.[4] One conclusion to draw from these finds, all north of the Oxus River, is that coins of Kanishka III were accepted as tender in the north for a period of time and then not so, but this tells us nothing of the political situation in the vast area of the former Kushan great empire. In support of the apparently different coinages of the Vasudevas and Kanishka III as representing two Kushan kingdoms one may refer to the inscription of Shapur KZ, where that Kushan kingdom which extended up to the plains of India (Pashkibur) and up to the Sogdian states north of the Hissar range in Central Asia, submitted to Sasanian rule. There is no literary evidence that at this time the Sasanians installed a Sasanian governor as king of the Kushans, rather the contrary, that in SKZ and in the Paikuli inscriptions a non-Sasanian was king of the Kushans, presumably a native dynast.

Everyone agrees that the coins with the names of Sasanian rulers follow directly, if not concurrently, the imitations of Vasudeva in Bactria and in surrounding territories, but when did this coinage begin? Attempts to tie the persons of the Sasanian governors of the Kushan kingdom with Sasanian kings, e.g. the assumption that the first of the governors was Shapur son of Ardashir I before he became Sasanian king of kings, are not convincing and all indications, meagre though they are – crowns, styles of strikes, etc. – point to the fourth century as the time period of these governors. The list of them is generally accepted by most scholars, and they are: Shapur I Kushanshah, followed by Ardashir I, then Ardashir II Kushanshah, Peroz I, Hormizd I, Peroz II, Hormizd II, Bahram I and Bahram II, although some would

[3] Primarily his "Late Bactrian Inscriptions," [n. 1], 380–432, but also in other articles by him such as "Minor Bactrian Inscriptions," *AAH*, 13 (1965), 182–95. A similar position is presented by B. Ya. Stavskii and B. I. Vainberg, "Sasanidy v Pravoberezhnoi Baktrii," *VDI*, 3 (1972), 185–90.

[4] E. A. Davidovich, *Klady Drevnikh i Srednevekovykh Monet Tadzhikistana* (Moscow, 1979), 46. Significant for an inventory of coins found in Afghanistan and Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang), indicating that Sasanian coins in the east really begin with issues of Shapur II (i.e., finds indicate very few before him), is the article by T. Okazaki, "Tentative Chronology on the Eastward Extention of Sassanian Persian Cuture," *Orient*, 7 (Tokyo, 1971), 49–73.

dispute the existence of one or another ruler I and II merely on the basis of a different crown. The suggestions made by various scholars are many and diffuse, and only three are mentioned here, not one of which is more than a surmise. On the basis of a description of Shapur II before the walls of Amida by Ammianus (XIX, 1) with a crown of a ram's head, Bivar suggested that the person described was probably Bahram II Kushanshah, who has a ram's head crown on his coins, rather than Shapur II; Lukonin on the basis of the rock relief of Ardashir II at Taq-e Bustan (which others attribute to Shapur II) showing Mithra, jumps to the conlusion that Peroz and Hormizd Kushanshahs, who represented Mithra on their coins, were both sons of Ardashir II, a collateral line of the house of Sasan, since Ardashir II, according to Lukonin, was the son of Shapur, king of the Sakas. Göbl, believes that Peroz was an epithet of Shapur II on the basis of similar coin types.[5] It is possible that one of these suggestions, or more, is correct, but we simply do not know, and the guess of one scholar in many instances seems as good as that of another. The confident reconstruction of details of the history of eastern Iran on the basis of such surmises, however, shakes one's trust in the reconstruction. We do not know when the Sasanian governors, who minted their own distinctive saucer-shaped (scyphate) coins, ruled, but if one is permitted a latitude in time, they should have begun either in the reign of Hormizd II son of Narseh, or under Shapur II, and they probably lasted until the middle of the fifth century. This does not mean that the Sasanian governors, who may have been virtually independent or who proclaimed their independence (Hormizd I Kushanshah?) by using the title 'shahanshah' instead of just 'shah', were undisputed rulers and unchallenged in Bactria and Afghanistan, for we hear of a new group of presumably nomadic invaders, the Chionites, about the year 350 according to Zonaras (II, 15) and Ammianus (XVI, 9; XVIII, 6), but this does not mean, of course, that they started a new coinage and replaced the Sasanian governors. One may presume, as so many times in the history of this region, that the nomads were taken as mercenaries by the Sasanian kings, and they fought with Shapur II against the Romans.

Although this is the first time we hear of the designation 'Hun' in eastern Iran, it seems highly probable that the nomads who invaded the land south of the Oxus at this time were Iranian even though they may have had some few Hunnic people among them, or more likely they used the dreaded name to instill fear in their enemies, a practice not unknown elsewhere in the history of Central Asia.[6] Throughout the end of the fourth century we hear of Sasanian kings fighting in the east, probably against the nomads, for the most part. Such was the prestige of the Kushans that the chieftains of the invaders claimed to be the heirs of the great rulers of the past in opposition to the Sasanian invaders from the west, and we find one of the chieftains called Kidara who on his coins claims to be a Kushan. Perhaps Kidara was shunted by the Sasanian governors of Bactria to the south to invade India about 360–375, for on the plains there were a number of Kushan successor rulers who struck coins, but the history of

[5] Bivar, "The Absolute Chronology," [n. 1], 328; Lukonin in *op cit.* [n. 1], 30; and Göbl, *op cit.*, [n. 11], 16, and 2, 52.

[6] On forms of the name 'Hun' see H. W. Bailey, "Harahuna," *Asiatica, Festschrift für Friedrich Weller* (Leipzig, 1954), 12–21. On Joshua the Stylite see W. Wright, ed. and trans. (Cambridge, 1882), 7, where read 'Qiyoniya' for 'Kushaniya.'

India is beyond the scope of this volume. Presumably Kidara established a dynasty which lasted many years to judge by the many types of coins issued with his name.[7]

The invasion of nomads into the former Kushan domains brought great changes in the land which we can only dimly ascertain. Much has been made of a Sasanian judge in Kabul during Shapur's reign, with dates from 328 to 368, from an inscription at Persepolis, but fortunately this can be disregarded, since Kabul is not mentioned in the inscription.[8] Much had been built upon this notice regarding the rule of Shapur II in Kabul, but this is no longer a source, and we must return to the coins. The conflicts of the Sasanians and the Kidarite Huns, as they are called in several sources, lasted almost a century until a new group of nomads from north of the Oxus changed the history of the east. The new invaders were also Huns, but to use the phrase coined by Göbl, they, as the Chionites–Kidarites, were Iranian Huns in that their culture and presumably language was Iranian, at least in their proper names and in the inscriptions left by them.

THE HEPHTHALITE INTERLUDE

It should be remembered that until the fourth century the steppes of Central Asia were dominated by Iranian nomads or those who were under Iranian cultural (and even linguistic) influences, with the concept 'Iranian' used in its widest sense as a cultural term. The middle of the fourth century saw the *beginning* of a change on the steppes which gradually led to a domination by Altaic speaking nomads, first the Huns, to use a general term, and then the Turks. It seems that Iranian nomads were pushed, driven or migrated to the south either with Hunnic mixtures, or they used the name of the Huns to instill fear into their opponents. We cannot say whether there were Hunnic leaders among the Chionites who moved across the Oxus, and we cannot determine whether Kidara was an Iranian or a Hun, even though both terms are very wide in usage, but we may suggest that the languages used by all of the tribes and peoples until the coming of the Turks were Iranian, certainly the written tongues, either Bactrian, Sogdian, or possibly Saka in Central Asia. In any case, from the middle

[7] M. Mitchiner, "A Hoard of Late Kushan Gold Staters," *EW*, 25 (1975), 147–56, and the succeeding article in the same journal. See also his "A Kushano–Sassanian Drachm of Varahran Kushanshah bearing Shapur's Bust," in *Numismatic Circular*, 88 (London, 1980), 347–48. Cf. Göbl, *op cit.*, 1 [n. 1], 18–21.

[8] On the MP inscription see R Frye, "The Persepolis Middle Persian Inscriptions from the time of Shapur II," *Acta Orientalia*, 30 (Copenhagen, 1966), 85–88, where Kabul is to be changed to Kavar a town south of Shiraz. In the first inscription the note added by the editor to my *Opera Minora*, 1, ed. by M. Nawabi (Shiraz, 1976), regarding Varāz (gān) = Burāzjān, should be removed (p. 203). The date of the second inscription given by H. S. Nyberg in his *A Manual of Pahlavi* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 162, is not possible; there cannot have been three signs for '20' on the stone which is now cracked. I maintain my date of 18 years of the rule of Shapur II. Likewise, the name of the first town of which *slwky* 'Seleucus' was a judge is much more likely to be read *y')wytšpwhry* than *l]'st-*, as read by Nyberg, and furthermore it is a more appropriate name for a Sasanian town. Criticism of the name Kāwar because the present form of the name is Kawār, is also unwarranted since we have many examples of metathesis, e.g., *dw'r* for *d'wr*, and often in Turfan MP. More noteworthy, however, is the name of Kabul in Middle Persian, found in the *Bundahishn*, in the text on the provincial cities of Iran, the Pahlavi *Vendidad* (I, 9) and elsewhere; it is always the same *k'pwl*, which is parallel to Ptolemy's *Καβούρα*. One may suggest that the form Kābul became popular in conjunction with Zābul. In any case, one should say farewell to the judge of Shapur II in Kabul.

of the fourth through the fifth century we can speak of a 'Völkerwanderung' of tribes from Central Asia towards India and Iran, and the majority of the common folk were surely 'Iranian' nomads with Altaic mixtures. Whereas the Chionites and Kidara with his successors claimed to be successors of the Kushans, the Hephthalites represent a break with the past and a new rule in eastern Iran extending to the plains of India.

Chinese sources such as the Liang Shu, Pei Shu (Chou), Sui Shu, Pei Shih, Chiu T'ang Shu, all dynastic histories, all claim that the Hephthalites (Ye Ta and other names) were part of or descendants of the Yüeh-chih, the Kushans.[9] There is no reason to doubt this statement, even though the dynastic histories notoriously copy earlier accounts. The name itself, whether that of a chieftain, a tribal name, or whatever, is generally described as an Iranian name 'Heftal,' but the earliest usage cannot be determined with any certainty.[10] Two points of view on the origin of the Hephthalites have been proposed, the first that they were nomads from Sinkiang with leading Hunnic elements, while the other theory has it that the Hephthalites were Iranian mountaineers from Badakhshan.[11] The conflicting indications, and they are little more, suggest that the Hephthalites were a combination of the two suggestions posed above, and we may presume that invaders from Central Asia joined with local people to form kingdoms but not an empire like the Sasanian or Kushan. It is not possible to go into the vexed problems of Central Asian nomadic peoples who moved across Eurasia in the aftermath of the fall of the empire of Attila in the west and a series of ephemeral steppe states in the east. China too had no unity after the fall of the Han dynasty and not until the time of the Wei (386–534) were contacts with the west renewed.

We have already seen how during the last part of the rule of Shapur II and throughout the reigns of his successors down to Yazdagird II (d. 457) the Sasanian rulers were engaged in campaigns in the east, usually with success. We may presume that the governors of the Sasanians ruled and issued coins in Bactria (with Merv and Herat) most of this time, while the Kidarites or other Chionites ruled in the mountains of Kabul and the lands to the east of Kabul. Expeditions of the Sasanians into the mountains may have established their rule for periods of time, but on the whole the Sasanians were more interested in control of the trade routes in the north and Bactria. From the meagre evidence of coins from the excavation of old Qandahar and the coins collected in the museum of Qandahar, one might tentatively suggest

[9] One would expect the *Pei Shih*, chapter 97, to have more information than the others, but it was compiled probably in the late seventh century and repeats chapter 54 of the *Liang Shu*, ch. 50, of the *Chou Shu* and ch. 83 of the *Sui Shu*. I used the K'ai ming edition of the dynastic histories many years ago when I still used Chinese and had done research on the Hephthalites in Chinese sources. For other references to Chinese sources see McGovern, *supra*, *The Early Empires*, 489–92.

[10] For an etymology of the name (personal or otherwise) of Heftal see H. W. Bailey, "North Iranian Problems," *BSOAS*, 42 (1979), 208–10. The many problems of the Avars, pseudo-Avars, Var and Chionites in many sources, discussed by Bailey, are beyond the scope of this volume, as also problems of the designations 'White' and 'Red' Huns. Both Theophanes (447, 20) and the *Nan Shih*, ch. 97 (same as *Liang-Shu*) say Heftal, was the name of the king.

[11] Exponents of the theory that the Hephthalites were mountain people from Badakhshan include K. Enoki, "On the Nationality of the Ephthalites," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 18 (Tokyo, 1959), 1–58, and L. N. Gumilev, "Eftality i ikh sosedi v IV v," *VDI*, 1 (1959), 129. The same author summarizes the discussion in his "Eftality-Gortsy ili Stepyanki?," *VDI*, 3 (1967), 91.

that the Sasanians also controlled this area for much of the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, but one must be cautious, since Sasanian coins were copied and imitated by rulers not under their direct rule.[12]

Göbl has worked extensively on the coinage of the east in the immediate pre-Islamic period, and he appears to be correct in postulating a series of 'waves' of Central Asian invaders, whom he calls the Iranian Huns, beginning with the Chionites and Kidara but followed by a tribe which he calls 'Alkhon' from legends in debased Greek script on coins, and from the sole mention of their name as a Central Asian people in the Armenian geography which purports to be a re-working of Ptolemy.[13] This identification, however, was opposed by Harmatta who claimed that the legend on the coin is to be identified with *rājā lakhāna*, perhaps a king of Kashmir mentioned in the Sanskrit chronicle of the kings of Kashmir, the *Rājataranginī*, and he furthermore points to the coin with a bi-lingual legend where Bactrian AΛXONO has *rājā lakhāna* in Brahmi characters.[14] Therefore, it is difficult to follow Göbl's reconstruction of a dynasty of tribal chiefs of the Alkhon, with a reverse wandering of them from India back to Afghanistan after the year 600.[15] Although probably a series of invasions of different peoples from Central Asia did take place in the period from 350 to 450, and there may have been a tribe called Alkhon, there is not enough evidence to do anything with a notice in an Armenian geography. In any case, the Hephthalites seem to have crossed the Oxus from the north about 460 (perhaps exactly 466, as Harmatta suggests) and shortly thereafter the war with Peroz began, although Peroz, it seems, defeated the Kidarites under their king *Κούγχας*, according to Priscus, before the advent of the Hephthalites.[16] We may tentatively suggest that the Kidarites, defeated by Peroz and threatened by the Hephthalite invasion from the north (if not also defeated by them) moved across the Hindukush mountains, even though other Kidarites probably ruled already on the plains of India, and they consolidated their rule in the south. Details of the area ruled by one state or nomadic group and of that land by another cannot be determined without much more evidence from coin finds, but general outlines seem clear.[17] The Hephthalites became the leading power not only in Transoxiana but also in Bactria, while their influence or

[12] Cf. D. W. MacDowall and M. Ibrahim, "Pre-Islamic Coins in the Kandahar Museum," *Afghan Studies*, I (London, 1978), 74, and in the same journal, 51, where MacDowall reports on the coin finds at the excavations.

[13] In Marquart, *Ēranšahr*, [ch. 1, n. 4], 141. Perhaps the Kadiseni mentioned by a number of Byzantine historians were among the Hephthalite tribes. See *Infra* n. 16.

[14] Harmatta, *op cit.* [n. 1], 399, 431. The coin in question is noted by Humbach, *supra*, *Baktrische Sprachdenkmaler*, 1, 57. The lack of any notice of the Alkhon tribe is disconcerting, for one would expect some mention in Chinese, Indian or Iranian texts or inscriptions, and the notice in the Armenian geography is not helpful.

[15] Göbl, *op cit.* [n. 1], 2, 58, 70. He even assigns a ruler Narana-Narendri (*c.* 570/80–600 ? oder später) as the chief of the Alkhon who wandered back to Afghanistan from India!

[16] On the reference in Priskos, as well as other Byzantine references to the Hephthalites, Ephthalites, N-, Abdelai, etc., cf. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, 2 (Berlin, 1958), 127, and 165 for the name of the king, possibly non-Iranian in origin. On the Kadıseni, perhaps a tribe of the Hephthalites, see Moravcsîk *ibid*, 146.

[17] For a good survey of the sources see K. Enoki, "On the Date of the Kidarites (1)," Memoirs of the *Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, 27 (Tokyo, 1969), 1–26. The notice from the *Wei Shu*, telling of Kidara crossing the Hindukush mountains to conquer northern India is trans. on p. 8. A colloquium on late Kushan numismatics, November 6, 1981, held in London brought new details to the history of this period. The results are unpublished.

even direct rule in Sinkiang was extensive for many years, if we believe Chinese accounts.

In India we hear of Hūṇas, as they are called in Sanskrit sources, from the time of Kalidasa, who flourished under the later Guptas perhaps shortly after 400, but they seem to lie on the Oxus far from India in his period.[18] Later the name 'Hūṇas' is found in the epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* as well as other works but with little historical information or dates to pin them down. The names of the Hephthalites and Kidarites are not mentioned in Indian sources, which do not distinguish between them. The history of the nomadic invaders of India and the many states established by them, their descendants among the kings of Kashmir, the Rajputs, and other questions belong to the history of the sub-continent and are outside the scope of this volume. The interesting accounts of the raids and battles of the Hūṇas in India, and the reigns of Toramana and Mihirakula, indicate that the conquest of northwestern India began about 500, but it is difficult to know whether these invaders continued to maintain rule in Bactria under one unified empire. The coinage indicates rather a splintering of Hephthalite domains into a number of kingdoms. In Bactria, however, we may postulate greater unity until the reign of Chosroes I.

We have mentioned the defeats of the Sasanian ruler Peroz at the hands of the Hephthalites and the dominant position of the latter in the east until the reign of Kavad during most of which time, it seems, the Persians paid the Hephthalites some tribute. Procopius (I, 7) tells us that Kavad owed the king of the Hephthalites some money which he could not pay and asked the Byzantine emperor Anastasius to lend him some money, which the Byzantine refused, and thus war between the Sasanians and Byzantines resulted. This may be an exaggeration, but the continued powerful position of the Hephthalites in the east is indicated until the time of Chosroes I. A dispute exists whether the new power of the Turks or Chosroes first attacked and defeated the Hephthalites or whether they both did in alliance.[19] From the report of a Turkish embassy to Byzantium a few years later, it seems that the small Sogdian states of Transoxiana had transferred their allegiances from the Hephthalites to the Turks some time previous to the defeat of the Hephthalites. The land to the south of the Oxus River went to Chosroes I, but soon the Turks were pressing south of the river to exercise an overlordship on the lands of the Hephthalites.[20] With the coming of the

[18] See the book by Upendra Thakur, *The Hūṇas in India* (Varanasi, 1967), especially 52–57. One must check his sources. On the fall of the Guptas and the role of the Hūṇas in it see S. Chattopadhyaya, *Early History of North India from the Fall of the Mauryas to the Death of Harṣa*, (Calcutta, 1958), 187–99, with sources, also consult A. Biswas, *The Political History of the Hūṇas in India* (Delhi, 1973).

[19] G. Widengren in "Xosrau Anošurvān, les Hephtalites et les peuples turcs," *Orientalia Suecana* 1 (Uppsala, 1952), 69–94, collects and analyzes the Arabic and Persian sources on the subject and suggests we may have a mixture of several events in many of those sources. From the Persian side, of course, credit for the destruction of the Hephthalites should go to the Sasanians, but the Turkish embassy to Byzantium in 569 claimed Turkish credit for this, according to the account in Menander. On this embassy see K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Lander- und Völkerkunde*, 2 (Leipzig, 1912), 14–16. McGovern, *op cit.* [note 9], 417–18, argues for a Turkish first blow which may be correct.

[20] The name of the king of the Hephthalites who was defeated by the Turks and also by Chosroes is reported differently in various sources. In Firdosi we find Ghatfar, whereas Ṭabarī calls him Wazr or more likely Waraz. The last, however, may be a family, clan or even tribal name for it is widespread in eastern Iran. The name of a prominent Hephthalite, mentioned by Menander, called Katulphos is explained as Altaic rather than Iranian; cf. Moravcsik, *op cit.*, 2 [n. 16], 156. One would expect a mixture of various names among the Hephthalites.

Turks the process by which Iranian nomads were replaced by Altaic speakers was now consummated, and there is no doubt about the Turks, who are frequently called Huns in Byzantine sources; the Hunnic stage of Central Asian history was in full swing.

Before we turn to the Turks, a few words about the customs and the culture of the Hephthalites is in order. One of the features of the Hephthalite aristocracy, if not more widespread, was the artificial deformation of skulls, elongating them upward, a feature noticeable on coins and in burials.[21] This feature, however, has also been found in tombs in the north Caucasus and elsewhere, so it may be a more general Central Asian practice or style of the period rather than limited to one people.[22] On the other hand, it is definitely attributed to the Hephthalites, who may have spread the custom in many directions. Another feature of the Hephthalites mentioned by Chinese sources was polyandry, also prominent among Tibetans, and this is one reason why Enoki supported the theory that the Hephthalites originated from the mountains of Badakhshan.[23] The burial customs of the Hephthalites, however, as discussed by Enoki himself, with the burial of followers of a chief in a *kurgan* or artificial hill, is a clear feature of steppe nomads from South Russia to the frontiers of China, but the Hephthalites as the last wave of Iranian nomads from Central Asia, mixed with Huns, could have adopted customs from the settled peoples of Sinkiang, Tibet or the Pamir region.

In Bactria and the mountains of Afghanistan, the Hephthalites replaced allegiances to the memory of the Kushans so much that the Kushans were forgotten, and the Hephthalites took their place in the minds of the people as the rightful rulers only to be replaced themselves in the Islamic period by the Turks. The memory of the Kushans, however, persisted in the east on the subcontinent and especially in Kashmir where kings traced their lineage back to the Kushans. The Kidarites had done the same, but the Hephthalites opened a new page in the history of eastern Iran, and even after their defeat by Chosroes I and by the Turks they continued to provide rulers for small states in the mountains of Afghanistan and in the future a number of tribes were to claim descent from the Hephthalites, especially the Turks called Khalaj and the Ghilzai Pashtuns.[24] Certainly some of the princes who opposed the Arabs in their conquests in Afghanistan were Hephthalite, or were called Hephthalites, and this continued several centuries after the Hijra.

Since the Hephthalites adopted the Bactrian language as their written language in

[21] On cranial deformation on the coins, with references to excavations as well, see Göbl, *op cit.*, 2 [n 1], 35–46 On the widespread and early usage see T. A Trofimova, "Izobrazheniya Eftalitskikh pravitelei na monetakh i obichai iskusstvennoi deformatsii cherepa u naseleniya Srednei Azii v drevnosti," in *Istoriya, Arkheologiya i Etnografiya Srednei Azii* (Festschrift S. P. Tolstov), (Moscow, 1968), 179–89. She shows that the practice already existed under the early Kushans though not as widespread as under the Hephthalites.

[22] In the museum of Ordzhonikidze, Northern Ossetia; cf *Putevoditel Severo-Osetinskii Respublikanskii Muzei Kraevedeniya*, ed. by I. K. Rusanov (Orazhonikidze, 1970), 31. The practice is attested among the Alans from the fourth through the sixth centuries.

[23] See Enoki, "On the Nationality" [n. 11], 51–55

[24] For references see the article on the Hephthalites by A. D. H. Bivar in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and the writings of Zeki Velidi Togan, *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş* (Istanbul, 1970), but esp. a lecture he delivered in several institutions of the USA, called "The Tribes Constituting the State of Heftalit," in which he argues that the Turkish tribe of Qarluq, well known in Islamic times, was of Hephthalite origin.

the north and south Bactrian areas and in the Hindukush regions, we can say nothing about the spoken language of the Hephthalites. Their culture likewise was mainly that of the Bactrians, who in this period were strongly influenced by the Sasanians. Consequently it is difficult to determine what is Hephthalite art except when a prince with a deformed skull is portrayed on a silver bowl, similar to the coins. The art of the core area of Hephthalite rule, Bactria, was Buddhist, and in spite of the antipathy of the Hephthalites towards Buddhism, as reported in the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim accounts and in Indian sources, Buddhism continued to exist in the lands conquered by the Hephthalites. This art and culture was called Irano-Buddhist by J. Hackin, or the Oxus school of Buddhist art by Higuchi, or the Hindukush school by Klimburg.[25] Although the rulers were Hephthalite, no one would suggest that the art of this period should be called Hephthalite art, even though it may have been the extensive Hephthalite rule in both western Turkestan and in Sinkiang which favored the contacts and extension of this art to the east, for most scholars concerned with the art of Central Asia in this period have noted the connections between Bamiyan and Turfan, between Bactria and Sinkiang.[26] The Sogdian states of Transoxiana, however, seem to have rejected Buddhism, since we find no traces of Buddhist remains there. But Buddhism was on the wane in Bactria and Afghanistan, to be replaced by a resurgent Hinduism in the east and then by Islam in the west, but this is a later story.

SOGDIAN CITY STATES

When we move north of the Hissar mountain range in northern Bactria (today Tajikistan) the world of Buddhism, the Bactrian alphabet and language, as well as Buddhist art is left behind and we find instead a fascinating group of mercantile city states using the Sogdian language, following many religions such as Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity and Zoroastrianism, probably a local form rather than the same as in the Sasanian state, and Buddhism, not to mention local cults.[27] The Sogdians were the merchants of eastern Central Asia, as the Khwarazmians plied their wares to the west up the Volga River, but both peoples seem to have developed a mercantile secularism with more tolerance for religions and for foreigners in general than the Sasanian Empire. Yet the Sogdians adapted features of foreign religions to their own religious beliefs, and the syncretism may be seen on the many remarkable

[25] On the works of Hackin, especially his *L'art indien et iranien en Asie Centrale*: *Bamyan* (Paris, 1939), see M. Hallade, "Indo-Iranian Art," in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, 8 (London, 1963), 8–14. Takayasu Higuchi, "The Oxus School of Buddhist Art," was published in *Bakyo-Geijutsu*, 71 (Tokyo, 1969), 42–62. Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter wrote her Ph.D. thesis at Harvard University in 1976 on *Buddhist Painting of the Hindu Kush*; it will soon be published as a book.

[26] Much has been written about the connections, see Rowland, *op cit.* [ch. 9, n. 64], 79–123, with bibliography, also Hambis, *supra*, *L'Asie Centrale*, 165–75, and A. von Gabain, "Von Kuča (Kuśan) nach Bāmiyān, eine kulturhistorische Studien," in *Eucharisterion, Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 258–70.

[27] On the local cults and the 'temple' priest (*βγnpt*) as opposed to the Magian priest (*mwγpt*), see W. B. Henning, "A Sogdian God," *BSOAS*, 28 (1965), 242–54. The relationship of priests of a local cult with priests of Magianism is unclear, as is also the reason for the decline of Buddhism in the sixth and seventh centuries.

Turks the process by which Iranian nomads were replaced by Altaic speakers was now consummated, and there is no doubt about the Turks, who are frequently called Huns in Byzantine sources; the Hunnic stage of Central Asian history was in full swing.

Before we turn to the Turks, a few words about the customs and the culture of the Hephthalites is in order. One of the features of the Hephthalite aristocracy, if not more widespread, was the artificial deformation of skulls, elongating them upward, a feature noticeable on coins and in burials.[21] This feature, however, has also been found in tombs in the north Caucasus and elsewhere, so it may be a more general Central Asian practice or style of the period rather than limited to one people.[22] On the other hand, it is definitely attributed to the Hephthalites, who may have spread the custom in many directions. Another feature of the Hephthalites mentioned by Chinese sources was polyandry, also prominent among Tibetans, and this is one reason why Enoki supported the theory that the Hephthalites originated from the mountains of Badakhshan.[23] The burial customs of the Hephthalites, however, as discussed by Enoki himself, with the burial of followers of a chief in a *kurgan* or artificial hill, is a clear feature of steppe nomads from South Russia to the frontiers of China, but the Hephthalites as the last wave of Iranian nomads from Central Asia, mixed with Huns, could have adopted customs from the settled peoples of Sinkiang, Tibet or the Pamir region.

In Bactria and the mountains of Afghanistan, the Hephthalites replaced allegiances to the memory of the Kushans so much that the Kushans were forgotten, and the Hephthalites took their place in the minds of the people as the rightful rulers only to be replaced themselves in the Islamic period by the Turks. The memory of the Kushans, however, persisted in the east on the subcontinent and especially in Kashmir where kings traced their lineage back to the Kushans. The Kidarites had done the same, but the Hephthalites opened a new page in the history of eastern Iran, and even after their defeat by Chosroes I and by the Turks they continued to provide rulers for small states in the mountains of Afghanistan and in the future a number of tribes were to claim descent from the Hephthalites, especially the Turks called Khalaj and the Ghilzai Pashtuns.[24] Certainly some of the princes who opposed the Arabs in their conquests in Afghanistan were Hephthalite, or were called Hephthalites, and this continued several centuries after the Hijra.

Since the Hephthalites adopted the Bactrian language as their written language in

[21] On cranial deformation on the coins, with references to excavations as well, see Göbl, *op cit.*, 2 [n 1], 35–46 On the widespread and early usage see T. A Trofimova, "Izobrazheniya Eftalitskikh pravitelei na monetakh i obichai iskusstvennoi deformatsii cherepa u naseleniya Srednei Azii v drevnosti," in *Istoriya, Arkheologiya i Etnografiya Srednei Azii* (Festschrift S P Tolstov), (Moscow, 1968), 179–89. She shows that the practice already existed under the early Kushans though not as widespread as under the Hephthalites.

[22] In the museum of Ordzhonikidze, Northern Ossetia; cf. *Putevoditel Severo-Osetinskii Respublikanskii Muzei Kraevedeniya*, ed. by I. K. Rusanov (Orazhonikidze, 1970), 31. The practice is attested among the Alans from the fourth through the sixth centuries.

[23] See Enoki, "On the Nationality" [n. 11], 51–55

[24] For references see the article on the Hephthalites by A. D. H. Bivar in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, and the writings of Zeki Velidi Togan, *Umumi Türk Tarihine Giriş* (Istanbul, 1970), but esp. a lecture he delivered in several institutions of the USA, called "The Tribes Constituting the State of Heftalit," in which he argues that the Turkish tribe of Qarluq, well known in Islamic times, was of Hephthalite origin.

the north and south Bactrian areas and in the Hindukush regions, we can say nothing about the spoken language of the Hephthalites. Their culture likewise was mainly that of the Bactrians, who in this period were strongly influenced by the Sasanians. Consequently it is difficult to determine what is Hephthalite art except when a prince with a deformed skull is portrayed on a silver bowl, similar to the coins. The art of the core area of Hephthalite rule, Bactria, was Buddhist, and in spite of the antipathy of the Hephthalites towards Buddhism, as reported in the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim accounts and in Indian sources, Buddhism continued to exist in the lands conquered by the Hephthalites. This art and culture was called Irano-Buddhist by J. Hackin, or the Oxus school of Buddhist art by Higuchi, or the Hindukush school by Klimburg.[25] Although the rulers were Hephthalite, no one would suggest that the art of this period should be called Hephthalite art, even though it may have been the extensive Hephthalite rule in both western Turkestan and in Sinkiang which favored the contacts and extension of this art to the east, for most scholars concerned with the art of Central Asia in this period have noted the connections between Bamiyan and Turfan, between Bactria and Sinkiang.[26] The Sogdian states of Transoxiana, however, seem to have rejected Buddhism, since we find no traces of Buddhist remains there. But Buddhism was on the wane in Bactria and Afghanistan, to be replaced by a resurgent Hinduism in the east and then by Islam in the west, but this is a later story.

SOGDIAN CITY STATES

When we move north of the Hissar mountain range in northern Bactria (today Tajikistan) the world of Buddhism, the Bactrian alphabet and language, as well as Buddhist art is left behind and we find instead a fascinating group of mercantile city states using the Sogdian language, following many religions such as Manichaeism, Nestorian Christianity and Zoroastrianism, probably a local form rather than the same as in the Sasanian state, and Buddhism, not to mention local cults.[27] The Sogdians were the merchants of eastern Central Asia, as the Khwarazmians plied their wares to the west up the Volga River, but both peoples seem to have developed a mercantile secularism with more tolerance for religions and for foreigners in general than the Sasanian Empire. Yet the Sogdians adapted features of foreign religions to their own religious beliefs, and the syncretism may be seen on the many remarkable

[25] On the works of Hackin, especially his *L'art indien et iranien en Asie Centrale: Bamyan* (Paris, 1939), see M. Hallade, "Indo-Iranian Art," in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, 8 (London, 1963), 8–14. Takayasu Higuchi, "The Oxus School of Buddhist Art," was published in *Bakyo-Geijutsu*, 71 (Tokyo, 1969), 42–62. Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter wrote her Ph.D. thesis at Harvard University in 1976 on *Buddhist Painting of the Hindu Kush*; it will soon be published as a book.

[26] Much has been written about the connections; see Rowland, *op cit.* [ch. 9, n. 64], 79–123, with bibliography, also Hambis, *supra*, *L'Asie Centrale*, 165–75, and A. von Gabain, "Von Kuča (Kuśan) nach Bāmiyān, eine kulturhistorische Studien," in *Eucharisterion, Essays presented to Omeljan Pritsak* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980), 258–70.

[27] On the local cults and the 'temple' priest (*βγnpt*) as opposed to the Magian priest (*mwγpt*), see W. B. Henning, "A Sogdian God," *BSOAS*, 28 (1965), 242–54. The relationship of priests of a local cult with priests of Magianism is unclear, as is also the reason for the decline of Buddhism in the sixth and seventh centuries.

wall paintings and other works of art which have been recovered by Soviet archaeologists.[28] Buddhism, which had existed in the Sogdian towns in the early centuries of our era, by the seventh, if not earlier, century, had virtually vanished, even though much of Buddhist iconography had been assimilated and adapted to local cult forms. An enormous amount of literature has poured out of the excavations of Panjikant, Afrasiyab, Varakhsha (in the oasis of Bukhara), as well as many minor sites, and we find a world of wealthy, luxury loving merchants who dealt in silks and other textiles, in silver and other metal utensils, in short more in luxury goods than in necessities. Not that powerful landowners did not exist in the oases of Central Asia, but as compared with Iran and Afghanistan the merchant class was strong and influential in Sogdian Central Asia.

The coinage of the Sogdian city states, especially of Bukhara and of Samarqand, the two most important, is interesting in that Bukhara copied coins of the Sasanian king Bahram V, which indicates either a conquest of the oasis by Bahram or some strong influence which would induce such a copying, presumably after the death of Bahram. At the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century the Sogdian city states were presumably under Hephthalite rule but they had different traditions and coinage (of Bukhara and Samarqand), for in the latter area Chinese influence is apparent in the local copper coinage with square holes in the center.[29] One would presume that in Samarqand, Ferghana and eastern colonies of the Sogdian merchants Chinese influence would be strong, since the latter were the ultimate customers of the Sogdians, as we know from the Sogdian ancient letters found in Tun Huang in Sinkiang, which show an intensive commercial activity of the Sogdians from early times.[30] The coinage of Bukhara continued long into the Islamic period with Arabic legends added to the archaic Sogdian legends mentioning the Sogdian word for 'king' (*γiwβ*) and the name of Bukhara. In Samarqand, on the other hand, the cursive Sogdian script, familiar from Buddhist works in Sogdian, did not long survive the Arab invasions.

There was a class of people in Sogdiana not found or attested elsewhere and that was the body of guards of the great merchants or the local lords called *chākir*, a word until now unattested in Sogdian but found in Firdosi and in Arabic in the form *shākariyya*.[31] These were the servants or bodyguards who managed affairs when their

[28] Cf. Azarpay, *supra*, *Sogdian Painting*, 29–30. The Sogdian pantheon is fascinating for the identification of local with foreign deities, e.g., Brahma with Zurvan and Indra with Adbag, etc.

[29] On the Bukharan and Sogdian coins see Frye, *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana*, NNM 113 (1949) and O. I. Smirnova, *Katalog Monet s gorodishcha Pendzhikent* (Moscow, 1963). For an update on those publications see with references Mitchiner, *Early Coinage* [ch. 7, n. 15], 44–46.

[30] Cf. Harmatta, "Sogdian Sources for the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia," in his *Prolegomena* [ch. 5, n. 139], 153–65. The more one reads in Sogdian documents regarding trade and commerce, the more the impression of a widespread, international trading society or series of corporations among the Sogdians increases in probability Omeljan Pritsak has worked long on the subject of such trade from a later period and extending to western Europe as well as China.

[31] On this institution in Islamic times there is a large literature; earliest is perhaps V. Bartold, *Turkestan v Epokhu Mongolskogo Nashestviya*, *Sochineniya* 1 (Moscow, 1963), 238, 241. The term appears also in Chinese; see E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903, reprinted Paris, 1946), 147, 313. For the Islamic period see the discussions by P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses* (Cambridge, 1981), and D. Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam: The Genesis of a Military System* (New Haven, 1981). Both of these books deal with the Sogdian system.

merchant lords were away on trips, but they may have provided the basis for the later Turkish Mamluke system of training slaves or orphans to become the military and political leaders of the 'Abbasid Caliphate. The influence of Sogdian merchants extended far and wide, and they were willing to ally themselves or submit to the power which could enforce peace over the trade routes to the Far East and to Mongolia, the special areas of trade for the Sogdians. Well known is the role of the Sogdians as the cultural guides for the Turks, giving the latter an alphabet and advising them in their conquests.[32] The fascinating story of the role of the Sogdians in the history of north China and in the expansion of the Turks is beyond the scope of the present work, but it serves to indicate the importance of the Sogdians as bearers of culture, as missionaries of Manichaeism, Christianity and Buddhism in the Far East.[33]

As the Sasanian Empire declined at the end, the Sogdian states flourished as never previously, such that it seemed that they had inherited the mantle of Iranian culture and even prestige and power. As far as the east was concerned this was true and one might speak of a Sogdian renaissance or just a 'naissance' in the seventh century, which in a sense lasted until the eleventh century, even though later it was borne by the Persian language and by a much wider extension to the west. The minor kings of the cities of Sogdiana were merely each a *primus inter pares* in regard to the nobility and the great merchants, and the rulers changed frequently indicating a lack of dynastic loyalty, unlike the Sasanians. Until a remarkable book by B. Marshak, many scholars had classified many silver plates and bowls as 'Sasanian', 'provincial Sasanian' or otherwise, but he showed the existence of several schools and a real flowering of Sogdian metalwork.[34] This runs parallel to the wall paintings, which also reflect the luxury and wealth of the Sogdian states, not linked to a royal court but to the nobility. With the discovery of Sogdian diplomatic letters and commercial records at Mt. Mug east of Panjikant our knowledge of Sogdian society, land tenure, taxes, markets and bazaars and many other matters has increased dramatically. Most of the materials, including Islamic sources such as Narshakhi's history of Bukhara, pertain to a later, Islamic period but they are invaluable for the pre-Islamic history as well.[35] Nonetheless, the flowering of Sogdiana is almost an Islamic phenomenon, and we may reserve discussion of this remarkable chapter of Central Asian history to a future volume. The great Sogdian influence on the New Persian language and on Islamic

[32] The extent of popular influences on the Turks can be seen in A. von Gabain, "Iranische Elemente im zentral- und ostasiatischen Volksglauben," in *Studia Orientalia*, 47 (Helsinki, 1977), 57–70. For the role of the Sogdian language among the Turks see S. G. Kljaštornyj and V. A. Livšic, "The Sogdian Inscription of Bugut Revised," *AAH*, 26 (1972), 67–91, especially 90–91. By the same authors see their "Une inscription inédite Turque et Sogdienne: La stèle de Sevrey (Gobi Méridional)," *JA*, 259 (1971), 11–20.

[33] See E. Schaefer, "Iranian Merchants in T'ang Dynasty Tales," in *Semitic and Oriental Studies presented to Wm. Popper*, ed. by W. J. Fischel (Berkeley, 1951), 403–22. On cultural influences in the east see J. G. Mahler, *The Westerners Among the Figurines of the T'ang Dynasty of China* (Rome, 1959), esp. 22–25 and 67–80.

[34] B. I. Marshak, *Sogdiiskoe Serebro* (Moscow, 1971). Marshak's analysis of the schools of Sogdian silverwork is not only a masterful work, but it throws light on other arts of Sogdiana and its culture.

[35] The book by O. I. Smirnova, *Ocherki iz Istorii Sogda* (Moscow, 1970) is a detailed summary of what can be learned from documents in Sogdian combined with Arabic and Persian sources. The social order, economic activities and the Arab conquest are discussed in detail. A. Dzhalilov, *Sogd Nakanune Arabskogo Nashestviya* (Stalinabad, 1961), on the other hand, only deals with Arabic and Persian sources.

'New Persian' culture has only begun to be studied, and undoubtedly one will be able to show even more influences in the future.[36] The Central Asian flowering, however, is a vast project for future investigations and cannot be pursued further here.

One should not leave Central Asia without a word about the Khwarazmians who played a role in the trade with eastern Europe similar to that of the Sogdians with the Far East. The Khwarazmians were similar to the Sogdians in many ways, but they had their own language and possibly because of their geographical position south of the Aral Sea, and surrounded by deserts, they had a more centralized government, and the dynastic principle was respected and preserved. Before the discovery of inscriptions in the ancient Khwarazmian language in a form of the Aramaic alphabet, and of documents in the Khwarazmian language but written in the Arabic script from as late as the twelfth century indicating the persistence of the use of the language in written as well as spoken form down to the Mongol invasions, we knew most about that land from its most eminent son Biruni.[37] Some of his information about the Khwarazmians, their royal dynasty and their calendar, has been vindicated by Khwarazmian writings as well as by the extensive excavations undertaken by the many-yeared expedition led by S. P. Tolstov.[38] Just before the coming of the Arabs the Afrighid dynasty ruled in Khwarazm, and the names of some of the rulers are known. It seems that after the sixth century Zoroastrianism flourished more in Khwarazm than in Sogdiana; at least the cult of ancestors and exposure of corpses on mountain tops as in Sasanian Iran is amply attested by archaeologists.[39] In other respects the Khwarazmians differed from their eastern neighbors, especially in their art and in their closer contacts with the west. The numismatic tradition was different here too as were the legends on the coins, but it is not possible to reconstruct all of the names of the rulers of Khwarazm from the coins, many of which are enigmatic.[40] It is of interest to note that the Khwarazmian form of the name 'Musulman' was that adopted by the Russians of the Middle Ages (*musurman/busurman*), indicating the great importance of Khwarazmian merchants in eastern Europe.[41]

[36] Henning, "Sogdian Loan-words in New Persian," *BSOS*, 10 (1939), 93–106. His other works, such as "Die älteste persische Gedichthandschrift" (1959-e) and "Persian poetical manuscripts from the time of Rudaki" (1962-b) also contain information about this subject. Reference is made to Henning's bibliography in the *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*, ed. by M. Boyce and I. Gershevitch, (London, 1970).

[37] For the ancient Khwarazmian inscriptions see S. P. Tolstov and V. A. Livshitz, "Decipherment and Interpretation of the Khwarazmian inscriptions from Tok Kala," *AAH*, 12 (1964), 231–51, and V. A. Livshits, "The Khwarazmian Calendar and the Eras of Ancient Chorasmia," *AAH*, 16 (1968), 432–46, with a revised and expanded Russian version in *Istoriya, Kultura, Yazyki Narodov Vostoka*, ed. by. Yu. A. Petrosyan (Moscow, 1970), 5–16. For the Islamic documents see W. B. Henning, *A Fragment of a Khwarezmian Dictionary*, ed. by D. N. MacKenzie (London, 1971), with added bibliography.

[38] S. P. Tolstov, ed., *Trudy Khorezmskoi Arkheologo-Etnograficheskoi Ekspeditsii*, 11 vols. (Moscow, 1952–77), and his work in German, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur* (Berlin, 1953). The Khwarazmian archaeological bibliography is now enormous, as is that of the Southern-Turkmen complex of expeditions which by 1970 had reached 570 items according to the list *Perechen*, etc., ed. M. E. Masson (Ashkabad, 1970).

[39] Conveniently summarized in I. M. Muminova, ed., *Istoriya Khorezma* (Tashkent, 1976), 51. This book is a good summary of present work in the area of Khwarazm.

[40] Vainberg, *op cit.* [ch. 9, n. 33], and her article "Eftalitskaya dinastiya Chaganiana i Khorezm," *Numismaticheskii Sbornik Gos. Istoricheskii Muzei*, 3 (Moscow, 1972).

[41] See Z. V. Togan, *Khorezmian Glossary of the Muqaddimat al-Adab* (Istanbul, 1951), 22, and Frye, R., "Byzantine and Sasanian Trade Relations with Northeastern Russia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 26 (1972), 265–69.

The decipherment of the Khwarazmian language was one of the great achievements of the late W. B. Henning, and much has been written about the remains in that language and its elucidation.[42] The Arab conquests, however, wreaked havoc in Khwarazm according to Biruni, but trade with the northwest continued as did writing in Khwarazmian, now in Arabic script. Khwarazmian silver objects are known by their inscriptions, but in this genre of art the resemblance to Sogdian objects is great. Whereas the archaeological work in the present republics of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan is much and varied, in the western part of Central Asia (the Karakalpak area and Turkmenistan) archaeology has been dominated by two great on-going expeditions, the Khwarazmian of Tolstov, mentioned above, and the southern Turkmenistan complex, and just to keep up with the volume of publications of these two expeditions is extremely difficult.[43] Without doubt in years to come we will know much more about Central Asia than about other parts of the Orient.

MINOR RULERS IN AFGHANISTAN

In comparison with the overflow of materials from north of the Oxus River, the history and archaeology of present Afghanistan is still largely unknown with many surmises built on insufficient evidence, but a final word about the east after the fall of the Hephthalites should be recorded. The lack of written sources continues to plague us, and numismatics again is of prime importance. Two factors should be taken into consideration in studying the coinage of the east in this period after the fall of the Hephthalites to the Sasanians and Turks; the first is a tendency to look for archaic features in some of the coinage, especially in the use of crowns and iconography, which some rulers apparently did employ. The other is the long use of a series of coins in an area of the east long after the ruler who originally struck the coins had died. As in Bukhara with the so-called 'Bukhar Khudat' coins, which copied the coinage of Bahram V of Sasanian Iran, so the coinages of the name Khingil and that of the name Nezak (formerly called Napki), show a long continuity in usage. The tendency to make one series of coinage follow another in chronological succession has, I believe, obscured the existence of different styles and series in different, and frequently rather small, areas of eastern Iran. One must be extremely cautious in assigning coins to certain rulers in a certain time period and in a certain area, since the adjective 'certain' is surely out of place in the east.

Neither the defeat of the Hūṇa ruler Mihirakula by a king of Malwa in India called Yasodharman about 528, nor their defeat (i.e., the Hephthalites) by the Turks and Chosroes I some thirty years later, ended the small Hephthalite principalities in northwest India, Kashmir and Afghanistan. Harmatta suggests that Khingil or Khingila was a personal name not only attested by coins but by a Sanskrit inscription from Gardiz and by the chronicle of Kashmir, and he postulates a dynasty of the Khingils, the first being Deva Śahi Khingila, who began rule in Kabul about the 460s,

[42] See D. N. MacKenzie, "The Khwarazmian Glossary – 1," *BSOAS*, 33 (1970), 540, and I. Gershevitch, "In Memoriam", in his edition of *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume* (n. 36), xix.

[43] See n. 38. Every year a volume is published by the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow, called *Arkheologicheske Otkrytiya*, which surveys work in Central Asia as well as elsewhere in the USSR and of Soviet expeditions outside the USSR.

followed by Śahi Javuvlah who conquered Gandhara, and he was followed by Lakhana Udayaditya, mentioned in the Kashmir chronicle, and a later king Khingila II about 562.[44] He further suggests that the Hephthalites divided into two main parts, a western and an eastern part about 515, which weakened resistance and prepared the way for defeats in both parts later. The Turks, however, were slow in extending their rule or influence south of the Oxus, whereas the wars of the Sasanians in the east under Bahram Chobin's generalship indicate that Sasanian rule was also precarious, and one may suppose that petty Hephthalite chiefs threw off their allegiances or vassalage to the Sasanians at the first sign of weakness.

Anyone who knows the geography of eastern Afghanistan realizes that two areas are unified enough with resources to form kingdoms of some importance. The first is the Kabul–Kapisa (today Koh-e Daman) joined plain and the Qandahar–Ghazna plain, although in both cases the 'plains' are not large or level. The first came to be the kingdom of Kabul when the Arabs arrived while the latter was Zabul. In the mountains smaller principalities such as Bamiyan, Badakhshan (Tokharistan) may have been independent or in vassal relationship to Turkish states to the north or to Kabul; we do not know. The coins we have alone cannot solve the problems of either chronology or areas where one or another king or dynasty ruled. As Harmatta has indicated, one problem is the existence of coins with the name 'Khingil' on them, apparently connected with Kabul, since we learn from the historian Ya'qūbī that as late as 799 a ruler of Kabul with this name came to the court of the Caliph al-Mahdi.[45] At the same time. i.e., before and after the Arab conquests, we have many coins of a king called Nezak, apparently like Khingil also a family or dynastic name, and these coins too are found both north and south of Kabul, as well as there.[46] Harmatta wonders whether the Nezaks ruled in Kapisa, to the north of Kabul, but again we have no definite information. Suffice it to say that there were a number of dynasties in the mountains, and they belong to later history. The question of the rulers of Zabul or Zabulistan, called Zunbil or Rutbil in Islamic sources, has spawned an extensive literature, especially about the name and religion of the rulers, the latter seemingly a local Indo-Iranian cult.[47] Discussion of the rulers of Afghanistan down to the time of Mahmud of Ghazna, however, would far exceed the limits of this book, for the history of the Turk Shahis of Kabul followed by the Hindu Shahis is

[44] Harmatta, *op cit.*, n. 1, 399–401. His reconstruction of the eastern rulers is the first systematic attempt to put all data, not just coins, into some chronological order, and this is preferable to Göbl's reconstruction, based on coins alone; see his *op cit.*, 2 [n. 1], 322.

[45] His history was ed. by M. T. Houtsma, 2 (Leiden, 1883), 479. Many Islamic sources have information about the later rulers of Kabul and Zabul.

[46] The correct reading of the 'Napkı' coins was found simultaneously by Humbach, Harmatta and myself, but Humbach did not follow his reading or connect it with the Nezak of Islamic sources. For Harmatta see his *op cit.*, n. 1, 408–09, myself in "Napki Malka and the Kushano–Sasanians," in D. K. Kouymjian, *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy and History, Studies in Honor of G. C. Miles*, (Beirut, 1974), 116–18, (written in 1968, but not published until 1974), and Humbach in his *Baktrische Sprachdenkmäler*, 1, *op. cit.*, n. 14, 59.

[47] On Zabul see J. Marquart and J. J. M. de Groot, "Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Žūn vom 6.–9. Jahrhundert," *Festschrift Eduard Sachau* (Berlin, 1915), 248–92, as well as later articles by L. Petech, "Note su Kapiśi e Zābul," *RSO*, 29 (1964), 287–94, and G. Scarcia, "Sulla Religione di Zābul," *AION*, 15 (1965), 119–65. Harmatta, *op cit.*, n. 1, 405–06, proposes that the name 'Zunbil' be read as the name of the land 'Zabul'.

intimately bound up with the history of northern India.[48] At this period of the Arab invasions Buddhism is very much on the decline and in the mountains of Afghanistan Hinduism is resurgent, and only in a few strongholds such as Bamiyan do Buddhist monks maintain Buddhist centers.

The Turkish expansion is really two-fold, a movement of nomads or tribesmen from the Altai mountains through the Hissar-Alai range into Bactria and the mountains to the south and an extension of west-Turkish hegemony over the petty states of Sogdiana and Bactria, for the latter area too seems to have lost any unity it had to a series of small states at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. From Islamic sources we learn of rulers of Chaganiyan, Shuman and others located in modern Tajikistan, each with a distinctive title. While Buddhism to the south had lost much ground, in Bactria *viharas* continued to be built, as at Adjina (Adzhina) tepe and elsewhere, and only the expansion of Islam brought an end to Buddhism in this region. Resistance to the Arabs was more severe in Central Asia and in Afghanistan than in the west, since once the imperial Sasanian armies were defeated the advancing Arabs only met local resistance, but in the east, far from their centers and supplies, the Arabs were not able to crush the resistance in one or two decisive battles. The Sogdians, however, were quick to see the commercial advantages in being part of a great Caliphate which extended over so many countries, and the cooperation between the Sogdian merchants and textile specialists among the Arabs is a fascinating example of Sogdian secularism and practicality, for they were a nation of traders and shopkeepers.[49] All of this, however, is only the *Nachklang* of ancient Iran in the new world of the Islamic oecumene. The heritage from Iran which was so important in the Islamic mixture, especially in the eastern Islamic world, was not just the heritage of western Iran of the Achaemenids and the Sasanians; it was just as much the contribution of the Iranian nomads of the steppes of inner Asia and of the Iranian merchants of the Sogdians and the Khwarazmians, not to omit the Iranian Buddhists of Bactria and of the Hindukush. One may tentatively suggest that the end of the Sasanian Empire saw the torch of Iranian culture and learning move eastward to settle in Transoxiana and Bactria, until the Mongol conquest of the twelfth century returned that torch to western Iran, to Persia. Although so little known, the eastern Iranian world must not be forgotten in any assessment of the heritage of ancient Iran. Much remains to be done to recover the history of the east, but the future will surely reveal the importance of the east especially in the formation of Islamic culture.

[48] On the Shahis see D. W. MacDowall, "The Shahis of Kabul and Gandhara," *NC* (1968), 189–224, for the coins and H. Humbach, "The Iranian Names of the Hindu Ṣāhis," *MSS*, 30 (1972), 51–53. Unfortunately the three books on the dynasties leave much to be desired: Y. Mishra, *The Hindu Sahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab* (Patna, 1972), D. B. Pandey, *The Shahis of Afghanistan and the Punjab* (Delhi, 1973) and Abdur Rahman, *The Last Two Dynasties of the Śāhīs* (Islamabad, 1979).

[49] See my *Golden Age* [ch. 11, n. 117], 27–53.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1*

GENEALOGY OF THE ACHAEMENIDS

Achaemenes (Hakhamanish)

Teispes (Chishpish)

Cyrus I (Kurush)
|
Cambyses I (Kambujiya)
|
Cyrus II (549–530)
|
Cambyses II (530–522)

Ariaramnes (Ariyaramna)
|
Arsames (Arshama)
|
Hystaspes (Vishtaspa)
|
Darius (Darayavahush)
| (522–486)
|
Xerxes I (Khshayarsha)
| (486–465)
|
Artaxerxes I Longimanus
(Artakhshassa) (465–424)
|
Darius II Nothus
(423–404)

Smerdis (Bardiya) 552
(or Gaumata)

Xerxes II (424–423)
|
Artaxerxes II Mnemon
(404–359)
|
Artaxerxes III Ochus
(359–338)
|
Arses (Arsha)
(338–336)

Cyrus the
Younger
(died 401)

Artostes
|
Arsames
|
Darius III Codomannus
(336–330)

* These tables are adapted from R N. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (London, 1962).

TENTATIVE GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ARSACID KINGS

Arsaces I (*'ršk*) 247–? - - - - - - - - - Tiridates (*tyrdt*) c. ?–211 B.C.

Artabanus I (*'rtpn*) c. 211–191 B.C.

Priapatius (*prypt*) c. 191–176 B.C.

Mithradates I (*mtrdt*) c. 171–138 B.C. - - - - - - - - - Phraates I (*prhd* or *prdty*) c. 176–171 B.C.

Phraates II c. 138–128 B.C. - - - - - ? Sinatruces (*sntrwk*) c. 77–68 ? B.C.

Gotarzes I (*gwtrz*) c. 91–80 ? B.C.

Orodes I (*wrwd*) c. 80–77 ? B.C.

Artabanus II c. 128–123 B.C.

Phraates III c. 68–57 B.C.

Mithradates II c. 123–87 B.C.

Orodes II c. 57–37 B.C. - - - - - Mithradates III c. 57–54 B.C.

Tiridates II c. 30–25 B.C.

Phraates IV c. 38–2 B.C.

Phraataces (*prdtk*) c. 2 B.C.–A.D. 4 - - - Vonones I (*whwnm*?) c. A.D. 7–12

Orodes III c. A.D. 4–7

Artabanus III c. A.D. 12–38

Tiridates III c. A.D. 36

Vardanes (*wrt'n*) c. A.D. 39–47 - - - - - - - - Gotarzes II (*gwtrz*) c. A.D. 38–51

Vonones II c. A.D. 51

Vologeses I (*wlgš*) c. A.D. 51–80

Pacorus (*pkwr*?) A.D. 79–105

Oroses c. A.D. 109–128

Artabanus IV c. A.D. 79

Vologeses II c. A.D. 105–147

Mithradates IV c. A.D. 128–147?

Vologeses III c. A.D. 148–192

Vologeses IV c. A.D. 191–207

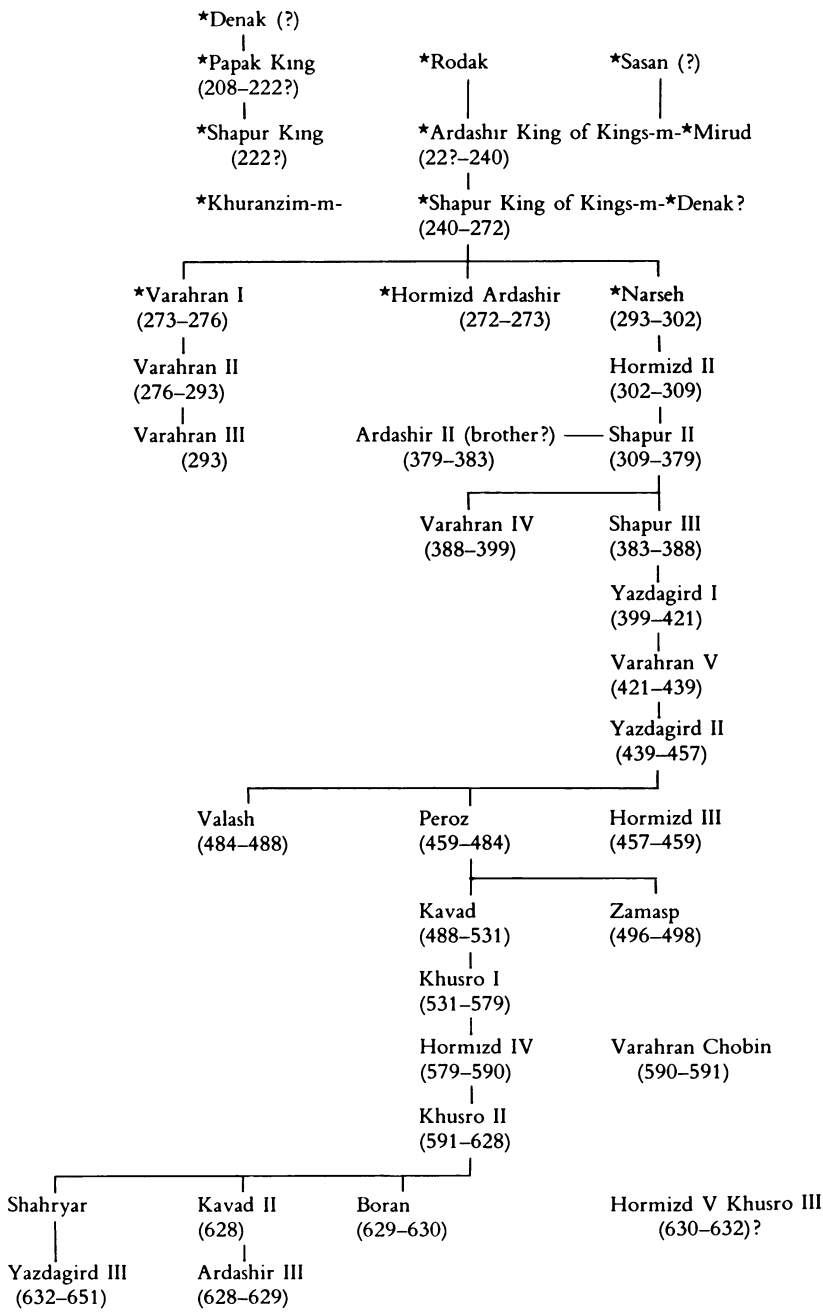
Vologeses V c. A.D. 207–227 (?)

- - - - - Artabanus V c. 213–224

Artavasdes (*'rtwzd*?) c. 226–227?

Vertical lines mean father to son succession while horizontal lines mean blood or adopted brothers.

THE DYNASTY OF THE SASANIANS*



*Names preceded by an asterisk are found in KZ, and -m- means married.

APPENDIX 2

THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS, NEAR KERMANSHAH, IRAN*

Column I – I am Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King in Persia, King of countries, son of Vishtaspa, grandson of Arshama, an Achaemenid.

Saith Darius the King: My father was Vishtaspa; Vishtaspa's father was Arshama, Arshama's father was Arıyaramna, Ariyaramna's father was Čišpıš, Čišpıš' father was Haxamanaiš.

Saith Darius the King: For this reason we are called Achaemenids. From long ago we have been noble. From long ago our family was royal. Saith Darius the King: Eight of our family were previously kings. I am the nınth. Nıne kings we have been ın succession.

Saith Darius the King: By the will of Ahuramazda I am king. Ahuramazda gave me kingship.

Saith Darius the King: These are the lands which came to me. I became their king by the will of Ahuramazda: Persia, Elam, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, those by the sea, Sardis, Ionia, Media, Armenıa (Urartu), Cappadocıa, Parthıa, Drangiana, Arıa, Khwarazm, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandhara [(Paruparaesanna)], Sakaland (Gımıri), Sattagydıa, Arachosia, Maka, a total of twenty-three lands.

Saith Darius the King: These are the lands which came to me. By the wıll of Ahuramazda they became my subjects. They bore me tribute. What was said to them by me, by night or by day, they did.

Saith Darius the King: In these lands the man who was loyal I supported well; whoever was evil I punished well. By the will of Ahuramazda these countries respected my law(s). What was said to them by me they did.

Saith Darius the King: Ahuramazda gave me kıngship. Ahuramazda bore me aid so I could uphold the kingship. By the will of Ahuramazda I hold this kingship.

Saith Darius the King: This is what I did, (by the will of Ahuramazda), after I became king. A certain Cambyses by name, son of Cyrus, (King of Persis, King of Lands), of our family, was king here. That Cambyses had a brother called Bardiya, of the same mother and the same father. Then Cambyses slew that Bardiya. After Cambyses slew Bardiya, it was not known to the people that Bardiya had been slain. Then Cambyses went to Egypt (with an army). When Cambyses had gone to Egypt the people became evıl. Afterwards the lie(s) in the land grew great in Persis, Media and other lands.

Saith Darius the King: Then there was a man, a Magian (a Mede), Gaumata by name. He rose up from Paıshiyauvada (Pishikhumada); from a mountain called Arakadri, fourteen days of the month Viyakna (Addaru) had passed when he rose up. He lied to the people thus: 'I am Bardiya, son of Cyrus, (younger) brother of Cambyses.' Afterwards all the people revolted from Cambyses and went over to him, Persis, Medıa, (Babylonia, Elam), and other lands. He seized the kingship; nine days were past of the month of Garmapada (Du'ūzu) when he seized the kingship. Then Cambyses died by his own hand.

Saith Darius the King: The kingship which that Gaumata took away from Cambyses, this kingship had belonged to our family from long ago. Then Gaumata the Magian took (the kingship) from Cambyses. He made his own Persıs, Media (Babylonia) and other lands, He became king.

Saith Darius the King: There was no man, neither a Persian, a Mede (nor a Babylonian nor of elsewhere), nor anyone of our family who might take the kingship from that Gaumata the Magian. People feared him greatly, that he might slay in great numbers the people who had known Bardiya previously. For this reason he would kill people, 'lest they know me, that I am not Bardiya, son of Cyrus.' No one dared say anything about Gaumata the Magian until I came. Then I prayed to Ahuramazda; Ahuramazda bore me aid. Ten days of the month of Bagayadi (Tashritu) had passed; then I with a few men (nobles) slew that Gaumata the Magian. In a fortress (town) called Sikayauvati, in the district of

* The ınscrıptıon is located by the village of Bısutun and ıs sometimes called after the village. The translation follows the OP text, mainly of Kent, with additions from Elamıte enclosed in brackets, while additions from the Akkadian versıon are in parentheses. Absolute consistency in the translation has not been followed. Western names of well-known names and places are used; otherwise the Old Persian form appears.

Nisaya by name, in Media – there I slew him. I took the kingship from him. By the will of Ahuramazda I became king. Ahuramazda gave me the kingship.

Saith Darius the King: The kingship which he had taken from our family I restored and put in its place as previously. As before I restored the temples (of the gods) which Gaumata the Magian had destroyed. I restored to the people (army) the chattel, flocks, domestics and estates ('bow' estates) which Gaumata the Magian had taken from them. I re-established the populace in its place. Persis, Media and other lands which had been taken I restored as before. By the will of Ahuramazda this I did. I strove until I had re-established our royal house in its place as before. I strove by the will of Ahuramazda, so that Gaumata the Magian did not take away our royal house.

Saith Darius the King: This is what I did after I became king (as it was before).

Saith Darius the King: When I had slain Gaumata the Magian, afterwards a man Assina (Atrina) by name, son of Upadarama (an Elamite) rose up in Elam. He said to the people: 'I am king in Elam.' Then the Elamites revolted (from me) and went over to that Assina. He became king in Elam. Also a man, a Babylonian called Nidintu-Bel son of Ainaira (Kin-zēr, the tax official), rose up in Babylonia. He lied to the people thus: 'I am Nebuchadrezzar (Nebuchadnezzar) the son of Nabonidus (king of Babylon). Afterwards the people of Babylonia all went over to that Nidintu-Bel. Babylonia revolted. He seized the kingship in Babylonia.

Saith Darius the King: Then I sent (a messenger) to Elam. They sent that Assina to me bound. I executed him.

Saith Darius the King: Then I went to Babylonia against that Nidintu-Bel, who said, 'I am Nebuchadrezzar (-n-).' The army of Nidintu-Bel held (the bank) of the Tigris (canal). There they took their stand (on the canal). Because of flood (the Tigris) was unfordable. Then I embarked troops upon (boats of) skin. Others I made camel-borne and for others horses. By the will of Ahuramazda we crossed the Tigris (canal). There I defeated the army of Nidintu-Bel exceedingly. Twenty-six days of the month of Assiyadiya (Kislimu) had passed when we fought the battle. (We killed all of them and took no prisoners.)

Saith Darius the King: Then I went towards Babylon. Before reaching Babylon, in a town Zazannu by name, on the (bank of) the Euphrates, there this Nidintu-Bel, who had called himself Nebuchadrezzar (-n-, King of Babylon) came against me with an army to attack. Then we fought the battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda I defeated the army of Nidintu-Bel exceedingly. The rest fled into the river and the water carried them away. We fought the battle after two days had passed of the month of Anamaka (Tebētu). (We killed all of them and took no prisoners.)

Column II – Saith Darius the King: Then Nidintu-Bel with a few horsemen fled and went to Babylon. Then I went to Babylon (after him). By the will of Ahuramazda I seized Babylon and captured that Nidintu-Bel. Afterwards I slew (impaled) that Nidintu-Bel (and the nobles who were with him. I executed forty-nine) in Babylon.

Saith Darius the King: While I was in Babylon these are the lands which revolted from me: Persis, Elam, Media, Assyria, Egypt, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, Saka-land.

Saith Darius the King: There was a man called Martiya son of Činčikhri (Shinshakhrish), living in the town called Kuganaka in Persis. He rose up in Elam. He said (lied) to the people (of Elam): 'I am Imanish, king in Elam.'

Saith Darius the King: As soon as I was near Elam, the Elamites became afraid of me. They seized that Martiya who was their chief and slew him (of their own volition).

Saith Darius the King: A man by name Fravartish, a Mede, arose in Media. He said (lied) to the people (of Media): 'I am Khshathrita of the family (descendent) of Cyaxares.' Then the Median troops which were in the palace revolted from me and went over to that Fravartish. Then he became king in Media.

Saith Darius the King: The troops of Persis and Media with me were few. Then I sent an army (to Media). Vidarna by name, my subject, him I made chief of them. I said to them thus: 'Go and defeat the Median troops who do not obey me.' Then this Vidarna with the army marched off (to Media). When he reached Media, in the town of Maru by name in Media, there he fought a battle with the Medes (troops of Media). He who was chief of the Medes at that time was not there. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated that rebel army exceedingly. Twenty-seven days were past of the month of Anamaka (Tebētu) they fought a battle. (They killed 3827? among them and took 4329 prisoners [(Then Vidarna did not undertake another campaign] against Media). Afterwards this army of mine waited for me in the district (town) by name Kampada in Media until I arrived in Media. (Then they came to see me in Ecbatana.)

Saith Darius the King: I sent Dadarshi by name, an Armenian (Urartian), my subject, to Armenia. Thus I said to him. 'Go and defeat that rebellious army which does not call itself mine; attack it.' Then Dadarshi

marched off (to Urartu). When he arrived in Armenia (Urartu), then the rebels assembled and went against Dadarshi to attack. A place by name Zūzu in Armenia (Urartu), there they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated the rebel troops exceedingly. Eight days of the month Thuravahara (Aiaru) had passed when they fought the battle.

Saith Darius the King: Then a second time the rebels assembled for another battle and attacked Dadarshi. They fought a battle in the stronghold (town) of Tigra (Digra), in Armenia (Urartu). Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahurmazda my army defeated the rebellious troops exceedingly. Eighteen days of the month of Thuravahara (Aiaru) had passed when they fought the battle. (They killed 546 among them and took 520 prisoners.)

Saith Darius the King: Again, a third time the rebels assembled and came against Dadarshi to do battle. They fought the battle in the fortress by name Uyama, in Armenia (Urartu). Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated the rebel troops exceedingly. Nine days were past of the month of Thaigarči (Simānu) when they fought the battle. (They killed 472 of them and took 525? prisoners.) Thereafter Dadarshi ([did nothing]). He waited for me until I arrived in Media.

Saith Darius the King: Then I sent Vaumisa by name, a Persian, my subject to Armenia (Urartu). Thus I said to him: 'Go and attack the rebellious troops who do not obey me.' Thereupon Vaumisa marched off. When he arrived in Armenia (Urartu) then the rebels assembled and went to attack Vaumisa. They fought a battle in the district of Izala by name, in Assyria. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated the rebel troops exceedingly. Fifteen days of the month of Anamaka (Tebētu) were past when they fought. (They killed 2034 of them.)

Saith Darius the King: Again a second time the rebels assembled and went against Vaumisa to join battle. They fought a battle in the district of Autiyara (Utiyāri) by name, in Armenia (Urartu). Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated the rebel troops exceedingly. On the last day of the month of Thuravahara (30th of Aiaru) they fought the battle. (They killed 2045 among them and took 1558 prisoners.) Then Vaumisa did nothing. He waited for me in Armenia (Urartu) until I came to Media.

Saith Darius the King: Then I left Babylon and went to Media. When I arrived in Media, in a town by name Kunduru in Media, there this Fravartish who called himself king in Media (who said, 'I am Khshathrita, a descendant of Cyaxares, king of Media) came against me with an army to do battle. Then we fought the battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda I defeated the army of Fravartish exceedingly. In the month of Adukanaisha (Nisannu), twenty-five days had passed when we fought the battle. (We killed 34,425? of them and took prisoner ?)

Saith Darius the King: Then this Fravartish fled with a few horsemen and came to the district of Raga by name in Media. Then I sent an army after him. Fravartish (and the soldiers who were with him) was seized and led to me. I cut off his nose, ears and tongue and put out one eye. He was kept bound at my gate: all the people saw him. Then I impaled him at Ecbatana. The men who were his foremost followers (nobles) I executed (a total of forty-seven. I hung their heads) in the fortress at Ecbatana.

Saith Darius the King: A man by name Čissantakhma (Shitrantakhma), a Sagartian, became rebellious to me. Thus he said to the people: 'I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares.' Then I sent a Persian and Median army. I made chief of them Takhmaspada by name, a Mede, my subject. I said to them: 'Go forth, defeat the hostile army which is rebellious to me.' Then Takhmaspada went with the troops. He fought a battle with Čissantakhma (Shitr-). Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated the rebel troops and took Čissantakhma (Shitr-) prisoner and led him to me. Afterwards I cut off both his nose and ears, (his tongue) and put out one eye. He was held bound at my gate. All the people saw him. Then I impaled him at Arbela. (The total dead and surviving of the rebel force was 447?)

Saith Darius the King: This is what was done by me in Media.

Saith Darius the King: Parthia and Hyrcania (the Margians) became rebellious from me. They called themselves (supporters of) Fravartish. Vishtaspa, my father, was in Parthia. The people (army) abandoned him (for Fravartish) and became rebellious. Then Vishtaspa went forth with the army which was faithful to him. He fought a battle in a town Vishpauzati by name, in Parthia with the Parthians. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda Vishtaspa defeated that rebellious army exceedingly. Twenty days of the month of Viyakhna (Addaru) had passed when they fought the battle. (They killed 6346? of them and took 4346? prisoners.)

Column III – Saith Darius the King: Then I sent forth (loyal) Persian troops to Vishtaspa from Raga. When the army reached Vishtaspa then Vishtaspa marched out with that army. In a town Patigrabana by name, in Parthia, he attacked the rebels. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda Vishtaspa defeated that rebel army exceedingly. The first day of the month of Garmapada (Du 'ūzu) was past when

they fought the battle. (They killed 6570 of them and took 4192 prisoners. Then he executed their leader and the nobles who were with him – a total of eighty)

Saith Darius the King: Then the land became mine. This is what was done by me in Parthia.

Saith Darius the King: A land Margiana by name became rebellious against me. A man, Frada by name, a Margian, they made chief. Then I sent against him a Persian, Dadarshi by name, my subject, the satrap of Bactria Thus I said to him: 'Go forth, defeat that army which does not call itself mine.' Then Dadarshi marched out with the army He fought the Margians. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated the rebel army exceedingly. Twenty-eight days were past of the month of Assiyada (23rd day of Kislimu) when they fought the battle. (He executed Parada and the nobles who were with him, a total of 46? He killed 552––? and took 6572 prisoners.)

Saith Darius the King: Afterwards the land became mine. This is what was done by me in Bactria.

Saith Darius the King: There was a man Vahyazdata, by name, a Persian residing in a town Tarava (Tarma) by name, in the district Yautiya by name, in Persis. He made the second uprising in Persis. He said to the people thus: 'I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus (king of lands).' Then (all) the Persian forces (which had come to me to) the palace (of Babylon) from Anshan previously, revolted from me and went over to that Vahyazdata. He became king in Persis.

Saith Darius the King: Then I sent forth the Persian and Median army which was by me. (Then I sent a message to Persis to the other small Persian force which had not revolted from me, and to the Median forces.) [Then I sent the small Persian army which had not revolted from me in the palace and the Median army which was by me.] I made chief of them a Persian, Artavardiya (Artamarziya) by name, my subject. The rest of the Persian army went with me to Media. Then Artavardiya went with his army to Persis. When he arrived in Persis, at a town Rakha by name, in Persis, there this Vahyazdata who called himself Bardiya (son of Cyrus) came with his army to attack Artavardiya. Then they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated the army of Vahyazdata (who had said I am Bardiya) exceedingly. Twelve days were past of the month of Thuravahara (Aiaru) when they fought the battle.

Saith Darius the King: Afterwards this Vahyazdata fled with a few horsemen. He went to Paishiyauvada (Pishikhumada). From there he got troops and went against Artavardiya to do battle. They fought a battle at a mountain Parga by name (in Persis). Ahuramazda bore me aid. by the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated that army of Vahyazdata exceedingly. Five days of the month of Garmapada (Du'ūzu) were past when they fought the battle. (They killed 6246? of them and took 4464? prisoners) They took that Vahyazdata prisoner and those who were his foremost followers.

Saith Darius the King: Afterwards I impaled that Vahyazdata and those who were his foremost followers at a town Uvadaicaya (Ubadasaya) by name (in Persis; I executed a total of 52?)

Saith Darius the King: (Then this land became mine.) This is what was done by me in Persis.

Saith Darius the King: This Vahyazdata, who called himself Bardiya (son of Cyrus) had sent an army to Arachosia against Vivana by name, a Persian, my subject, satrap in Arachosia. And he made one man their chief and said thus to them. 'Go, defeat Vivana and that army which calls itself King Darius'.' Then the army which Vahyazdata had sent against Vivana to do battle marched forth. In a fortress (town) Kapishakani by name (in Arachosia) they fought a battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated that rebellious army exceedingly. Thirteen days of the month of Anamaka (Tebētu) had passed when they fought the battle. (The total dead and surviving of the troops whom Vahyazdata had sent was ––––?)

Saith Darius the King. Again, later the rebels assembled to battle against Vivana. They fought in the district of Gandutava (Gandatamaki in Sattagydia). Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated that rebel army exceedingly. Seven days of the month of Viyakhna (Addaru) had passed when they fought the battle. (The total dead and surviving of the troops whom Vahyazdata had sent was 4579.)

Saith Darius the King: Afterwards that man who was chief of the army which Vahyazdata had sent against Vivana fled with a few horsemen and got away. He went past a fortress (town) [estate] Arshada, by name, in Arachosia. Then Vivana pursued them with his army. He took him prisoner there with the men who were his foremost followers and slew them. (The total dead and surviving of the troops of Vivana was 42?)

Saith Darius the King: Afterwards the land became mine. This is what was done by me in (Sattagydia and) Arachosia.

Saith Darius the King: While I was in Persis and Media, the Babylonians again revolted from me. A man Arakha by name, an Armenian (Urartian), son of Haldita arose (in Ur, by name) in Babylonia. He rose up from a district, Dubala by name, and lied thus to the people: 'I am Nebuchadrezzar (-n-) son of

Nabonaidus.' Thereupon the Babylonian army revolted from me. They went over to that Arakha. He seized Babylon. He became king in Babylon

Saith Darius the King: Then I sent an army to Babylon. I made chief of them a Persian Vindafarna by name, my subject. Then I said to them: 'Go forth, defeat that Babylonian army which does not call itself mine.' Then Vindafarna went to Babylon with the army. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda Vindafarna defeated the Babylonian troops and took (all of) them to me as prisoners. Twenty-two days of the month of Varkazana (Arahsamnu) had passed when they fought the battle. Then that Arakha, who had falsely called himself Nebuchadrezzar (-n-) (son of Nabonidus) and the men who were his foremost followers were taken prisoner. I issued an order: 'This Arakha and the men who were his foremost followers, impale them (Then he impaled that Arakha and the nobles who were with him) in Babylon.' (The total dead and surviving of the army of Arakha was 2497).

Column IV – Saith Darius the King: This is what was done by me in Babylon.

Saith Darius the King: This is what I did. By the will of Ahuramazda this is what I did in one and the same year after I became king. I fought nineteen battles. By the will of Ahuramazda I defeated them and took prisoner (their) nine kings. One was Gaumata by name, a Magian. He lied. Thus he said, 'I am Bardiya, son of Cyrus (king of Persis).' He made Persis (and Media) rebel. One Assina (Atrina) by name, an Elamite; he lied. Thus he said, 'I am king in Elam.' He made Elam rebel from me. One Nidintu-Bel by name. He lied. Thus he said, 'I am Nebuchadrezzar (-n-), son of Nabonidus (king of Babylon).' He made Babylonia rebel. One Martiya by name, a Persian. He lied. Thus he said, 'I am Imanish (Immaneshu), king in Elam.' He made Elam rebel. One Fravartish by name, a Mede. He lied, Thus he said, 'I am Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares.' He made Media rebel. One Čissantakhma by name, a Sagartian. He lied. Thus he said, 'I am king in Sagartia, of the familiy of Cyaxares.' He made Sagartia rebel. One Frada by name, a Margian. He lied. Thus he said, 'I am king in Margiana.' He made Margiana rebel. One Vahyazdata by name, a Persian. He lied. Thus he said, 'I am Bardiya, son of Cyrus (king of Persis).' He made Persis rebel. One Arkha by name, an Armenian (Urartian). He lied. Thus he said: 'I am Nebuchadrezzar (-n-) son of Nabonidus.' He made Babylonia rebel.

Saith Darius the King: These nine kings I took prisoner in these battles (whom I defeated and if surviving they were captured and killed. My forces in the course of these battles defeated their forces).

Saith Darius the King: These are the lands which became rebellious. The lie made them rebellious. These men lied to the people. Then Ahuramazda put them into my hand. As was my desire, so I did to them. (Just as I wish, they do.)

Saith Darius the King: You who will be king hereafter. From the lie protect yourself vigorously. The man who lies, punish him severely, if you shall think thus: 'may my land be secure.'

Saith Darius the King: This is what I did. By the will of Ahuramazda I did it in one year. You who later may read this inscription, let that which has been done by me convince you. Do not consider it a lie.

Saith Darius the King: I take an oath by Ahuramazda that this (what I have spoken) is the truth and not false, that which I did in one and the same year.

Saith Darius the King: By the will of Ahuramazda, much more was done by me which has not been inscribed in this inscription (document on the stele). It has not been inscribed for this reason, lest to whom who later reads the inscription what has been done by me seem excessive and it not convince him and he think it false. (May say: They are lies.)

Saith Darius the King: Those who were former kings as long as they lived by them was not done thus (there was not one who accomplished) as much as by the will of Ahuramazda was done by me in one and the same year.

Saith Darius the King· Let that which I did convince you. Tell (the truth to) the people. Do not conceal it. If you do not conceal this record (matters) but you do tell it to the people, may Ahuramazda (protect and) befriend you. May your descendants be numerous and may you live long.

Saith Darius the King If you do conceal this record and do not tell the people (the truth which is inscribed here) may Ahuramazda smite (curse) you, and may you have no descendants.

Saith Darius the King: This which I did in one and the same year by the will of Ahuramazda I did. Ahuramazda [the god of the Aryans] and (all) the other gods who are bore me aid.

Saith Darius the King: For this reason Ahuramazda and (all) the other gods who are bore me aid, because I was not of evil intent I did not follow the lie. I did no injustice, neither I nor my family. I conducted myself according to righteousness (the law). Neither to the weak nor to the strong did I do wrong. The man who cooperated with my house I rewarded well. Whosoever did wrong I punished well.

they fought the battle. (They killed 6570 of them and took 4192 prisoners. Then he executed their leader and the nobles who were with him – a total of eighty.)

Saith Darius the King: Then the land became mine. This is what was done by me in Parthia.

Saith Darius the King: A land Margiana by name became rebellious against me. A man, Frada by name, a Margian, they made chief. Then I sent against him a Persian, Dadarshi by name, my subject, the satrap of Bactria. Thus I said to him. 'Go forth, defeat that army which does not call itself mine.' Then Dadarshi marched out with the army He fought the Margians. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated the rebel army exceedingly. Twenty-eight days were past of the month of Assiyada (23rd day of Kislimu) when they fought the battle. (He executed Parada and the nobles who were with him, a total of 46? He killed 552––? and took 6572 prisoners.)

Saith Darius the King. Afterwards the land became mine. This is what was done by me in Bactria.

Saith Darius the King: There was a man Vahyazdata, by name, a Persian residing in a town Tarava (Tarma) by name, in the district Yautiya by name, in Persis. He made the second uprising in Persis. He said to the people thus: 'I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus (king of lands).' Then (all) the Persian forces (which had come to me to) the palace (of Babylon) from Anshan previously, revolted from me and went over to that Vahyazdata. He became king in Persis.

Saith Darius the King: Then I sent forth the Persian and Median army which was by me. (Then I sent a message to Persis to the other small Persian force which had not revolted from me, and to the Median forces.) [Then I sent the small Persian army which had not revolted from me in the palace and the Median army which was by me] I made chief of them a Persian, Artavardiya (Artamarziya) by name, my subject. The rest of the Persian army went with me to Media. Then Artavardiya went with his army to Persis. When he arrived in Persis, at a town Rakha by name, in Persis, there this Vahyazdata who called himself Bardiya (son of Cyrus) came with his army to attack Artavardiya. Then they joined battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid By the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated the army of Vahyazdata (who had said I am Bardiya) exceedingly. Twelve days were past of the month of Thuravahara (Aiaru) when they fought the battle

Saith Darius the King: Afterwards this Vahyazdata fled with a few horsemen. He went to Paishiyauvada (Pishikhumada). From there he got troops and went against Artavardiya to do battle. They fought a battle at a mountain Parga by name (in Persis). Ahuramazda bore me aid. by the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated that army of Vahyazdata exceedingly. Five days of the month of Garmapada (Du 'ūzu) were past when they fought the battle. (They killed 6246? of them and took 4464? prisoners.) They took that Vahyazdata prisoner and those who were his foremost followers.

Saith Darius the King. Afterwards I impaled that Vahyazdata and those who were his foremost followers at a town Uvadaicaya (Ubadasaya) by name (in Persis; I executed a total of 52?)

Saith Darius the King: (Then this land became mine.) This is what was done by me in Persis.

Saith Darius the King: This Vahyazdata, who called himself Bardiya (son of Cyrus) had sent an army to Arachosia against Vivana by name, a Persian, my subject, satrap in Arachosia. And he made one man their chief and said thus to them: 'Go, defeat Vivana and that army which calls itself King Darius'.' Then the army which Vahyazdata had sent against Vivana to do battle marched forth. In a fortress (town) Kapishakani by name (in Arachosia) they fought a battle. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated that rebellious army exceedingly. Thirteen days of the month of Anamaka (Tebētu) had passed when they fought the battle. (The total dead and surviving of the troops whom Vahyazdata had sent was ––––?)

Saith Darius the King: Again, later the rebels assembled to battle against Vivana. They fought in the district of Gandutava (Gandatamaki in Sattagydia). Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda my army defeated that rebel army exceedingly. Seven days of the month of Viyakhna (Addaru) had passed when they fought the battle. (The total dead and surviving of the troops whom Vahyazdata had sent was 4579.)

Saith Darius the King: Afterwards that man who was chief of the army which Vahyazdata had sent against Vivana fled with a few horsemen and got away. He went past a fortress (town) [estate] Arshada, by name, in Arachosia. Then Vivana pursued them with his army. He took him prisoner there with the men who were his foremost followers and slew them. (The total dead and surviving of the troops of Vivana was 42?)

Saith Darius the King. Afterwards the land became mine. This is what was done by me in (Sattagydia and) Arachosia.

Saith Darius the King: While I was in Persis and Media, the Babylonians again revolted from me. A man Arakha by name, an Armenian (Urartian), son of Haldita arose (in Ur, by name) in Babylonia. He rose up from a district, Dubala by name, and lied thus to the people: 'I am Nebuchadrezzar (-n-) son of

Nabonaidus.' Thereupon the Babylonian army revolted from me. They went over to that Arakha. He seized Babylon. He became king in Babylon.

Saith Darius the King: Then I sent an army to Babylon. I made chief of them a Persian Vindafarna by name, my subject. Then I said to them: 'Go forth, defeat that Babylonian army which does not call itself mine.' Then Vindafarna went to Babylon with the army. Ahuramazda bore me aid. By the will of Ahuramazda Vindafarna defeated the Babylonian troops and took (all of) them to me as prisoners. Twenty-two days of the month of Varkazana (Arahsamnu) had passed when they fought the battle. Then that Arakha, who had falsely called himself Nebuchadrezzar (-n-) (son of Nabonidus) and the men who were his foremost followers were taken prisoner. I issued an order: 'This Arakha and the men who were his foremost followers, impale them (Then he impaled that Arakha and the nobles who were with him) in Babylon.' (The total dead and surviving of the army of Arakha was 2497).

Column IV – Saith Darius the King: This is what was done by me in Babylon.

Saith Darius the King: This is what I did. By the will of Ahuramazda this is what I did in one and the same year after I became king. I fought nineteen battles. By the will of Ahuramazda I defeated them and took prisoner (their) nine kings. One was Gaumata by name, a Magian. He lied. Thus he said, 'I am Bardiya, son of Cyrus (king of Persis).' He made Persis (and Media) rebel. One Assina (Atrina) by name, an Elamite; he lied. Thus he said, 'I am king in Elam.' He made Elam rebel from me. One Nidintu-Bel by name. He lied. Thus he said, 'I am Nebuchadrezzar (-n-), son of Nabonidus (king of Babylon).' He made Babylonia rebel. One Martiya by name, a Persian. He lied. Thus he said, 'I am Imanish (Immaneshu), king in Elam.' He made Elam rebel. One Fravartish by name, a Mede. He lied, Thus he said, 'I am Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares.' He made Media rebel. One Čissantakhma by name, a Sagartian. He lied. Thus he said, 'I am king in Sagartia, of the familiy of Cyaxares.' He made Sagartia rebel. One Frada by name, a Margian. He lied. Thus he said, 'I am king in Margiana.' He made Margiana rebel. One Vahyazdata by name, a Persian. He lied. Thus he said, 'I am Bardiya, son of Cyrus (king of Persis).' He made Persis rebel. One Arkha by name, an Armenian (Urartian). He lied. Thus he said: 'I am Nebuchadrezzar (-n-) son of Nabonidus.' He made Babylonia rebel.

Saith Darius the King: These nine kings I took prisoner in these battles (whom I defeated and if surviving they were captured and killed. My forces in the course of these battles defeated their forces).

Saith Darius the King: These are the lands which became rebellious. The lie made them rebellious. These men lied to the people. Then Ahuramazda put them into my hand. As was my desire, so I did to them. (Just as I wish, they do.)

Saith Darius the King: You who will be king hereafter. From the lie protect yourself vigorously. The man who lies, punish him severely, if you shall think thus: 'may my land be secure.'

Saith Darius the King: This is what I did. By the will of Ahuramazda I did it in one year. You who later may read this inscription, let that which has been done by me convince you. Do not consider it a lie.

Saith Darius the King: I take an oath by Ahuramazda that this (what I have spoken) is the truth and not false, that which I did in one and the same year.

Saith Darius the King: By the will of Ahuramazda, much more was done by me which has not been inscribed in this inscription (document on the stele). It has not been inscribed for this reason, lest to whom who later reads the inscription what has been done by me seem excessive and it not convince him and he think it false. (May say: They are lies.)

Saith Darius the King: Those who were former kings as long as they lived by them was not done thus (there was not one who accomplished) as much as by the will of Ahuramazda was done by me in one and the same year.

Saith Darius the King· Let that which I did convince you. Tell (the truth to) the people. Do not conceal it If you do not conceal this record (matters) but you do tell it to the people, may Ahuramazda (protect and) befriend you. May your descendants be numerous and may you live long.

Saith Darius the King: If you do conceal this record and do not tell the people (the truth which is inscribed here) may Ahuramazda smite (curse) you, and may you have no descendants.

Saith Darius the King: This which I did in one and the same year by the will of Ahuramazda I did. Ahuramazda [the god of the Aryans] and (all) the other gods who are bore me aid.

Saith Darius the King: For this reason Ahuramazda and (all) the other gods who are bore me aid, because I was not of evil intent. I did not follow the lie. I did no injustice, neither I nor my family. I conducted myself according to righteousness (the law). Neither to the weak nor to the strong did I do wrong. The man who cooperated with my house I rewarded well. Whosoever did wrong I punished well.

Saith Darius the King: You who will be king hereafter, do not be a friend to the liar or wrong-doer. Punish them well.

Saith Darius the King: You who hereafter shall see this inscription which I have inscribed (stele) or (and) these sculptures, do not destroy them but as long as you shall have strength protect them.

Saith Darius the King. If you see this inscription or (and) these sculptures and do not destroy them but protect them as long as you have strength, may Ahuramazda (protect and) befriend you, and may your descendants increase, and may you live long, and whatever you do may Ahuramazda make successful for you.

Saith Darius the King: If you see this inscription or (and) these sculptures and destroy them and do not protect them as long as you have strength, may Ahuramazda smite (curse) you; may you not have descendants, and whatever you do, may Ahuramazda utterly ruin it.

Saith Darius the King These are the men who were with me when I killed Gaumata the Magian who called himself Bardiya. At that time these men cooperated as my followers: Vindafarna by name, son of Vayaspara (Visparu), a Persian, Utana (Vittana) by name, son of Thukhra (Suhkra) a Persian, Gaubaruva (Gubaru) by name, son of Marduniya, a Persian, (a Padishumarish) Vidarna, by name, son of Bagabigna, a Persian, Bagabukhsha by name, son of Datuvahya (Zatua), a Persian, Ardimanish? by name, son of Vahauka (Vakhku), a Persian.

Saith Darius the King: You who shall be king hereafter, protect well the family of these men (these men and the descendants of these men).

Saith Darius the King: By the will of Ahurmazda this is the inscription which I made. Besides, it was in Aryan and composed on clay tablets and parchment. Besides, I made a sculptured figure of myself. Besides, I made my lineage. And it was inscribed and was read off before me. Afterwards I sent this inscription everywhere among the lands. The people unitedly worked on it.

Column V – in OP – Saith Darius the King: This is what I did in both the second and third year** after I became king. A land, Elam by name, became rebellious. A man Atamaita by name, an Elamite, they made chief Then I sent an army. A man, Gaubaruva by name, a Persian, my subject, I made chief of them. Afterwards Gaubaruva with the army marched to Elam. He battled with the Elamites. Then Gaubaruva attacked and crushed the Elamites and captured their chief. He led him to me and I killed him. Afterwards the land became mine.

Saith Darius the King: Those Elamites were faithless and Ahuramazda was not worshipped by them. I worshipped Ahuramazda. By the will of Ahuramazda, as was my desire, thus I did unto them.

Saith Darius the King. Whoso shall worship Ahuramazda, blessing? will be with him both while alive and while dead.

Saith Darius the King: Afterwards with an army I went to Sakaland after the Sakas who wear a pointed cap. These Sakas went from me. When I arrived at the sea, then I crossed beyond it with all my army. Afterwards I defeated the Sakas exceedingly. Another I took captive, who was led bound to me and I slew him Their chief Skunkha they seized and led to me. Then I made another chief, as was my desire. After that the land became mine.

Saith Darius the King: Those Sakas were faithless and Ahuramazda was not worshipped by them. I worshipped Ahuramazda. By the will of Ahuramazda, as was my desire, thus I did to them.

Saith Darius the King: Whoso shall worship Ahuramazda, blessing? will be with him both while alive and while dead.

** Or only in the 'fourth' year A number of readings are uncertain in Column V because of damage to the stone

APPENDIX 3

THE BACTRIAN INSCRIPTION OF SURKH KOTAL NEAR BAGHLAN IN AFGHANISTAN*

After this stronghold (with) the 'Victorious Kanishka' temple, to which the lord king Kanishka gave his name, was completed, then the water inside it petered out wherefore the stronghold became waterless. And when fear of enemies arose, then the gods were removed from their places and were taken to Draf, to Andez,[1] and the stronghold was abandoned. Then when the *karadrang*[2] Nokonzok, son of Frixwadex,[3] most devoted to the *devaputra* king, helper of the country, amiable, merciful, pure-minded towards all living beings, came here to the temple in the month of Nīsān of the regnal year 31;

Then he circumvallated the stronghold; then he dug this well and led its water out. Then he paved it with stones so that to people[4] in the stronghold water should not be lacking, such that when they have fear of enemies they do not remove the gods from their place and do not abandon the stronghold. And over the well he built a water-wheel (and he) installed a tank such that by means of this well, by means of this water-wheel, the whole stronghold fare well.

And the well was built by Burzmihr, i.e. son of Kozgashk, i.e. Astilogansig[5], honoring the memory of the *karadrang* Nokonzok, by command of the emperor. (Version M has: And this well and dromos? was built by Khirgman together with Burzmihr, etc. – same as version B.)

And the same (or 'the structure' was inscribed) together with Burzmihr's son Mihraman wrote (the inscription).

(Two monograms complete the inscription.)

* The first edition of the inscription (in three copies, two fragmentary) was by A. Maricq, "Inscriptions de Surkh Kotal (Baghlan)," *JA* (1958) 345–440. Others who wrote about it were W. B. Henning, H. Humbach, J. Harmatta; for a bibliography see M. Mayrhofer, "Das Bemühen um die Surkh-Kotal-Inschrift," *ZDMG*, 112 (1963), 343–44, and G. Morgenstierne, "Notes on Bactrian Phonology," *BSOAS*, 33 (1970), 125. The text in photos and in transcription is given by R. Göbl, *Die drei Versionen der Kaniška-Inschrift von Surkh Kotal*, Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 88 (Vienna, 1965). The version here is based on I. Gershevitch, "Nokonzok's Well," *Afghan Studies*, 2 (London, 1979), 55–67, the two texts called B and M On the excavations see the four articles on Surkh Kotal in the *JA* (1952, 1954, 1955, 1964).

[1] These two names have been identified as one site, Drapsaka or Qunduz, with Andez meaning 'fort' of the town, by J. Harmatta, "The Great Bactrian Inscription," *AAH*, 12 (Budapest, 1964), 454–55.

[2] Interpreted as 'Warden of the Marches' by Henning and Gershevitch, and as 'district-superintendent' by Harmatta.

[3] Interpreted as an epithet, 'the king's favorite,' by Harmatta.

[4] So Gershevitch. Others read 'so that pure water be not lacking.'

[5] The word αμο has been translated as i.e., and the last name may be a family or clan name.

APPENDIX 4

THE INSCRIPTION OF SHAPUR I AT NAQSH-E RUSTAM IN FARS*

1. I, the Mazda worshipping lord Shapur, king of kings of Iran and non-Iran, whose lineage is from the Gods, son of the Mazda worshipping divinity Ardashir, king of kings of Iran, whose lineage is from the Gods, grandson of king Papak, am ruler of Iranshahr, [and I hold ?] the lands:

Persis, Parthia, Khuzistan, Mesene, Assyria, Adiabene, Arabia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, 2. Georgia, Segan [Makhelonia = Mingrelia], Arran [Albania], Balasakan, up to the Caucasus mountains and the Gates of Albania, and all of the mountain chain of Pareshwar, Media, Gurgan, Merv, Herat and all of Aparshahr,[1] Kerman, Seistan, Turan, Makuran, Paradene, Hindustan [India = Sind], the Kushanshahr up to Peshawar, and up to Kashgar, Sogdiana and to the mountains of Tashkent, and on the other side of the sea, Oman. And we have given to a village district the name Peroz-Shapur and we made Hormizd-Ardashir by name Shapur.[2] 3. And these many lands, and rulers and governors, all have become tributary and subject to us.

When at first we had become established in the empire, Gordian Caesar raised in all of the Roman Empire a force from the Goth and German realms and marched on Babylonia [Assyria] (Asuristan) against the Empire of Iran and against us. On the border of Babylonia at Misikhe, a great 'frontal' battle occurred. Gordian Caesar 4. was killed and the Roman force was destroyed. And the Romans made Philip Caesar. Then Philip Caesar came to us for terms, and to ransom their lives, gave us 500,000 *denars*, and became tributary to us. And for this reason we have renamed Misikhe Peroz-Shapur.

And Caesar lied again and did wrong to Armenia. Then we attacked the Roman Empire and annihilated at Barbalissos a Roman force of 60,000 5. and Syria and the environs of Syria we burned, ruined and pillaged all. In this one campaign we conquered of the Roman Empire fortresses and towns: the town of Anatha with surroundings, (Birtha of Arūpān ?) with surroundings,[3] Birtha of Asporakan, the town of Sura, Barbalissos, Manbuk [Hierapolis], 6. Aleppo [Berroia ?], Qennisrin [Khalkida], Apamea, Rhephania, Zeugma, Urima, Gindaros, Armenaza, Seleucia, Antioch, 7. Cyrrhe, another town of Seleucia, Alexandretta, Nicopolis, Sinzara, Hama, Rastan, Dikhor, Dolikhe, Dura, 8. Circusium, Germanicia, Batna, Khanar, and in Cappadocia the towns of Satala, Domana, Artangil, Suisa, Sinda, Phreata, 9. a total of 37 towns with surroundings.

In the third campaign, when we attacked Carrhae and Urhai [Edessa] and were besieging Carrhae and Edessa Valerian Caesar marched against us. He had with him a force of 70,000 from Germany, Raetia, Noricum, Dacia, Pannonia, Moesia, Istria, Spain, Africa (?), Thrace, 10. Bithynia, Asia, Pamphylia,

* The first edition of the text in three languages (Parthian, Middle Persian and Greek) was by M. Sprengling, "Shahpuhr I, the Great on the Kaabah of Zoroaster (KZ)," *AJSL*, 57 (1940), 341–420, followed by his *Third Century Iran, Sapor and Kartir* (Chicago, 1953), with photographs. The Greek text formed the basis of the translation by A. Maricq, "Res Gestae Divi Saporis," *Syria*, 35 (1958), 295–360, with his detailed study together with E. Honigmann, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (Brussels, 1953). Other references may be found in these publications as well as in the popular work by J. Gagé, *La montée des Sassanides* (Paris, 1964). The translation here is based mainly on the MP and Parthian versions with additions in parentheses and with Greek additions or differences in brackets. The line division follows the Parthian (the most legible) text but names are in modern or Classical forms.

[1] Balasakan = Derbend area; Pareshwar = Elburz mountains; Aparshahr = Islamic Khurasan.

[2] Sprengling seems correct in seeing the name of Shapur above that of Hormizd-Ardashir, which is unclear, but the meaning escapes us. Maricq ignores the letters, reading Shapur, above line 2. Perhaps the sentence is to be read: we, Shapur, have made (the town) of Hormizd-Ardashir (in Khuzistan).

[3] The phrase 'with surroundings' is found after each place name and has been omitted here. Modern identifications of the place names are found in Maricq, in *Syria*, 338–339.

Isauria, Lycaonia, Galatia, Lycia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, Syria, Phoenicia, Judaea, Arabia, Mauritania, Germania, Rhodes [Lydia], Osrhoene (?), 11. Mesopotamia.

And beyond Carrhae and Edessa we had a great battle with Valerian Caesar. We made prisoner ourselves with our own hands Valerian Caesar and the others, chiefs of that army, the praetorian prefect, senators; we made all prisoners and deported them to Persis.

And Syria, Cilicia and Cappadocia 12. we burned, ruined and pillaged.

In that campaign we conquered of the Roman Empire the town of Samosata,[4] Alexandria on the Issus, Katabolos, Aegaea, Mopsuestia, Mallos, Adana, Tarsus, Augustinia, 13. Zephyrion, Sebaste, Korykos, Anazarba ([Agrippas]), Kastabala, Neronias, Flavias, Nicopolis, Epiphaneia, 14. Kelenderis, Anemurion, Selinus, Mzdu-[Myonpolis], Antioch, Seleucia, Dometiopolis, Tyana, Caesarea [Meiakariri], Komana 15. Kybistra, Sebasteia, Birtha, Rakundia, Laranda, Iconium, altogether all these cities with their surroundings 36.

And men of the Roman Empire, of non-Iranians, 16. we deported. We settled them in the Empire of Iran in Persis, Parthia, Khuzistan, in Babylonia and in other lands where there were domains of our father, grandfathers and of our ancestors.

We searched out for conquest many other lands, and we acquired fame for heroism, which we have not engraved here, except for the preceding. We ordered it written so that whoever comes after us may know 17. this fame, heroism and power of us.

Thus, for this reason, that the gods have made us their ward,[5] and with the aid of the gods we have searched out and taken so many lands, so that in every land we have founded many Bahram fires and have conferred benefices upon many magi-men, and we have magnified the cult of the gods.

And here by this inscription, we founded a fire 18. Khosro-Shapur[6] by name for our soul and to perpetuate our name, a fire called Khosro-Aduranahid by name for the soul of our daughter Aduranahid, queen of queens, to perpetuate her name, a fire called Khosro-Hormizd-Ardashir by name for the soul of our son, Hormizd-Ardashir, great king of Armenia, to perpetuate his name, another fire called Khosro-Shapur by name, for the soul of our son Shapur king of Mesene, to perpetuate his name, and 19. a fire called Khosro-Narseh by name, for the soul of our son, the noble, Mazda worshipping Narseh, king of Sind, Seistan and Turan to the edge of the sea, to perpetuate his name.

And that which we have donated to these fires, and which we have established as a custom, all of that we have written upon the document [of guaranty]. Of those 1000 lambs, of which custom gives us the excess, and which we have donated to these fires, we have ordered as follows: for our soul each day 20. a lamb, one and a half measures[7] of bread and four quantities of wine.

For that of Sasan the lord, King Papak, King Shapur son of Papak, King of Kings Ardashir, the Empire's Queen Khoranzim, Queen of Queens Aduranahid, Queen Dinak, King of Gilan Bahram, King of Mesene Shapur, Great King of Armenia Hormizd-Ardashir, King of the Sakas Narseh, Queen of the Sakas 21. Shapurdukhtak, Lady of the Sakas Narsehdukht, Lady Čašmak, Prinz Peroz, Lady Mirdut [Myrrod], mother of King of Kings Shapur, Prince Narseh, Princess Rud-dukhtak, daughter of Anošak, Varazdukht [Gorazdukht], daugher of Khoranzim, Queen Stahyrad, Hormizdak, son of the king of Armenia, Hormizd, Hormizdak, Odabakht, Bahram, Shapur, Peroz, son of the king of Mesene, Shapurdukhtak, daughter of the king of Mesene, and Hormizddukhtak, daughter of the king of the Sakas 22, for their souls a lamb, a measure and a half of bread and four quantities of wine.

And the lambs which remain, as much as remain to be completely used, are for the souls of those for whose souls we have ordered rites, who by name are found in writing, every day a lamb, one and a half measures of bread and four quantities of wine.

Among those who lived under the rule of King Papak: Sasan Ornekan, Farrak son of Farrak, Vartragnipat son of Khur, Asporik son of Asporik, Pohrik son of Mardin, Zik the master of ceremonies, 23. Shapur son of Wežan, Shapur son of Mihrožan.

Among those who lived under the rule of King of Kings Ardashir: Satarop king of Abrenak,[8] Ardashir king of Merv, Ardashir king of Kerman, Ardashir king of the Sakas, Dinak mother of king Papak, Rodak mother of King of Kings Ardashir, Dinak daughter of Papak queen of queens, Ardashir *bidakhsh*, Papak

[4] Same as the preceding list 'with surroundings.' For modern identifications see Maricq, *op. cit.*, 340–41.

[5] This word, *dastkirt*, can mean 'domain' as well as 'creature,' but here I translate it as 'ward,' meaning 'under the protection of.'

[6] Or to be translated 'fame of Shapur.'

[7] For a discussion of the amounts of bread and wine, see Maricq, *op. cit.*, 318–19.

[8] This probably means the Aparni or Khurasan.

chiliarch, Dehin Varaz, Sasan Suren, Sasan lord of Andegan, Peroz Karen 24. Gok Karen, Abursam 'glory of Ardashir,' Geliman of Demavend, Rakhsh the army chief, Mard head of scribes, Papak master of ceremonies, Pazihr Vaspurigan, Vifard son of Farrak, Mihr-khwast Baresigan, Khumafrat chief of the elite guard (?), Diran chief of the armory, Chihrak the judge, Vardan chief of stables, Mihrak son of Tosar, Zik Zabrigan, Sagbus master of the hunt, Khudik chief steward, Zayen chief of wine.

Among those who live under the rule of King of Kings Shapur. Ardashir king of Adiabene, Ardashir 25 king of Kerman, Dinak queen of Mesene ward of Shapur, Hamazasp king of Georgia, Prince Valash son of Papak, Prince Sasan who is adopted by the Farrak family, Prince Sasan who is adopted by the Kiduk family, Prince Narseh son of Peroz, Prince Narseh son of Shapur, Shapur *bidakhsh*, Papak chiliarch, Peroz chief of cavalry, Ardashir Varaz, Ardashir Suren, Narseh lord of Andegan, 26. Ardashir Karen, Vahunam *framadâr*,[9] Frīk satrap of Gundeshapur, Sritoy son of Shahimust, Ardashir 'joy of Ardashir,' Pažihr 'valiant of Shapur,' Ardashir satrap of Qom, Chashmak 'brave of Shapur,' Vahunam 'joy of Shapur,' Tir-mihr chief of fortress of Shahrkart, Zik master of ceremonies, Artaban of Demavend, Gondofarr Abgan 'who seeks combat,' Pabish 'Perozshapur' son of Shanbit 27. Varzin satrap of Isfahan, Kirdisro *bidakhsh*, Papak Vaspurigan, Valash son of Seleucus, Yazdbad counsellor of queens, Papak swordbearer, Narseh satrap of Rind,[10] Tiyanik satrap of Hamadan, Vardbad [Gulbad] chief of services, Yoymard son of Rastak, Ardashir son of Vifar, Abursam-Shapur head of the harem, Narseh son of Barrak, Shapur son of Narseh, Narseh chief steward, 28. Hormizd chief scribe son of Hormizd chief scribe, Naduk chief of the prison, Papak gate keeper, Pasfard son of Pasfard, Abdagash son of the castle lord, Kerdir magus, Rastak satrap of Weh Ardashir, Ardashir son of the *bidakhsh*, Mihrkhwast treasurer, Shapur commander,[11] Arshtat Mihran of Rayy secretary, Sasan the eunuch son of Sasan, Virod chief of markets, Ardashir satrap of Neriz, Bagdad son of Vardapad [Gulbad], Kerdir Ardavan, Zurvandad son of Bandak, 29. Vinnar son of Sasan, Manzik the eunuch, Sasan the judge, Vardan son of Nashbad, Gurik ([Vardik]) chief of boars, altogether one lamb, one and a half portions of bread, four measures of wine every day.

Now as we serve and worship the gods with zeal, since we are the wards of the gods and with the aid of the gods we have searched out these peoples, have dominated them and have acquired fame for bravery, also whoever comes after us and rules, may he also serve and worship the gods with zeal, so the gods may aid him and make him their ward.[12]

(The Parthian version alone is signed: 'This is the writing by my hand, Hormizd, the scribe, son of Shirak, the scribe.')

[9] This title is general, perhaps something like modern *ra'is* 'chief.'

[10] Unknown, but in western Iran, possibly modern Kashan.

[11] The word *framadar* is general in meaning and his specific functions are unclear.

[12] The MP is different from Greek and Parthian, all conflated here.

APPENDIX 5

THE MP AND PARTHIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF NARSEH AT PAIKULI, NORTH OF KHANIQIN, IRAQ*

A – [I the Mazdaworshipping divine Narseh king] of kings of Iran and non-Iran, whose lineage is [from the gods, son of the Mazdaworshipping divine Shapur king of] kings of Iran and non-Iran [grandson of the Mazdaworshipping Ardashir, king of kings the monument [in this place was erected ?] and this monument was made by me[1] for this reason: Narseh king of kings . . . I indicated that . . . he was considered the king of the Armenians and that I [was in ?] station ? of Armenia . . . was declared and Vahunam son of Tataros by himself with treachery and [with the aid] of Ahriman and the demons . . . tied the diadem and in that matter we were not consulted nor [were other] princes consulted . . . and the lords and knights, both Persian and Parthian hailed [me] . . . king of the Sakas the diadem on his head . . . he wishes to hold before and in that capacity ? . . . that they may kill the lords and knights and give the province of Garamaea and by themselves . . . and the Garamaeans . . . may make a ward,[2] and when by me myself the wardship has been made certain then the king of the Sakas . . . may make good custom ? and myself in . . . knights ? both Persian and Parthian ? . . . consider Babylonia in defense. They made that assembly and said . . . the king of the Sakas . . . the Persians to order activity and . . . Vahunam by ? is carried ? counsel to ? that one who is Vahunam ? took ? He . . . Sasan and men of all the realm and the king of the Armenians, the greatest and the foremost and the realm

B – and authority otherwise support ? . . . may be. This now I do that when . . . may hold and Iranshahr . . . Afterwards Shapur the tax chief and Prince Narseh the Sasanian, and Papak the *bidakhsh* and Ardashir the *chiliarch*, and Rakhsh the army chief, and Hormizd Varaz son of Bahram and[3] ? . . . lord of Andegan,[4] and other princes, lords, village chiefs, and knights . . . both Persian and Parthian, those who were of the greatest service to [our] house, foremost and most powerful. It was taken by the goodness of the gods and us ? And a messenger was sent to me . . . and when to us in good faith . . . they are. Then from the princes and the tax chief and the lords and knights an envoy came to us (saying) that: May the king of kings in good faith leave from the side of Armenia to Iranshahr and accept the glory, the realm and (his) own throne, and the honor of (his) ancestors from the gods, and bad . . . people may . . . realm up to the pillar ? a document ? When we saw that letter and in the name of Ahuramazda and all the deities, and Anahita, called 'the Lady,' we left from Armenia to the side of Iranshahr and the frontiersmen, mountaineer(s) and (those) of other regions, who in a previous time were considered to (be in) Iranshahr ? . . . land and place of . . . that they hear and know . . . realm, authority to the side of Iranshahr to separate but not thus (–Indy ?) to Iranshahr and other lands and places of us to destroy but they remain by our advice and instruction. And if one time the tax chief takes the advice of the gods and us then the frontier guard of Babylonia . . . and other places the tax chief [all the land] has not left a person . . . they sent the lord of Andegan with

* The basic edition of the inscription is by E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1924). The latest edition is by H. Humbach and P. O. Skaervø, *The Sasanian Inscription of Paikuli*, 2 parts (Wiesbaden, 1980). Further bibliography may be found in these two publications. The translation here was prepared over many years and agrees on the whole with the revised text of Humbach and Skaervø. Unfortunately, there are so many lacunae that a continuous text and translation is not possible, so a literal translation of words with conjectures (marked ?) is presented here. Restorations are in brackets, while variants or explanations appear in parentheses. Dots show lacunae; it was not possible to show the different lengths of the lacunae in the text and all have been reduced to three dots by the editor. Question marks follow uncertain readings.

[1] Lit. LNH 'us.' In the translation the singular is used for the plural of majesty, and in tenses the narrative past is sometimes used for the present.

[2] The word *dstkrt* can be understood as a 'thing,' 'a domain,' or as a person, 'a creature, or a ward.' Here it is probably the latter sense.

[3] The MP text has 'Ardashir' in place of Parthian 'Hormizd' and I am unable to resolve this divergence.

[4] The Parthian form is *'wndykn*, probably an area at the north eastern side of the Persian Gulf, in present Fars and Khuzistan.

horses and men to the frontier of Khuzistan and gave him counsel that he ? the way and passage which is from Babylonia

C – . . . Suren and the [Saka] king and Vahunam . . . may be in ? Babylonia to destroy us and then not a person ? . . . and not in . . . from Babylonia . . . to do and what sort from that side of Khuzistan they heard it. They showed to me that they knew ? to . . . king. And if the Saka king and Vahunam intelligence to . . . that they know that from them to you may be success ? . . . they are not . . . if they eat ? . . . and not give a face-to-face battle . . . in good faith to Babylonia they set out and by them the king of kings himself with . . . go to the head ? that they . . . brought ? and equally whoever in that caravan may be, then he . . . and they hold obeisance to Narseh king of kings and from that caravan . . . do not extend and come to that side . . Babylonia to that place we arrived where this monument was made. Then Shapur the tax chief and Prince Peroz and Prince Narseh son of Sasan (or a Sasanian) and Papak the *bidakhsh* and Ardashir Suren and Hormizd Varaz . . . and Kerdir the Ahuramazda *mobad* and Narseh Karen and . . . hwsty, and Rakhsh Spahbad (or the army chief) and Ardashir Tahmshapur and Shapur . . . the scribe of the accounts of the realm and Zodkard cupbearer ? and similar prince(s) and lord(s) and knight(s) and village chief(s) and satrap(s) and accountants and shop keeper(s) ? asnd other Persians and Parthians who (were influential in ?) Babylonia . . . and numerous Garamaeans there were who altogether to the site of Nicator to our presence came. Here before us they presented themselves where this monument is made. And Bahram the Saka [king] and Vahunam son of Tataros and whosoever was bad and whosoever was of the same persuasion as Vahunam and were his friends, when

D – they heard that we are departing from Armenia to the side of Iranshahr [They gathered forces and from] Khuzistan [to Armenia] went ? And Vahunam in personal [request to] Adurfarnbag the king of Mesene . . . requested aid the king of Mesene a message [that the –] king may come forward. Otherwise if the Saka king is recognized ? (MP = a page, servant or child), then also the king of Mesene that . . . diadem ? the king of Mesene may give up to the king of the Armenians far in front ? before the tax-lord . . . the lords and knights and others who (in) Babylonia . . . to do, I will do it and Adurfarnbag the king of Mesene since the demons had created him he had given on his saying ? that Vahunam is rebellious and Mesene the Euphrates to this side . . . and with horses and men forward to Bahram the Saka king and Vahunam (for) protection he goes and from the realm dominion . . . and with the Saka king . . . may be and Ardashir-Shapur ? . . . king of kings with horses and men ? . . . for aid . . . the Saka king and Vahunam and those of them who are considered with them . . . and they carry submission to such a time they take gifts and oaths. Also our men . . . to reach ? Then with the king of kings . . . I make that because of us they hear that supremacy ? . . . I have arrived and they . . . with horses and men advance to the top (of the river ?) and from us . . . a bad time they went ? which passage those who are horsemen before ? . . . marked ? and not to the other side have passed and not forward to booty ? he hurried to fight ? . . . and the king of Mesene and Vahunam did not arrive to the border of Babylonia . . . in that caravan with the Saka king across the king of kings ? went out and to . . . they came (to) the lord of Andegan and they went; the lord of Andegan to my court . . .

E – I arrive . . . I send the Saka king a message . . . the ancestors whom thou dost not respect . . . was settled forward . . . and forward to the court . . . royal messenger to the [Saka king] . . . and to us in service . . . order and happiness ? forward to Babylonia to Bahram Shapur . . . the message which was seen by us ? And the great diadem . . . from the head was removed ? and from the throne . . . he threw away and the deed ? . . . to one side . . . and Vahunam, when he saw ? . . . the glory of the gods and rule of the realm came to us and he knew that "in treachery I act (=he acts) ?" Afterwards by means of the gods and . . . was not reserved ? and in deception and abstention ? . . . Narseh king of kings -?- and by us that . . . thus to Vahunam they did ? . . . Narseh whose glory is flourishing . . . ? and obedience they bring[5] . . . that Narseh Bagshapur . . . with the Saka king and Vahunam being before, forward ? . . . Vahunam was seized and upon a lame donkey[6] . . . and he was brought to our court and Bagshapur . . . Vahunam tied and bound on a lame donkey . . . Bagshapur ? to our court they led and the Saka king when he knew that Vahunam (was caught ?) . . . plp' ? . . . who he deception . . . first ? by the gods and us again in Iranshahr all the country considered ? . . . on the head ? . . . I did and in . . . self . . .

F – I fought him ? . . . in the land assembled and I did ? and the tax lord . . . and the lords and knights and

[5] The reconstruction of this part of the inscription is difficult and uncertain with too many gaps to present a proper translation.

[6] V. Lukonin in *Iran v III Veke* (Moscow, 1979), 68, proposes that the 'donkey' was an instrument of torture. His reconstructed translation takes great liberties so that it is more readable than what is presented here, which tries to follow the text as closely as possible.

village chiefs . . . to those who were powerful and most illustrious I sent a message that: Thus . . . the gods great exertion . . . good deeds in Iranshahr and non-Iran ? to the greatest ? lords and district chiefs I have given and if one time . . . king, aid . . . in all the land asks ? then from this deed thus what . . . our lineage from ? Ardashir king of kings . . . king . . . Shapur . . . made guardianship ? and by them the guardians be given dignity ? Then . . . of Iranshahr . for them ? . . . to them retribution in this manner was made that we from . . . as was ? made for king Shapur that those know ? . . . there was someone who from king Shapur more valid ? and by the gods more able or better ? to guard ? Iranshahr . . to have more capability and to command ? . . . King Shapur . . . they say that we when it is wished that ? . . . that lord that may be ? who the gods have prepared . . .for ? the rites of the gods . . . brought and Iranshahr . . . in peace and confidence held ? and to command. And thus from Shapur king of kings more true and good and more pious . . . and from Ardashir . . .

G – forward to all the realm . . . firstly between ? . . . made and may be able to be. Then also we by ourselves . . . the gods good activity in Iranshahr those there in such a way he wishes that he the trouble and pain which to them the gods ? . . . with the aid of the gods in the kingdom . . . gods in the realm . . . the throne be the establishment ? . . . more joyful and confident be if the governor ? . . . from us more true with the gods and more in advance and more ritual observing be, or Iranshahr from us in more joy and . . . and enemies answer . . . one may say now that the realm and region(s) . . . capable to hold the realm and to command and from every ? . . . and the Parthians to us a message and an answer thus was brought that by us the governors and princes, lords and knights . . . that from you, gods in that affair gave instruction. If to you the gods from the first there ? . . . thus that from you the gods brought a message . . . more in advance and more ritual observing may he be. They in the realm hold domion, the governor, the prince, the lord and knight Persian ? . . . the gods beneficient then to the highest degree ? he arrives in Iranshahr. Then he is more rightly and most protected . . . that by the gods just deeds . . . that because the glory of the gods and dominion over the realm is given to the seed of the Sasanians . . . king that to you was the grandfather ? with the aid of the gods all the realm . . . then thus to you otherwise was not ? the gods took care ? . . . and happiness and wisdom and self . . . self the throne and dignity . . . father and ancestors was that ? . . . realm a thing . . . and higher . . . and to the governors and princes . . . knights and village chiefs . . . I send a message that . . . that first by the word of the gods and . . . Iranshahr and all the realm the word ?, the realm . . . capable . . . to command and to give answer to . . . and the governors and princes . . .

H – Persians and Parthians and thus to us a message [sent an answer ?] that if I know that they ? . . . all the princes ordinarily ? in Iranshahr and in all the realm, there is one . . . to you the gods . . . dominion ? . . . by the gods you were the greatest and foremost and the realm . . . the gods, heroic and most suitable [for] the throne which the gods have given . . . until the time of resurrection he holds the realm and command, and by himself the glory and happiness of the realm may be. Then to us with the support and in the name of the gods and myself [governors and nobles the diadem ?] . . . [father] and ancestors hold. And by us ? Caesar and Rome . . . in supplication and they maintain peace and tranquility. And the Kushan king . . . Aspanay and the king of the Khwarazmians and Damti- ? son of Kushad . . . and Pagrimbak ? . . . and Sidi of the hlw'nyk *šyk'n* (shaikhs ?) and Pak son of Mihem, and Birvan son of Spandurt, and the king of Paradene and King Razvurt and King Gondofarrik ? and the king of Makran, and the king of Turan . . . king and . . . king and the king of the Massagetae and king Abirān ? and king Sika- ? and king Tirdat and 'Amr king of the Lakhnids and 'Amr king of the Apgarids, and . . . the Nafbad of *dhydkn* (Dahistan ?) and Rasma- ? . . . the satrap of Demavend . . . -gwdy ? lord *shwlč'n* ? and *hwlsm'n* ? lord of -*šk'n* ? Bagdat lord of *zwl'dčyn* (Joray ?), and Mihrkhwast lord of Borsippa ? and Zinadkan lord of -- *'ldpč'n* ? . . . Bahram ? lord of *mwšk'n* (Beth Moksaye ?), and Narseh, lord of Antioch ? and the lord of Lašom, and w. ? lord of c . . . 'n ? and . . . lord and *hrtywd* ? *l'*- lord and Malukh the *'štbwn'n* king, and other rulers . . . by our advice and counsel . . . they hold our instruction. And all the land I wish in newness, and whosoever himself comes to our court (or otherwise ? sends) a messenger . . . and gift(s) anbd writing(s) and sends ? an ambassador to our court . . . and things of other king he keeps, that one before . . . then by him realms and places and -nmndy ? to our service and recognition they come.

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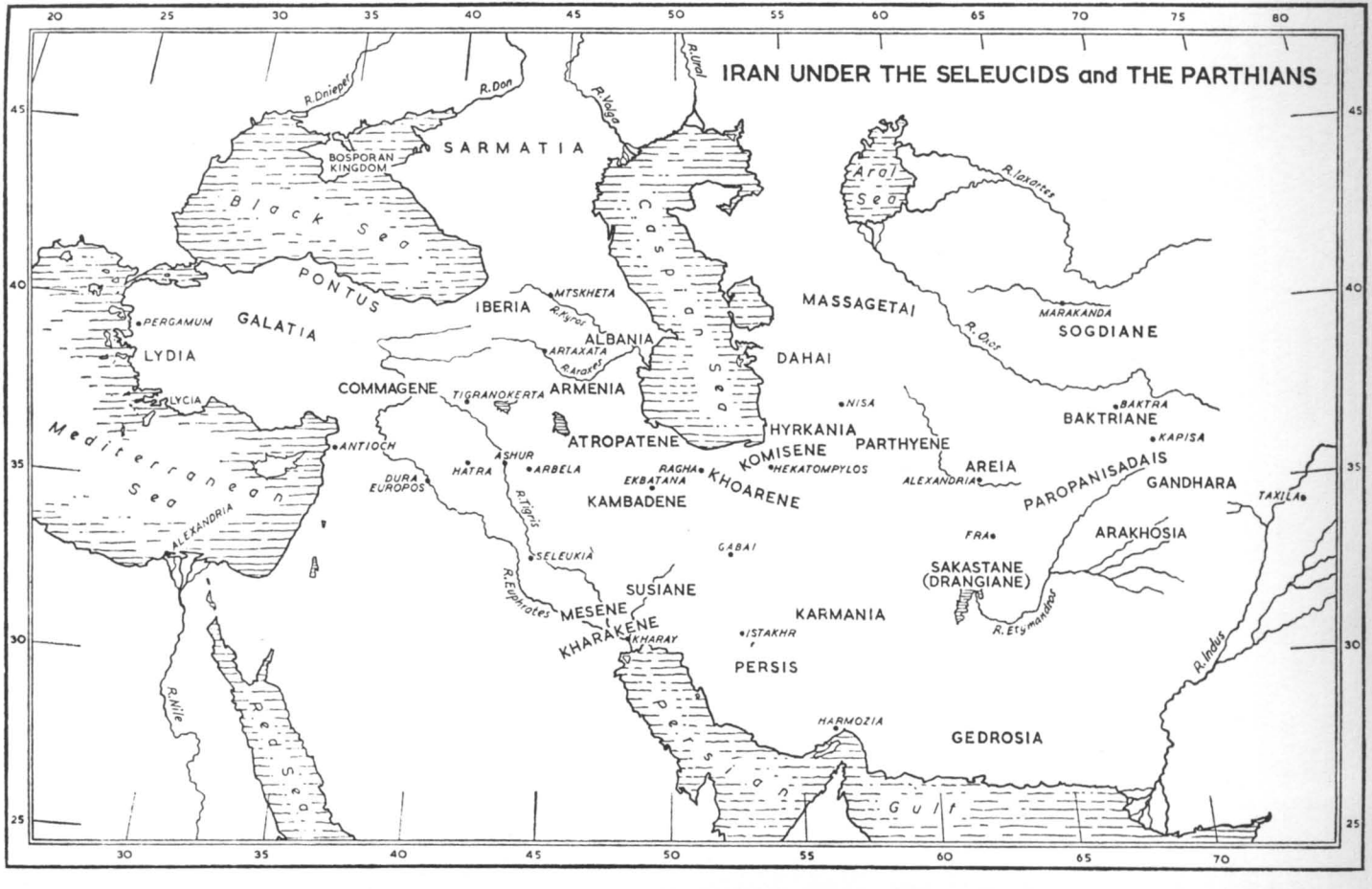
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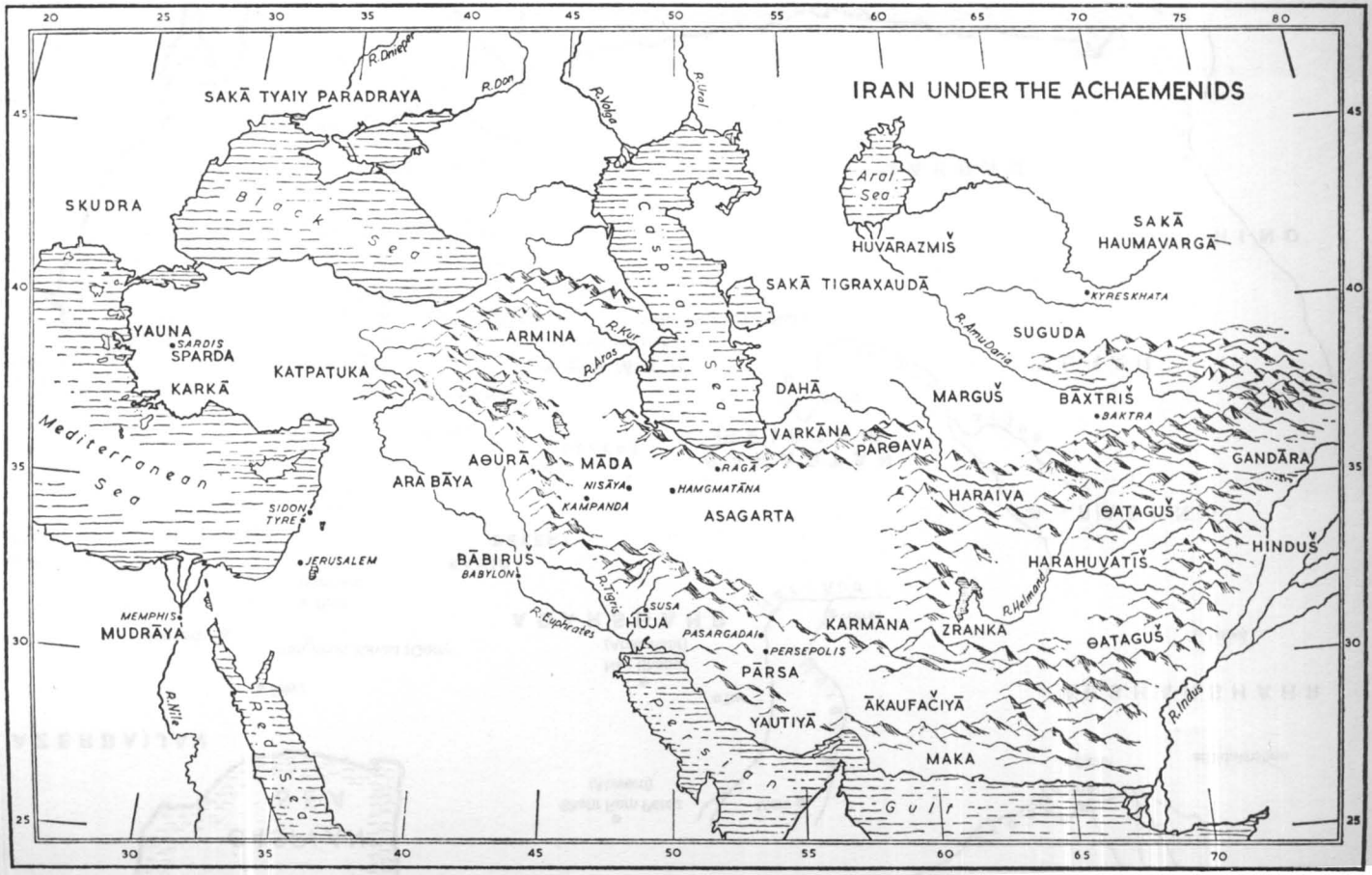
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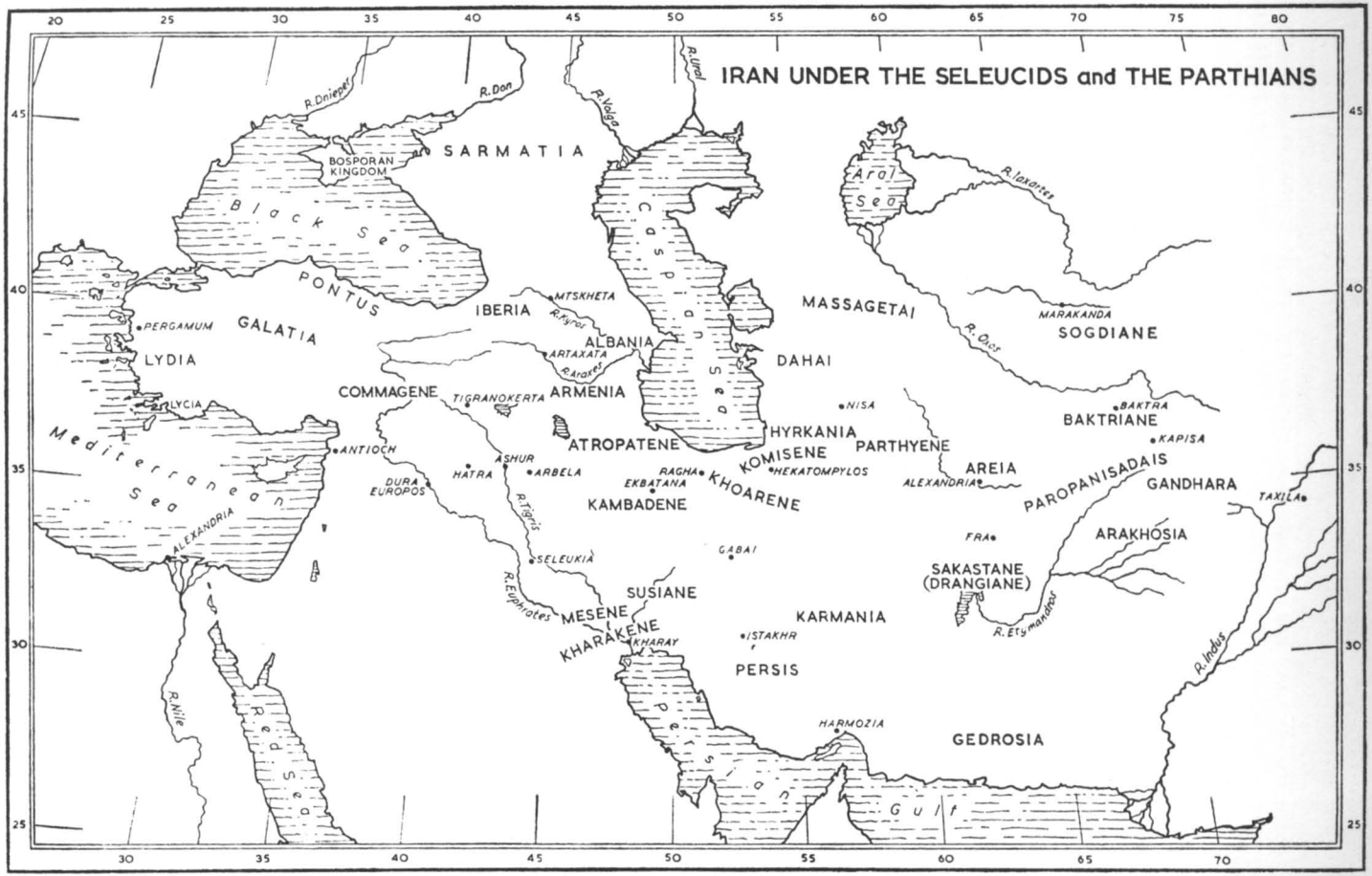
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GALATIA
LYDIA
LYCIA
IBERIA
MTSKHETA
R. Kyrnos
ALBANIA
ARTAXATA
R. Araxes
DAHAI
COMMAGENE
TIGRANOKERTA
ARMENIA
NISA
BAKTRA
BAKTRIANE
KAPISA
Mediterranean Sea
ANTIOCH
ATROPATENE
HYRKANIA
KOMISENE
PARTHYENE
AREIA
ALEXANDRIA
PAROPANISADAIS
GANDHARA
TAXILA
HATRA
ASHUR
ARBELA
DURA EUROPOS
RAGHA
EKBATANA
HEKATOMPYLOS
KHOARENE
KAMBADENE
R. Tigris
ALEXANDRIA
SELEUKIA
GABAI
FRA
ARAKHOSIA
SAKASTANE (DRANGIANE)
R. Euphrates
SUSIANE
MESENE
KHARAKENE
KHARAX
KARMANIA
ISTAKHR
R. Etymandros
PERSIS
R. Indus
R. Nile
Red Sea
HARMOZIA
GEDROSIA
Persian Gulf
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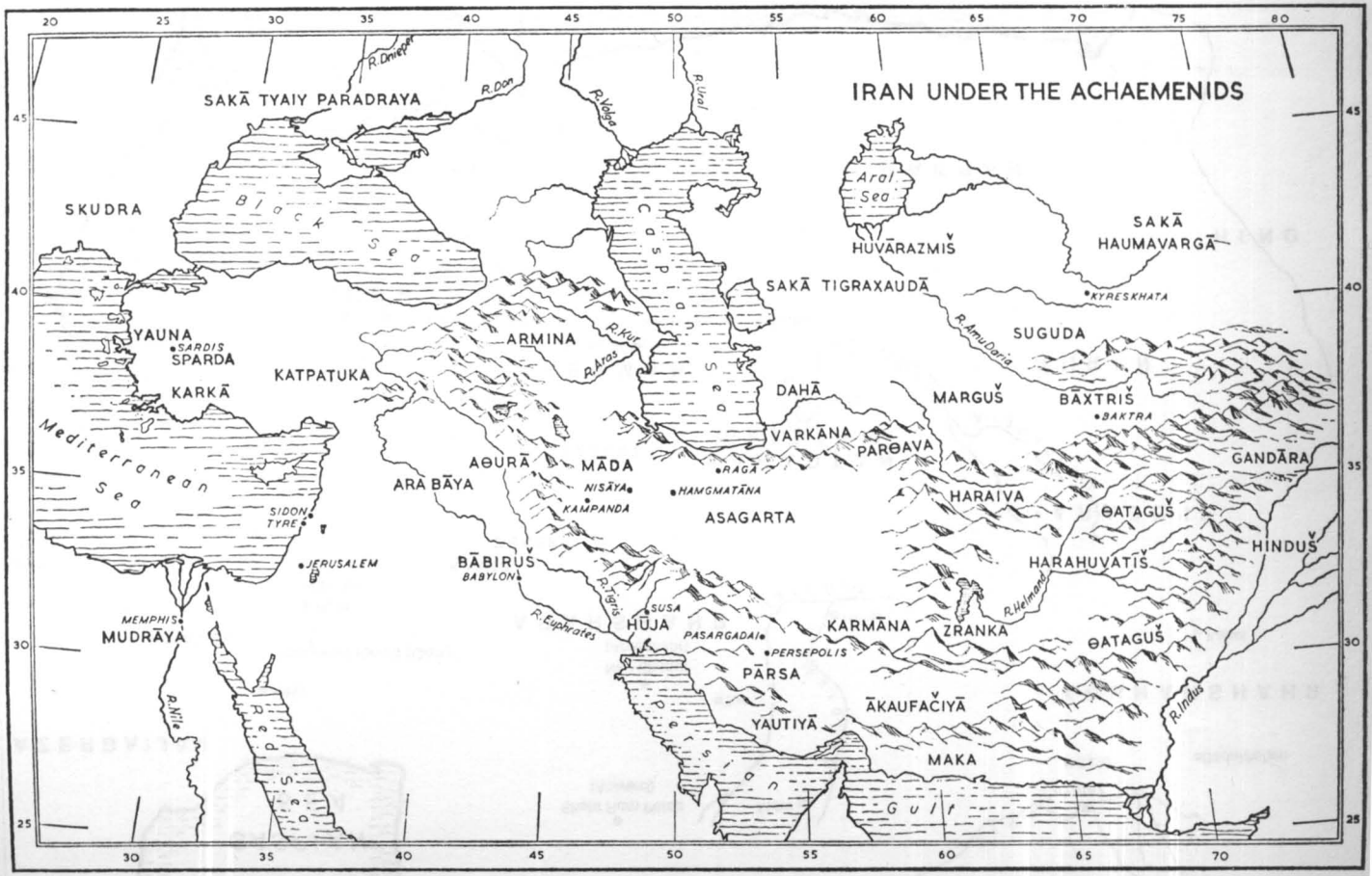
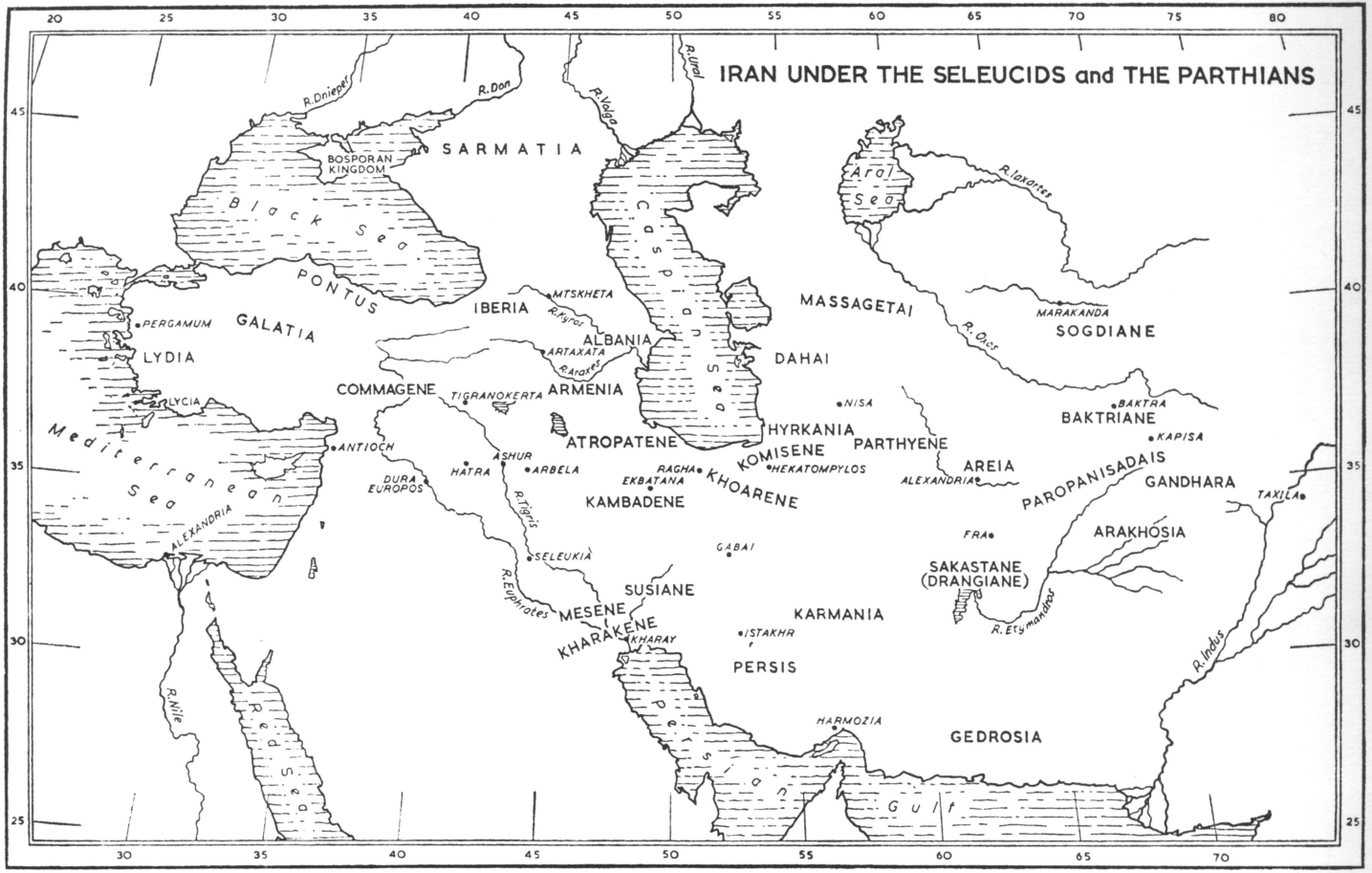

IRAN UNDER THE ACHAEMENIDS
SAKĀ TYAIY PARADRAYA
R. Dnieper
R. Don
R. Volga
R. Ural
SKUDRA
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
HUVĀRAZMIŠ
SAKĀ HAUMAVARGĀ
SAKĀ TIGRAXAUDĀ
KYRESKHATA
R. Amu Daria
SUGUDA
YAUNA
SARDIS
SPARDA
KARKĀ
KATPATUKA
ARMINA
R. Kur
R. Araxes
DAHĀ
MARGUŠ
BĀXTRIŠ
BAKTRA
VARKĀNA
PARΘAVA
GANDĀRA
Mediterranean Sea
AΘURĀ
MĀDA
RAGA
HAMGMATĀNA
NISĀYA
KAMPANDA
ARA BĀYA
ASAGARTA
HARAIVA
ΘATAGUŠ
HINDUŠ
SIDON
TYRE
JERUSALEM
BĀBIRUŠ
BABYLON
R. Tigris
SUSA
HUJA
R. Euphrates
HARAHUVATIŠ
R. Helmand
MEMPHIS
MUDRĀYA
PASARGADAI
PERSEPOLIS
KARMĀNA
ZRANKA
ΘATAGUŠ
PĀRSA
R. Nile
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
YAUTIYĀ
ĀKAUFAČIYĀ
R. Indus
MAKA
Gulf


IRAN UNDER THE SELEUCIDS and THE PARTHIANS
R. Don
R. Volga
R. Ural
R. Dniepr
SARMATIA
BOSPORAN KINGDOM
Black Sea
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
R. Iaxartes
PONTUS
GALATIA
PERGAMUM
LYDIA
LYCIA
Mediterranean Sea
ANTIOCH
ALEXANDRIA
IBERIA
MTSKHETA
R. Kyros
ALBANIA
ARTAXATA
R. Araxes
ARMENIA
COMMAGENE
TIGRANOKERTA
MASSAGETAI
DAHAI
R. Oxus
MARAKANDA
SOGDIANE
NISA
BAKTRA
BAKTRIANE
KAPISA
HYRKANIA
PARTHYENE
ATROPATENE
KOMISENE
HEKATOMPYLOS
AREIA
ALEXANDRIA
PAROPANISADAIS
GANDHARA
TAXILA
DURA EUROPOS
HATRA
ASHUR
ARBELA
RAGHA
EKBATANA
KHOARENE
KAMBADENE
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GABAI
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SAKASTANE (DRANGIANE)
R. Etymandros
R. Euphrates
SUSIANE
MESENE
KHARAKENE
KHARAY
KARMANIA
ISTAKHR
PERSIS
R. Indus
R. Nile
Red Sea
Persian Gulf
HARMOZIA
GEDROSIA
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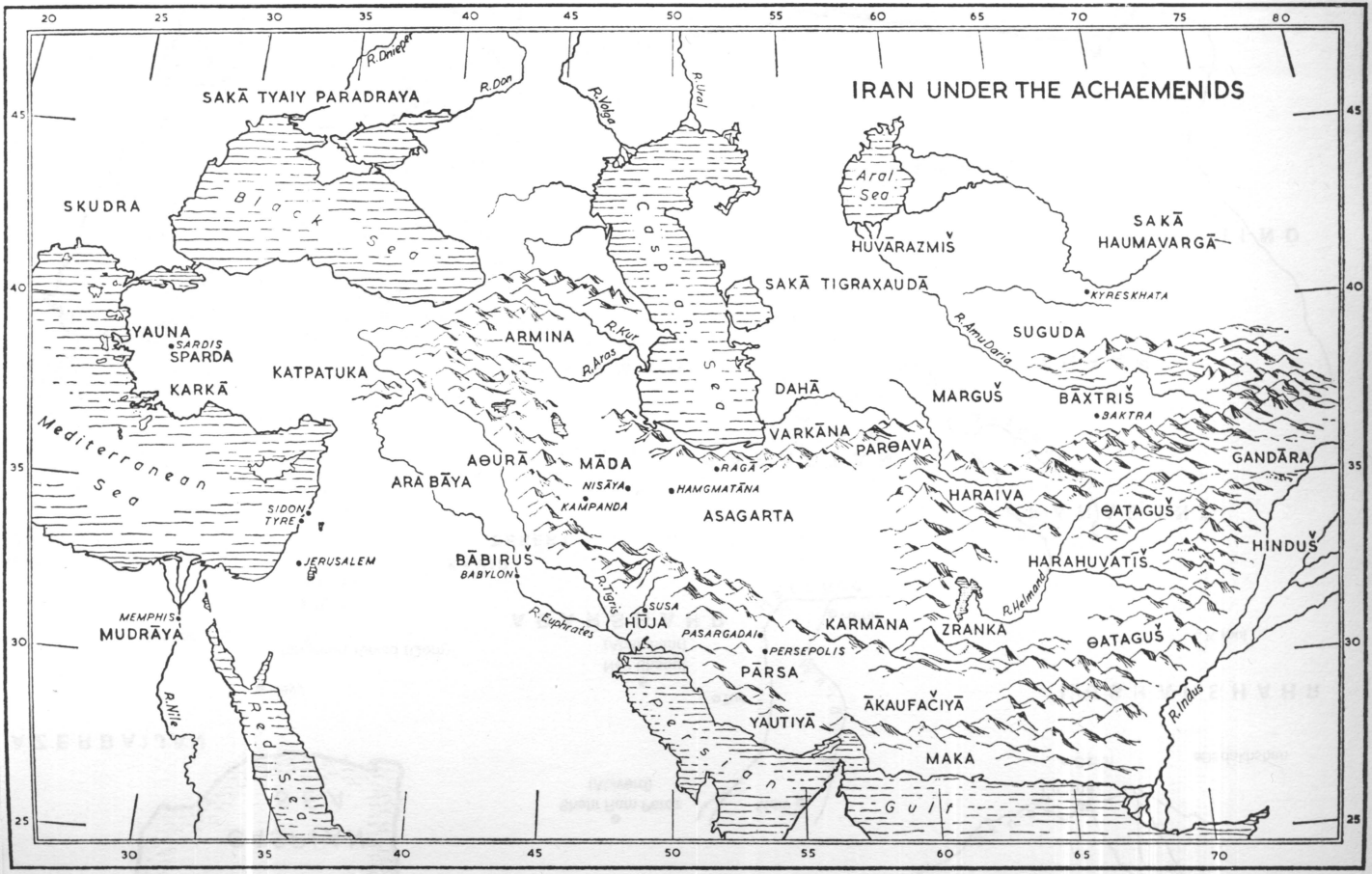
45 40 35 30 25


IRAN UNDER THE ACHAEMENIDS
SAKĀ TYAIY PARADRAYA
R. Dnieper
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KARKĀ
KATPATUKA
ARMINA
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DAHĀ
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ΘATAGUŠ
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JERUSALEM
BĀBIRUŠ
BABYLON
HINDUŠ
HARAHUVATIŠ
R. Tigris
R. Helmand
MEMPHIS
MUDRĀYA
SUSA
HŪJA
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KARMĀNA
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R. Nile
Red Sea
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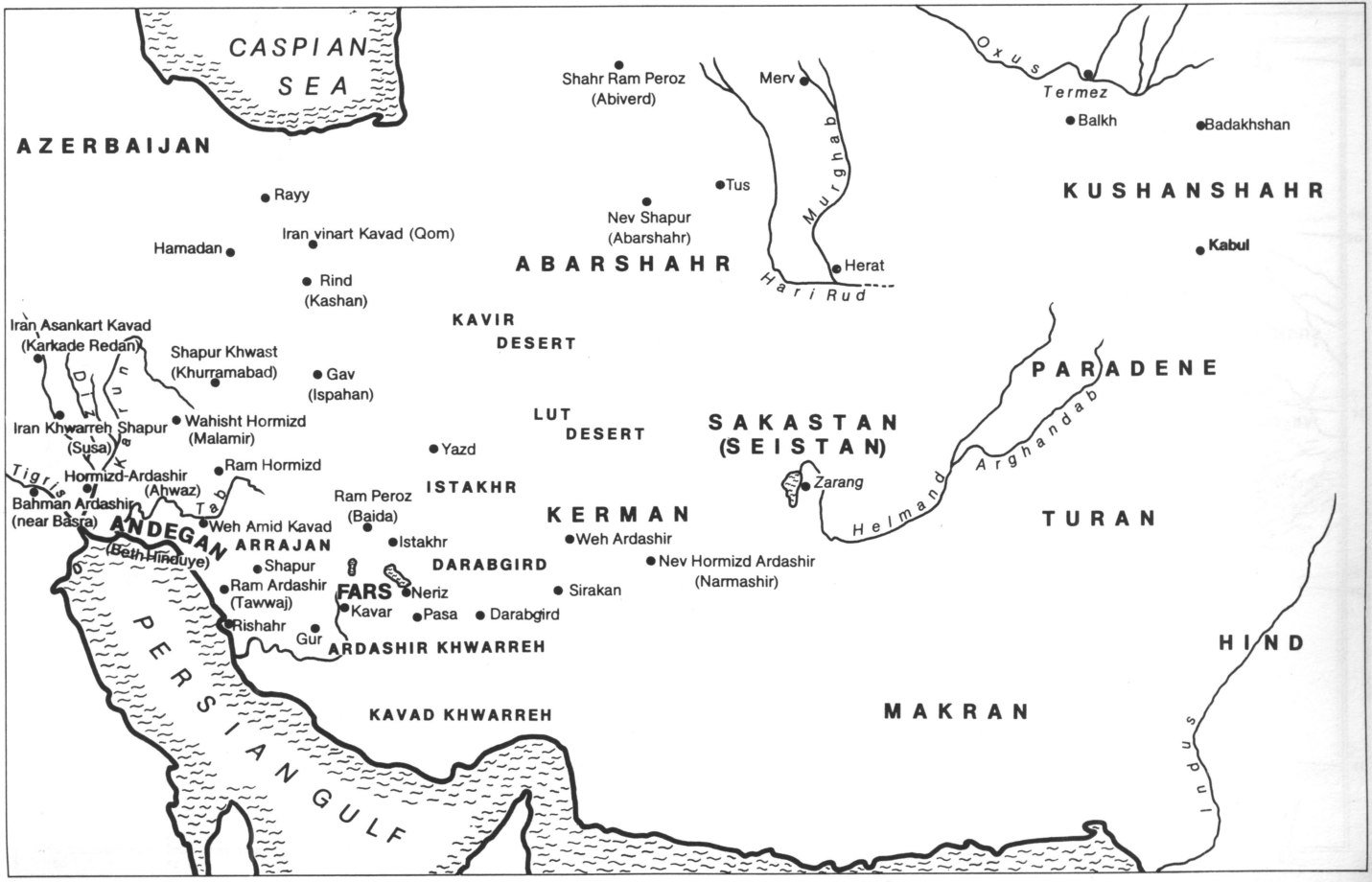
Iran under the Sasanians



FARS = province DARABGIRD = distriat Pasa = town